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War Policy Causes Clash in Students Unity Conference

Resolution Adopted Ambiguous on Crucial Question of Soviet Union; S.Y.L. and Yipsel Members Fight Stalinist Social Patriotism

COLUMBUS, Ohio.—In spite of all attempts to avoid a clash on the major political issue confronting the fusion convention of the Socialist Student League for Industrial Democracy and the Stalinist National Student League, held here over the Christmas holidays, an open fight on the question of war marked the last hour of the convention.

The Stalinists controlled a decisive majority of the four hundred and twenty-seven delegates. The S.S.L.D. had 116 delegates and the N.S.L. 144. The unattached delegates included liberals, conservatives and a host of Stalinist students.

The main tendencies represented at the Congress were the liberals, who wanted a liberal student movement; the Stalinists, who wanted the same type of organization but were ready to accept almost anything the young Socialists demanded; the young Socialists who in their majority desired a broad student organization which accepted the Oxford Pledge "against support of any war declared by the United States Government" and finally, the Spartacus Youth delegates who fought for fusion on the basis of a revolutionary program particularly on the question of war.

The separate conventions of the S.S.L.D. and the N.S.L. opened on Friday afternoon. At both conventions a draft program was presented which the membership had never seen or discussed. Spartacus delegates presented their position at both meetings.

S.S.L.D. Convention
At the S.S.L.D. convention the original draft program accepted by the leaders of the two student organizations and whose interests we are anxious to serve was revised. A section stating that "we love our country as profoundly as anyone else" was deleted due to pressure of Left Socialists and the Spartacus delegates. Among the young Socialists seven delegates led by Monroe Sweetland voted against fusion with the N.S.L. on the ground that the latter would accept any program but that their real program would lead them to support the U.S. government in case it was allied with the Soviet Union. Another section of the young Socialists agreed with the Spartacus program for the fusion—the class struggle in society, the alliance of the students with the working class and a revolutionary program against war. However, Yipsel discipline prevented them from voting for the Spartacus position.

The S.S.L.D. convention also accepted a resolution on war which concretized the Oxford Pledge. It outlined three possible types of wars which could arise under present conditions and denounced support of any of the three: a so-called "defensive war" of the United States; "democratic" wars against Fascist nations; in case of alliance between the U. S. and a "progressive or non-imperialist" power. Apart from the failure to present the basic causes of war and the ultimate solution, the resolution had two defects: viz, the Ethiopian situation (which involves the question of League of Nations sanctions and "neutrality laws") was not dealt with and the Soviet Union was not mentioned, though implicit in the phrase "progressive or non-imperialist power."

The steering committee of the S.S.L.D. for the fusion convention was empowered to prevent the fusion if the general line of this resolution was not adopted or call a caucus meeting of the S.S.L.D. delegates to consider the matter.

At the N.S.L. convention a motion was adopted to accept the "split" of the report of the national secretary which included the draft program. Spirited discussion on the question of war was led by Spartacus delegates.

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Strike Nears In Texas WPA Crisis

State Relief Administration «Plays Ball» While Workers Starve

(Special to New Militant) By JAMES EVANS

DALLAS, Tex.—Prospects for a general WPA strike in Texas are enormously increased with the refusal of H. P. Troughton, state administrator, to make any concessions to the aroused workers. Troughton has refused bluntly either to decrease the working hours or to increase wages of skilled labor to the union scale. Abrogating one of the Federal rules, the slicker and his assistants are also forcing the workers to make time lost during rainy weather or under circumstances beyond the control of the crews.

There is a deep-seated resentment both against the state WPA and relief administrations, each of which is passing the buck to the other in the matter of providing employment. "They are playing ball while we are starving," is an expression that I heard outside of a local relief office several days ago. The WPA has abandoned numerous projects because its administrators claimed that they could not get sufficient labor from the relief rolls. This gives the relief authorities option to drop these clients on the grounds that there are no WPA jobs for them. Meanwhile the case-workers refuse to certify for relief people in actual and dire need. Even the night guards are appropriated for the hungry are thus kept frozen in the treasury, while individual case workers are awarded silver loving cups for "cutting the loads."

Persecution of Mexican Workers
The Mexican workers, most poverty-stricken of the Texas working class, are the especial objects of a vicious attack. Local offices of the National Reemployment Service are refusing to register non-citizens as a preliminary to their obtaining relief, although this miserly assistance is supposedly available to every needy person. Mexicans who protest are threatened with deportation while agents of the set-up proceed to inflame the more backward American workers with the Fascist expression, "This is a white man's country." In many cases, Mexicans actually born in this country have been denied assistance because they could not produce birth certificates.

These are the factors existing in Texas during the most severe winter since the advent of the depression. Favorable factors exist for winning the impending strike. But there are other factors which the workers should understand and be ready to combat.

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Issue Call for Packing Meet

A call has been issued to all packing house organizations and unorganized packing house workers in the Mid-West to meet in conference at Mason City, Ia., Saturday and Sunday, January 11 and 12 starting at 6 P.M. on Saturday.

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Road Is Cleared for French Fascist Coup

People's Front Abandons Defense Corps

By H. F. ROBERTS

In Italy in 1921 Mussolini's Blackshirts organized and signed an agreement with the Italian Socialist Party for "mutual" disarmament. This pact, made under government auspices at a time when the country teetered on the brink of civil war, led to the disappearance of the workers' Red Militia. Their path thus smoothed, the Blackshirts two years later took power and smashed what was left of Italian workers' organizations.

In Germany in 1932 Heinrich Brüning's Bonapartist government decreed the "dissolution" of military-political formations. After this "victory" against the Fascists, the Rote Front, workers' combat organization, passed out of existence. And the Storm Troopers? Listen to Brüning, their leader:

"But only the uniforms and insignia had to disappear. After the dissolution, as before, the detachments of the Storm Troopers continued to train on the training grounds of the Reichswehr (German army) at Doberitz, as on other state training grounds. Only they were no longer called the Storm Troops but the League of Popular German Sport. (From Brüning's Memoirs.)"

A year later the armed Nazi representatives of the German bourgeoisie state trampled underfoot the disarmed and disoriented organizations of the German working class.

The Perilous Example Followed
In France last month the Socialist and Stalinist parties bound themselves to a similar agreement for "mutual" disarmament and dissolution. In a terrible scene of "reconciliation" in the Chamber of Deputies on Dec. 6 the Socialist and Stalinist bureaucrats joined the Fascists to set the seal on the betrayal of the French workers, a betrayal not reduced one whit by the smoke-screen of confusion, apology and explanation with which the events were overlaid in the days that followed. The result was perfectly clear.

The result gave the French bourgeoisie a new weapon in its systematic drive against the French workers, in preparation for new turns in the screws of exploitation under a deepening crisis, and in preparation for war.

After they had publicly disavowed any desire to organize the French workers to fight for revolutionary aims, after proclaiming their desire to avert civil war and achieve "a reconciliation francoise," the Socialist and Stalinist parties claimed a great "victory" for the People's Front. This "victory" must be examined with the utmost attention, for like all Stalinist-reformist "victories" it is in

reality a shattering disaster, precursor of worse betrayals to come.

The Fascist Danger Over?

To listen to the People's Frontists, the Fascist danger is practically over. "Under the action of the People's Front," declared Cachin, "French Fascism is going through a deep crisis and the Hour of Hitlerism (de la Rocque's zero hour) has been perforce postponed into the dim fogs of the future." (L'Humanite, Dec. 13.) How has this miracle been performed? By a proletarian offensive against capital? But no, the voluntary disarmament in advance of the French working class has been proudly proclaimed by Blum, Cachin, Thorez and Co. It has come about through the passage of three laws by the Chamber of Deputies—three laws which upon examination turn out to be sharp weapons not against the Fascists but against the workers. And these laws were pushed through the Chamber by the People's Front! How well the bourgeoisie knows how to use its lackeys!

On Dec. 3 the debate on the

Question for Stalinist Sages

In the latest issue of the Communist International (Nov. 5, 1935) Mamlinsky informs us on page 1381:

"Such a measure as the closing of the Suez Canal demanded by the Second and Amsterdam International follows the line of the interests of British imperialism, which is displaying a very suspicious love for the 'independence' of Ethiopia."

And on page 1515 of the same number we are told that: "The Communist peace policy" includes the "closing of the Suez Canal!"

Will the Daily Worker Question Box resolve the contradiction? Or are we to conclude that "the Communist peace policy" falls in line with British imperialism?

"Factions leagues" opened in the French Chamber after Laval had won two successive votes of confidence with the aid of a large section of the Radical (People's Front) votes influenced by Herriot, whose role in support of Laval was consistently covered over in the columns of L'Humanite.

(One of these votes of confidence was on the Laval-Herriot decree laws and deflation policy which was sustained by a Radical vote despite the devastating charge by Vincent Auriol, Socialist, that the Laval economic program "violated property rights"—see Populaire, Nov. 30.)

The keynote of the debate on the political leagues was set by Ramette, Stalinist deputy, and Guernut, a Radical, whose declarations are prominently featured in bold type by L'Humanite on Dec. 4.

Waving the French Flag
Ramette: "While the People's

Blum, Thorez In New Betrayal

Front is realizing the union of Frenchmen behind the Tricolor and the Red Flag, the government is compromising itself with those who divide (the people) and foment civil war."

Guernut: "These (Fascist) militias, prepared for civil war, are not for civilization but for barbarism. That is why we denounce them, condemn them and demand their dissolution."

And in L'Humanite Vaillant-Couturier wrote: "This is not a matter of politics nor of economic demands. It is a question of troops for civil war, armed, trained, organized in military style... wounding or killing Frenchmen. . . . Against them the country raises its demand for disarmament and dissolution. The Chamber must heed."

That day L'Humanite sedulously avoided reporting that Edouard Herriot was moving heaven and earth to have his supporters support Laval. Even Populaire did not hesitate to report—and bemoan—that fact!

La Rocque's Army

During the course of the speeches in the Chamber on the Croix de Feu, it was revealed that Col. de la Rocque's Fascist organization has grown to a force of 712,000 men, armed, trained, organized, equipped with guns, machine guns, armored cars and even planes. This organization—directly linked to the General Staff and the big French bourgeoisie—was to be dissolved at the request of the People's Front by Laval, puppet of the same General Staff and the same big bourgeoisie. What a frightful comedy! But the session of Dec. 6—when the Stalinists tried afterward to dub "comedy"—heavily underscored the threat that the future still holds.

Yvanovsky, a Croix de Feu deputy, rose and denounced his audience by introducing a law providing for the severe punishment of any private individual found in the possession of arms.

He denied that the Croix de Feu wanted civil war (!) and declared that his "friend and brother," de la Rocque, was interested only in "cleansing" the Republic and defending the regime.

"Can we not unite under the firm and salutary hand of the law?" asked the Fascist deputy. "Do you want to feel on your faces the hot breath of civil war?" He then declared that dissolution was an "ineffective and dangerous" solution but proposed disarmament by all political-military groupings.

Dismissing Scene of «Reconciliation»
Leon Blum rose to answer him—as he explained afterward in Populaire—spontaneously, out of a sheer surge of brotherly feeling. He

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Olson Calls out Militia In Strutwear Hosiery Strike in Minneapolis

Troops Summoned After Cops Prove Helpless In Protecting Scabs in Face of Courage And Militancy of Striking Workers

By CARL O'SHEA

MINNEAPOLIS, Dec. 29.—Following a hard-fought battle Thursday afternoon between pickets and scabs, at which half a dozen police were stoned and clubbed and several scabs injured, sixty National Guardsmen were called out by Governor Floyd B. Olson Friday noon to assist the local "law and order" agencies in preventing further "disorders" at the Strutwear plant. A strike of the American Federation of Hosiery Workers local has been in effect at the Strutwear Hosiery Company since August 15. The governor has announced that "until we have surveyed the situation and decided on a definite course, we will close the Strutwear plant."

Immediately after the sentencing of three pickets last Monday to four and six months in the workhouse, the Strutwear bosses, with the help of Mayor Latimer and the police, began their plan to gradually

open the plant. On Tuesday a crew of 20 trucks were sent in to clean the machinery. (The nature of the operations are such that a full crew cannot begin work immediately. It takes about 30 days to build up the operations to a point where the full working force can be used.)

The striking union countered by distributing 50,000 leaflets among the Minneapolis workers, appealing for help on the picket line.

Latimer Urges Bosses Break Agreements
Coal, Transfer Employers Reject Plan to End Contracts with 574

(From the Northwest Organizer)
MINNEAPOLIS, Jan. 1.—Tuesday morning headlines in the capitalist press in Minneapolis screamed that a committee of fifty business men had boarded Mayor Thomas Latimer in his office to demand protection from the "track-roving" and industrial peace destroying "tactics" of General Drivers Union, Local 574.

The papers went on to say that this committee of business men protested vigorously to the mayor about the activities of Local 574 and demanded of his honor that he give them protection.

These headlines, no doubt, made fine reading for those who desire the destruction of Local 574. They also, perhaps, created doubts in the minds of some of our staunchest supporters that everything was not as it should be. No doubt, the enemies of Local 574 were comforted by these bold headlines, thinking that at last our union was going to be dragged in the mud and the start of the breaking up process was in sight.

Those not familiar with the situation, however, overlooked one salient, incontestable fact. The whole story was a tissue of lies and falsehoods, fabricated out of whole cloth by the champion union busters of the United States, Meyer Lewis, John Geary, Pat Corcoran and Cliff Hull, sided and abetted, aided by that champion jelly-fish of politicians, Thomas E. Latimer. The only truth in the whole report is that there was a meeting that morning in the mayor's office, the above mentioned trade union leader

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2 Year Strike Is Called Off

PATERSON, N. J.—The strike of the Typographical employees of the two Paterson dailies, was called off yesterday, when the union admitted defeat and officially withdrew the pickets from the struck plants.

The strike, which was poorly conducted throughout, had lasted for close to two years, dragging on wearily and hopelessly, without militancy and without leadership. Instead of concentrating their forces on winning the strike, the union, under Stalinist influence, busied itself trying to compete with the publishers, and was finally successful in getting a few dollars together, mostly from labor sources, with the result that a new paper is now in existence in Paterson, the Paterson Press. In spite of its almost completely labor backing the new paper is not going to be a labor paper, but a "People's Paper," according to the new line.

It is important to note that the strike, broken from the start by the fact that other crafts were allowed to work while the types were set, failed to utilize the sympathy of other strikers when the dyes local was on strike, almost never attempted mass picketing, and kept itself in a sort of precarious existence on the strike benefit of the International and on voluntary contributions from a number of locals throughout the country.

On Tuesday all negotiations between the hosiery union and the Strutwear employers were abruptly broken off by the bosses, who have refused to make any concessions to the union. Public sentiment is turning more and more sharply against the Citizens Alliance-led employers, and their Tory position is leading to a mounting mass anger. Their practice of underpaying their workers, keeping them on "apprentice" wages for years, their use of spies, etc., is widely known throughout the industry and the city.

It need hardly be pointed out that the present situation at the plant is very unhealthy. All those familiar with the long 1934 General Drivers strike know that the militia make mighty poor pickets; that only the workers themselves can picket effectively. Also, it will be recalled that in a similar situation the governor proved that he was very sensitive to demands from the right, and would change overnight the relationship of forces. The hosiery workers must have faith only in themselves and the working class forces which they can rally to their support. To expect the militia to keep the plant closed until the bosses come to terms is to give way to a dangerous illusion. Despite the fact that an election is looming this coming year, and that therefore the public officials will conduct themselves in a careful manner, the Strutwear strikers must be eternally vigilant. Only union workers can run machinery! Only workers can picket effectively!

Peoples Front Abandons Defense Groups

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told the Chamber that the Socialists had a few self-defense groups, not adding that these groups were organized by Bolshevik-Leninists and other comrades of the left wing against the positive sabotage of the Stalinist and Socialist bureaucracies. Blum was making no sacrifice on his own when he offered these hard-fought groups up on the altar of national reconciliation. We quote from the account given in *Populaire* on Dec. 7:

"Blum: I repeat—there is no analogy between our self-defense groups and the semi-military leagues—which constitute a non-national army within the nation, but I say to M. Ybarnegaray: We are ready to destroy our formations, to dissolve them. Are you?" (Applause from extreme left, left, and many center benches).

"Voice from center: Do you also speak for the Communists?"

"Thorez: The Communist Party associates itself with the declaration made by M. Blum concerning the self-defense groups."

"Guernut (Radical): 'And we, who haven't any, we associate ourselves too.' (Laughter.)"

"Blum: This exchange can end with something very definite. You say, M. Ybarnegaray, 'We are ready to disarm.' To any extent that our comrades are armed, we accept that. To any extent that there exists among us formations of a semi-military character, we are ready to dissolve them. Are you?"

"Ybarnegaray: To the extent that our organization has a semi-military character, yes."

Up jumped Laval, congratulated the Chamber on this "triple declaration" and announced that he would draw the "necessary conclusions" therefrom.

That afternoon, Laval won a new vote of confidence, 351 to 219!

Blum announced: "I express a feeling of joy and pride at the thought that such a result which was one of the essential objectives of the People's Front should have been in part obtained."

Thorez, however, had some additional remarks to make. Let them be described by his own confere, Valliant-Couturier, who wrote (*L'Humanite*, Dec. 7) that he was "astonished to hear Leon Blum seriously put side by side the tiny self-defense groups of his party . . . with the forces of de la Roquette . . ."

"Taken by surprise in the suddenness of the debate, Maurice Thorez said in a word that he 'associated himself' with the declaration of Leon Blum. Immediately Laval and then his press, with the

help of enormous headlines, tried to make an argument against the alleged 'combat groups' of the Communists. And suddenly our party saw itself presented as having made a sacred union with the Croix de Feu."

How thoroughly illogical that anybody should describe a common accord among Fascists, Socialists and Communists as a "union sacrée"! The Stalinists were so dismayed that they headed their account of the day's proceedings: "Sacred Union with the Enemies of the People? Never!" And how could anybody charge the Stalinist party with having "combat groups"? Listen to Valliant:

"Thorez, during the course of the day . . . rose with vigor against this absurd legend. No, our party has never had any semi-military organization!"

In the Chamber Thorez declared: "I associated myself with the declaration of Leon Blum, but I repeat here that the laws for the dissolution of the semi-military organizations cannot apply to us because we have not and never have had armed groups."

Fire at the Bolsheviks

To level such a charge against the Stalinist party was foul provocation. When Ybarnegaray mounted the tribune to deny that the Croix de Feu sought civil war, he tried also to prove that the People's Front was threateningly militant. To find an expression of the revolutionary will of the workers he had to go to Revolution, organ of the Revolutionary Socialist Youth allied to the French Bolshevik-Leninists, organ of Fred Zeller, partisan of the Fourth International! And what did he quote? He quoted passages urging the formation of a workers' militia, urging the workers to train for mobilization against the Fascists, to arm themselves against the heavily-armed Fascists.

But, stoutly maintains *L'Humanite*, "this is a sheet edited by provocateurs whom we have long denounced. It is with such texts that Ybarnegaray tried to 'prove' that there are combat groups on the left!" Oh, no, nobody is going to pin such a malicious charge on the Stalinists!

Quoting Blum that the left has only had "small defense groups," *L'Humanite* nods fervently: "And this is true. There is no armed organization of the left, no groups organized for street fighting. No shock troops or semi-military leagues. Only the Fascist leagues are armed and militarized."

Ombudsman

What about these laws, then, that were rushed through the Chamber of Deputies on the night of Dec. 6 aimed at all and any political organizations which might take on the character of armed militia, which might cause armed demonstrations in the streets or which might "attempt by force to 'attack the republican form of government'?"

Were they aimed at the Fascists? They were passed by a majority of 408 to 179—hailed as a "powerful left majority" and a "victory for the People's Front"? If they were, why was a motion, introduced by a Stalinist deputy, asking the bill to specify the names of the organizations in view, voted down by 380 to 148? This fact is buried way down in the bottom of the story published in *L'Humanite* and is not mentioned at all in *Populaire*.

In other words, the Laval-de la Roquette maneuver resulted in the passage of a law which gives the Bonapartist regime still more leeway to keep the path to Fascism clear. How easy it will be for the Croix de Feu to get itself "authorized by the War Ministry to give military training," a condition which exempts it from the application of the law! And the Senate, passing the law this week, obliging by inserting the proviso that it shall not apply to "sport organizations"—shades of Bruening-Rohm!

Cabinet Empowered to "Dissolve" Such was the People's Front victory! But wait, there is more. The law as introduced by Laval originally wanted to give the right to dissolve such political leagues to the courts. On the insistence of the People's Front—this was hailed as an especial victory the next day—this power was taken from the courts and given to the Cabinet which was authorized to issue a simple decree to achieve its purpose.

Leon Blum, the defender of democratic rights, explained (*Populaire*, Dec. 9) that this was "the only rapid, efficient method." And Marcel Cachin, who has been working for months that the courts try de la Roquette (see *L'Humanite*, Nov. 18) explained it in more detail:

"The ministers proposed to give this job (of dissolution) to the correctional magistrates. . . . On that, comrades, we know where we stand. We know what the magistracy of the bourgeoisie is. Long experience shows us that it is always at the mercy of power, that it is terrible and pitiless against workers and all anti-Fascists, that it has infinite tolerance and kindness for the Fascists . . . and then, if the courts take it, there will be interminable delays. . . ."

The magistracy is all these things

and therefore cannot be trusted to dissolve the Fascist leagues. But, pray, is the government of Pierre Laval not also all and more of these things?

Cachin writes: "The majority of the Chamber wanted to give the Laval government efficacious weapons which it could use immediately against the armed leagues. . . . The Chamber wanted, and rightly, that Paganon (minister of interior) should immediately dissolve the leagues."

Not a magistrate but Laval-Paganon can do the job. Due process of law? Poof! What is this, oh ye defenders of democracy?

Fascists Free Their Hands

Having forced the hand of the People's Front and ousted it to expose its readiness to lay the fate of the French proletariat down on the altar of 'civil peace'—the Fascists next day conveniently went back on their 'promise' and de la Roquette announced resumption of 'full liberty of action.' This did not please Blum who announced (*Populaire*, Dec. 11): "The proposition I made in the name of my friends still holds."

On Dec. 11 the People's Front formally announced that it "had won its first victory."

"The chiefs of the Fascist leagues spoke of national reconciliation," reads the formal statement published both in *Populaire* and *L'Humanite*. "But when it came to acting, they refused to renounce their civil war organizations. The people's organization detests civil war. It seeks the dissolution and disarmament of semi-military organizations to bar the way to civil war. It is to spare the country from civil war that today, before the volte-face (!) of the Fascist leaders, it adjures the organizations and masses of the People's Front to see that the Chamber laws are applied in letter and spirit."

In other words, sacred union only awaits Fascist compliance.

The Stalinists naturally have had to fight back doubts and protests in their own ranks. "There was doubt for a moment in the minds of some, but it has now vanished," said Thorez at a meeting Dec. 12.

Bolshevik-Leninists Real Target

On Dec. 12 the Permanent Administrative Committee of the Socialist Party congratulated Blum and his fellow-deputies for the way in which they "applied all the decisions of the party in the ever-vigilant struggle against the Fascist peril and the civil war makers." A few days before the National Council had confirmed the expulsion from the party of the Bolshevik-Leninist leaders. The proximity of these two facts is more than eloquent. With the Stalinists it was even more striking.

On Dec. 12 under the heading in bold type: "For the Union of the People of France," *L'Humanite* reports the proceedings of the Political Bureau of the Stalinist party which congratulated Thorez on his conduct in the Chamber and once again "emphasized before all the workers the dastardly role of Trotskyism—advance guard of counter-revolution."

Why? Because the Bolshevik-Leninists alone call treason by its right name. Because the Bolshevik-Leninists call for a program of revolutionary action, for a workers' militia, for the overthrow of the Bonapartist regime, for the dissolution of the Fascists by workers' action, for the establishment of a Workers and Peasants Government, for the formation of a new revolutionary party in France which will have done with the betrayals of the old bureaucracies; in short, for the program of the Fourth International!

SCRATCH A SECTARIAN . . .

On another page of the NEW MILITANT comrade Trotsky shows the close proximity between centrism and sectarianism. We are in a position here to adduce additional proof for this contention in the form of the recent antics of the French Lhuillier group. The Lhuillier group split from the Bolshevik-Leninist Group of France when the latter entered the Socialist Party of France (S.F.I.O.). This group set up a big howl (i.e. big for its size) over the Laval-de la Roquette maneuver, claiming the Bolshevik-Leninists had "capitulated," "broken with Marxism," and "nauseated." This it did in spite of the laudable revolutionary work of the Bolshevik-Leninists who propagated openly and bravely all the principles held by them prior to the entry. Even the expulsion of the Bolshevik-Leninist youth and adult leaders by the social-patriotic reformist bureaucracy and the violent attacks on them by the Stalinists made no difference to this hopeless clique. They lived in a world unsullied by reality.

Now the news reaches us that the Lhuillier group has entered the S.F.I.O.! It forgot its "principles" almost as rapidly as the world forgot it. And moreover—in the S.P. they are already combining with centrism opponents of the Fourth International, voting for Pivert's resolution and against that of the Bolshevik-Leninists.

Like their fellow-sectarian, Bauer of Germany, who began with loud shrieks about "Trotsky's return to Menshevism" only to turn up as the most virulent opponent of the Fourth International in the reactionary S.A.P. sect, the Lhuillier group has completed the cycle—sectarianism to centrism. . . .

Latimer Urges Bosses Break Contracts

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ers were present and his honor, Tom Latimer, was there to meet the committee.

Now, let us stop for a moment, and reason things out. How did a committee of fifty business men gather themselves together, decide on a common program, and descend on the mayor's office at a certain stated time?

Well, first of all, committees do not gather themselves, they are always gathered by someone. In this case the gatherer was none other than the present mayor; he did not only gather the committee together but he sent them a special invitation to attend.

The most peculiar part about the whole affair is this, that the so-called "committee" did not know what they were there for until Tom told them what it was all about.

When they were assembled in the mayor's office at ten o'clock they sat around half an hour waiting for Latimer to arrive, discussing among themselves as to what the meeting was all about.

When his honor appeared half an hour late, he wasted no time with an apology over his late appearance but immediately launched into a bitter tirade against Local 574, its leaders and its policies. He advised, more than that, he demanded, that these employers, who comprised representatives from the coal and transfer industry, that they break all existing contracts that they might have with Local 574 and compel their employees to organize into the new A. F. of L. union that has been set up here.

He said that all the law enforcement agencies of the city, county and state would stand behind the employers in the event they decided to take this step. He told the employers they had nothing to fear from 574, that the police were prepared to deal roughly with its members or leaders who would object to this contract-breaking program. He asked the employers' transfer committee what they thought of this program.

Their spokesman replied briefly that they had a signed agreement with Local 574, that they had found this union honorable and honest in all its dealings. The spokesman said that there was now industrial peace in Minneapolis insofar as the driving crafts were concerned, that it seemed strange to him that Latimer who had pleaded for industrial peace, was now proposing a program that spelled industrial warfare.

The transfer employers stated that as far as their group was concerned they had entered into contractual relations with 574 honestly and intended to abide by the terms of that contract.

At this point, the transfer employers were excused. Then Latimer, with the help of Lewis and Hall, made the same proposal to the coal employers' committee. They also rejected this dishonest and vicious proposal on the same grounds as did the transfer group.

Convincing and double dealing are nothing new on the part of Lawls, Hall and Geary. It is to be expected from the characterless kind of people as we know them to be, but why Thomas E. Latimer, Farmer-Labor mayor of Minneapolis, has injected himself into this disgraceful situation, is something that every worker has a right to know.

Why has Tom Latimer, who has never been a member of the A. F. of L., suddenly decided to become the Messiah and Moses of the Teamsters International?

The only union Latimer ever belonged to was the Western Federation of Miners, an I.W.W. organization, renowned and cursed by the A. F. of L. bureaucracy for years.

The action of Latimer merely means that he is following the same line of conduct that has characterized his whole administration. He lends his willing ear to the conviver that happens to be nearest to him and goes in the direction that he is shoved the hardest.

Do Latimer, Lewis and Corcoran believe that contracts are made to be broken? For years we have listened to the A. F. of L. bureaucrats whine about the sacredness of contracts between unions and employers. Does this mean that they are no longer sacred?

The astounding part about the whole affair is that this disgraceful and crooked swindle on the part of these A. F. of L. representatives happens at a time when a "truth" has been officially declared by the Central Labor Union between Local 574 and the rest of the Minneapolis trade union movement.

Is this the sort of a truce that gangsters declare?

While we are blinding up the wounds of our enemy, do they think that we are going to allow ourselves to be stabbed in the back? Perhaps the contracts that are held by the Milk Wagon Drivers Union are not sacred either.

We shall see.

If this is a declaration of war on the part of the Teamsters International, we are prepared. But we will conduct our fight in the open without the aid of politicians and law enforcement agencies.

ILLINOIS, IOWA RELIEF

WORKERS PLAN WALKOUT

Walkouts of relief workers in Illinois and Iowa against the Roosevelt starvation wage scales of the W.P.A. seem destined to give federal officials a headache early in the new year.

In Iowa the walkout has been called for January 2 while an original December 16 zero hour in Illinois has been set back in order that the workers of both states may act in concert. Illinois WPA officials have already offered a 10 percent wage boost, bribe in an effort to kill the strike.

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Student Unity Conference Clashes on War Policy

(Continued from Page 1)

only points upon which we all agree" and therefore proposed that the Oxford Pledge should not be included in the program, that only compulsory R.O.T.C. should be condemned, that student demonstrations should be called after school hours "so as not to antagonize the authorities."

An R.O.T.C. officer from C.C.N.Y. stated that he was disappointed with the radical (!) tone of the convention. He protested that this was contrary to the impression that he was given of the purpose of the student organization.

That next year he would be a regular in the U.S. Army and would be loyal to the government. Therefore he would be compelled to withdraw if the proposed program were adopted. From this incident alone, one can get a good picture of the impression given the students as to the "broad" character the student union would take.

Spartacus delegates and several students in agreement with them attacked the pacifist and "above class" character of the program. Their substitute program was never presented to the delegates.

With minor amendments the draft program was adopted. Nominations were then made for the incoming national committee. Then the resolutions committee brought in a report on the war resolution.

The S.L.I.D. supplementary resolution was reported by the minority of the resolutions committee. An effective defense was made by Hal Draper of the Y.P.S.L. The majority of the committee contended that since the Oxford Pledge had already been adopted there was no sense in "speculating as to the possible wars which may arise." The majority of the committee had no substitute resolutions to introduce.

The S.L.I.D. resolution was then voted on section by section. Stalinist representatives stated that the resolution was extraneous! "Of course we are against so-called 'defensive wars'." "Nobody is for a war of the United States or 'democratic' nations against Fascist nations." However they would support these sections. The first two parts were therefore carried.

On the third section (no support of the U.S. if it were allied to "a progressive or non-imperialist power") was greeted by the Stalinists with the cry of "anti-Soviet slander." They repeated ad nauseam that since they supported the Oxford Pledge they had declared themselves against any war in which the U.S. government was involved. They could however make no direct attack on the section under dispute.

To reject it out of hand without a substitute might have endangered the fusion. The S.L.I.D. and the Yipsels had made this clear even before the convention in their press and at negotiations.

The Stalinists therefore introduced a substitute motion. It called for support of the Ethiopean and Chinese people and an attack on the Liberty League and Hearst. It concluded:

"At the same time we reject the use of such support of the people of Ethiopia and China as a pretext for war or steps leading to war on the part of the United States Government. This convention states further that whatever other form the alignment of international forces may take we will oppose the participation of our government in war, we will be against voting for war credits and of other military steps."

This motion undoubtedly is in contradiction to the policy of the Stalinists. However the vagueness of the language and the manner in which they opposed the S.L.I.D. resolution shows that they tried to avoid the issue lest it break up the fusion. In a sense the substitute was a partial victory for the anti-Stalinist forces.

The Yipsels tried at the last minute to make up for their previous conciliatory conduct. They attacked the Stalinist motion because it was abstract and equivocal. One speaker referred to Mike Gold's statement that young Socialists should join the U.S. army if the U.S. were allied with the Soviet Union in a war against Japan. The effect of this reference was negated by her further statement that Gold had retracted the first position; in reality his so-called retraction was worse than his original comment. The Stalinist reply was that Mike Gold is only a columnist and novelist.

The Spartacus delegation announced that it would support the S.L.I.D. resolution with a statement of its own including a Marxist analysis of the general causes of war, the specific war problems today and the solution to war. The statement was read to the convention. Immediately thereupon a leading Yipsel delegate asked that the statement be considered as a resolution and discussion be permitted on the question. However when this was attempted the chairman ruled it out of order. Earlier in the convention the Spartacus substitute motion on war to the program was tabled to the program committee so that it would be buried before any discussion could

take place on the convention floor. The Stalinist substitute motion was adopted by a vote of 193 to 155, with many of the young Socialists regretting that they had not put up a fight on the question of war under the discussion on program and had previously voted to table the Spartacus substitute resolution on war.

The S.L.I.D. steering committee met and considered how the adoption of the last motion affected the fusion. A spokesman reported that while they considered the adopted motion equivocal and unsatisfactory they would go through with the fusion and fight for a correct position along the line of their own resolution.

Al Hamilton then took the floor in the name of the Y. P. S. L. He repeated in sharper form the declaration of the S. L. I. D. He stated that his organization wanted the convention to adopt a clear position against war. (From the results it is obvious that they did not know when and how to fight for such a position). The Y. P. S. L. is for the defense of the Soviet Union but will not support the U.S. even if it were to be in alliance with the U. S. They would continue to fight for their position in the A. S. U. and fight for its adoption at the subsequent convention.

Adam Lapin replied in the name of the "Communists." He welcomed the statements of the S. L. I. D. and Y. P. S. L. and stated that unity was possible despite differences. He did not comment on the point in dispute, glossing over the basic differences between the two organizations.

Bernard Forrest then asked for the floor in the name of the Spartacus Youth League. He declared that the last minute dispute on the question of war was a complete vindication of the course of the Spartacus delegates and those working with them in fighting for a revolutionary position on war to be included in the program of the organization. He further stated that the delegates would conduct themselves loyally within the A. S. U. while continuing to fight for their position. Nineteen delegates signed the program of the Spartacus Youth League. This included students from Chicago, Illinois university, Akron University, New York University, C.C.N.Y., Hunter College, Radcliff, Connecticut, Wesleyan, Michigan Univ. and other universities and high schools.

The Congress decided that any student could belong to the A.S.U. who agreed with the program "in part or whole." A national committee of thirty was elected. The leading officers are members of the Yipsels.

The special convention issue of Young Spartacus was well received by a good section of the delegates.

The dispute on the question of war was the prelude to the conflict that will take place within the organization and shatter all spurious unity.

Texas WPA Strike Nears

(Continued from Page 1)

the unskilled. In fact, their only concern is simply for those trained workmen who have been able to continue the heavy dues and assessments of the craft unions. The restlessness of the Texas workers forces the union politicians to take some action, but these leaders are known for their ability to translate phrases into sell-outs. An element playing directly into their hands is the feeling of the unskilled that they need not organize; that the A. F. of L. will present them with a successful strike purely out of human kindness.

Lack of Coordination

Another unfavorable circumstance is the lack of coordination existing between the different unemployed organizations of the state. Last year, representatives of every unemployed and several sympathetic groups drew up a common platform and program of action. This united front eventually passed into the hands of the Communist Party which let it crumble, since "the Farmer-Labor Party" was becoming the line for the moment. Now the C.P. is instructing its unemployed contacts to purchase A. F. of L. charters, and to work directly under the supervision of the state federation officials.

An immediate task for the unemployed of Texas is the setting up of a state committee which will serve as a central strike apparatus. Only thus will the A. F. of L. leaders be forced to keep their promise of cooperation with local groups of project workers. The coming struggle will be the most important and probably the most bitter class conflict in the history of the state. The workers must be fully prepared to deal with the mobs of national guardsmen and police that will be unleashed against them.

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Sectarianism, Centrism, and the Fourth International

By LEON TROTSKY

It would be absurd to deny the presence of sectarian tendencies in our midst. They have been laid bare by an entire series of discussions and splits. Indeed, how could an element of sectarianism have failed to manifest itself in an ideological movement which stands irreconcilably opposed to all the dominant organizations in the working class, and which is subjected to monstrous, absolutely unprecedented persecutions all over the world? Reformists and centrists readily seize upon every occasion to point a finger at our "sectarianism"; and most of the time, they have in mind not our weak but our strong side: our serious attitude toward theory; our effort to plumb every political situation to the bottom; and to advance clear-cut slogans; our hostility to "easy" and "comfortable" decisions which deliver from cares today, but prepare a catastrophe on the morrow. Coming from opportunists, the accusation of sectarianism is most often a compliment.

Marxian Distinctions

Curiously enough, however, we are often accused of sectarianism not only by reformists and centrists but by opponents from the "left," the notorious sectarians, who might well be placed as exhibits in any museum. The basis for their dissatisfaction with us lies in our irreconcilability to ourselves, in our striving to purge ourselves of the infantile sectarian diseases, and to rise to a higher level.

To a superficial mind it may seem that such words as sectarian, centrists, etc., are merely polemical expressions exchanged by opponents for lack of other and more appropriate epithets. Yet the concept of **sectarianism** as well as the concept of **centrism** has a precise meaning in a Marxist dictionary. Marxism has built a scientific program upon the laws that govern the movement of capitalist society, and which were discovered by it. This is a colossal conquest! However, it is not enough to create a correct program. It is necessary that the working class accept it. But the sectarian, in the nature of things, comes to a stop upon the first half of the task. Active intervention into the actual struggle of the workers' masses is supplanted for him by an abstract propagandism of a Marxist program.

The Sectarian View of Society

Every working class party, every faction passes during its initial stages through a period of pure propaganda, i.e., the training of its cadres. The period of existence as a Marxist circle infracts invariably habits of an abstract approach to the problems of the workers' movement. He who is unable to step in time over the confines of this circumscribed existence becomes transformed into a conservative sectarian. The sectarian looks upon the life of society as a great school, with himself as a teacher there. In his opinion the working class should put aside its less important matters, and assemble in solid rank around his rostrum; then the task would be solved.

Though he swears by Marxism in every sentence, the sectarian is the direct negation of dialectic materialism which takes experience as its point of departure, and always returns to it. A sectarian does not understand the dialectic action and reaction between a finished program and a living, that is to say, imperfect and unfinished mass struggle. The sectarian's method of thinking is that of rationalist, a formalist, and an enlightener. During a certain stage of development rationalism is progressive, being directed critically against blind beliefs and superstitions (the Eighteenth century!). The progressive stage of rationalism is repeated in every great emancipatory movement. But rationalism (abstract propagandism) becomes a reactionary factor the moment it is directed against the dialectic. Sectarianism is hostile to dialectics (not in words but in action) in the sense that it turns its back upon the actual development of the working class.

Ready-Made Formulas

The sectarian lives in a sphere of ready-made formulas. As a rule life passes him by without noticing him; but now and then he receives in passing such a fling as makes him turn 180 degrees around his axis, and often makes him continue on his straight path, only . . . in the opposite direction. Discord with reality engenders in the sectarian the need to constantly render his formulas more precise. This goes under the name of discussion. To a Marxist discussion is a goal in itself. However, the more that he discusses all the more do the actual tasks escape him. He is like a man who satisfies his thirst with salt water; the more he drinks, the thirstier he becomes. Hence the constant irritability of the sectarian. Who slipped him the salt? Assuredly, the "capitalists" from the international Secretariat. The sectarian sees an enemy

Leon Trotsky Analyzes the Role of these Tendencies In the Revolutionary Movement

in everyone who attempts to explain to him that an active participation in the workers' movement demands a constant study of objective conditions, and not haughty bulldozing from the sectarian rostrum. For analysis of reality the sectarian substitutes intrigue, gossip, and hysteria.

Twins and Antipodes

Centrism is in a certain sense the polar opposite of sectarianism; it abhors precise formulas, seeks routes to reality outside of theory. But, despite Stalin's famous formula, "antipodes" often turn out to be . . . "twins." A formula detached from life is hollow. Living reality cannot be grasped without theory. Thus, both of them, the sectarian and the centrist, depart in the end with empty hands and join together . . . in their feeling of animosity toward the genuine Marxist.

How many times have we met a smug centrist who reckons himself a "realist" merely because he sets out to swim without any ideological baggage whatever and is tossed by every vagrant current. He is unable to understand that principles are not dead ballast but a life line for a revolutionary swimmer. The sectarian, on the other hand, generally does not want to go swimming at all, in order not to wet his principles. He sits on the shores and reads lectures on morality to the flood of the class struggle. But sometimes a desperate sectarian leaps headlong into the water, seizes hold of the centrist and helps him drown. So was it; so will it be.

In our epoch of disintegration and dispersion there are to be found a good many circles in various countries who have acquired a Marxist program, most often by borrowing it from the Bolsheviks, and who then turned their ideological baggage into a greater or lesser degree of ossification.

Let us take for example the best specimen of this type, namely the Belgian group led by comrade Vereecken. On August 10 the Spartakus, the organ of this group, announced its adherence to the Fourth International. This announcement was to be welcomed. But at the same time it is necessary to state beforehand that the Fourth International would be doomed if it made concessions to sectarian tendencies.

Vereecken's Predictions

Vereecken was in his own time an irreconcilable opponent of the entry of the French Communist League into the Socialist Party. There is no crime in this: the question was a new one, the step a risky one, differences were entirely permissible. In a certain sense, equally permissible, or, at any rate, unavoidable were exaggerations in the ideological struggle. Thus, Vereecken predicted the inevitable ruin of the international organization of the Bolshevik-Leninists as a result of its "dissolution" in the Second International. We would advise Vereecken to reprint today in the Spartakus his yesterday's prophetic documents. But this is not the chief evil. Worse yet is the fact that in its present declaration Spartakus confines itself to eavesdropping on what the French section remained true to its principles "in a considerable, we may even say, a large measure." If Vereecken behaved as a Marxist politician should, he would have stated clearly and definitely where in did our French section depart from its principles, and he would have given a direct and an open answer to the question of who proved to be right: the advocates or the opponents of entry?

Democratic Centralism

Vereecken is even more incorrect in his attitude toward our Belgian section that entered into the reformist Labor Party. Instead of studying the experiences resulting from the work carried on under new conditions and criticizing the actual steps taken, if they merit criticism, Vereecken keeps on complaining about the conditions of the discussion in which he suffered defeat. The discussion, you see, was incomplete, inadequate, and disloyal: Vereecken failed to satisfy his thirst with salt water. There is no "real" democratic centralism in the League! In relation to the opponents of the entry the League evinced . . . "sectarianism." It is clear that comrade Vereecken has a liberal and not a Marxist conception of sectarianism: in this he obviously draws close to the centrists. It is not true that the discussion was inadequate; it was carried on for several months, orally and in the press, and on an international scale, besides. After Vereecken had failed to convince others that marking time in one place is the best revolutionary policy, he refused to abide by the decisions of the national and international organizations. The representatives of the majority told

Vereecken on more than one occasion that if experience proved that the step taken was incorrect, we would rectify the mistake jointly. Is it really possible that after the twelve years' struggle of the Bolshevik-Leninists you lack sufficient confidence in your own organization to preserve discipline of action even in case of tactical disagreements? Vereecken paid no heed to comradely and conciliating arguments. After the entry of the majority of the Belgian section into the Labor Party, the Vereecken group naturally found itself outside our ranks. The blame for this falls entirely upon its own shoulders.

Adaptation to "Legality"

If we return to the gist of the question, then comrade Vereecken's sectarianism stands out in all its dogmatic unconcern. What's this! cried Vereecken in indignation, Lenin spoke of breaking with reformists but the Belgian Bolshevik-Leninists enter a reformist party! But Lenin had in mind a break with the reformists as the inevitable consequence of a struggle against them, and not an act of salvation regardless of time and place. He required a split with the social-patriots not in order to save his own soul but in order to tear the masses away from social-patriotism. In Belgium the trade unions are fused with the party, the Belgian party is essentially the organized working class. To be sure, the entry of revolutionists into the Belgian Labor Party not only opened up possibilities but also imposed restrictions. In propagandizing Marxist ideas it is necessary to take into account not only the legalities of the bourgeois state but also the legalities of a reformist party (both these legalities, it may be added, coincide in a large measure). Generally speaking, adaptation to an alien "legality" riddles with it an indubitable danger. But this did not prevent

the Bolsheviks from utilizing even Czarist legality: for many years the Bolsheviks were compelled to call themselves at trade union meetings, and in the legal press not social-democrats, but "consistent democrats." True, this did not pass scot-free; a considerable number of elements adhered to Bolshevism who were more or less consistent democrats, but not at all international socialists; however, by supplementing legal with illegal activity, Bolshevism overcame the difficulties. Of course, the "legality" of Vandervelde, De Man, Spaak and other funkies of the Belgian plutocracy imposes very onerous restrictions upon the Marxists, and thus engenders dangers. But Marxists, who are not as yet sufficiently strong to create their own party, have their own methods for the struggle against the dangers of reformist captivity: a clear-cut program, constant factional lies, international criticism, etc. The activity of a revolutionary wing in a reformist party can be judged correctly only by evaluating the dynamics of development. Vereecken does not do this either in regard to the faction Action Socialiste Revolutionnaire (Left wing in Belgian Labor Party—Ed.), or the Verite group. Had he done so, he would have been compelled to admit that the A.S.R. has made a serious development forward in the recent period. What the final balance be it is impossible to forecast as yet. But the entry into the Belgian Labor Party is already justified by experience.

Discussion as a Dogma

Extending and generalizing his mistake, Vereecken asserts that the existence of isolated small groups which split away at different stages from our international organization is proof of our sectarian methods. Thus, the actual relationships are stood on their head. As a matter of fact, into the ranks

MARCH OF EVENTS

By JACK WERER

UNDECLARED WAR IN EAST

The guerrilla warfare across the borders of Outer Mongolia between Japanese invaders and the Soviet Mongolians is the prelude of imperialist aggression against the Soviet Union. It is the beginning of an undeclared war. The Japanese are pressing on without let-up to the Siberian border. Inner Mongolia has already fallen prey to the insatiable appetite of the Eastern imperialists. The diplomatic term "incident" is not applicable to a situation in which scores of lorries filled with armed troops stage incursions reaching forty miles into "enemy" territory. This is what the Japanese army is doing—in preparation for the real drive, the great push that will commence the Second World War. Now as never before the workers of all lands must be made to realize that all their hopes for a better world, nay, that the preservation of civilization itself, depend on their successful defense of the Soviet Union against the murderous onslaught of world capitalism. The struggle of the workers for liberation from wage slavery is indissolubly bound up with the fate of the Russian Workers' Republic. The fight to save the Soviet Union must be waged everywhere, on all fronts, against the system of capitalist exploitation. The enemies of the Soviet Union are the capitalists of all lands. The fight must be waged against them. Only by the revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of capitalism can the safety of the Soviets be assured. The nearer war approaches the greater becomes the urgency for organizing the forces of the proletariat against imperialist war. These forces, at present dispersed and leaderless, can be rallied for new victories only under the banner of the Fourth International.

EDEN MADE SECRETARY
Eden replaces Hoare as Secretary for Foreign Affairs—and nothing changes. Those who talk of the conservative ministry of Baldwin embarking on some new course are merely carrying out their function of deluding the masses. Baldwin's cabinet, including Eden, have only one task under many forms, the defense of British imperialism. In the carrying out of this task Eden will use cleverly the worked-up sentiment for sanctions and the League of Nations. Already England is engaged in manipulating those pawns of the powers on the chessboard of politics, the Balkan states. These states form at the same time the key to the door of communications with the East and with Africa, and also the means of entry to the backdoors of the European states that may be occupied in warfare on the Western front. Eden's first job is to consolidate it

military bloc with Turkey, Greece, Rumania and Yugoslavia under the guise of "exploring" the bases of sanctions. Turkey will probably be allowed to rearm the Dardanelles. Thus with the help of the British Labor Party, which approves of sanctions, British imperialism is making complete war preparations. Sanctions and the League of Nations thus serve as a perfect cover, a protective coloration of war. Instead of denouncing the fraud being perpetrated on the masses, the leaders of the Labor Party again show their function of advocating the views of the bourgeoisie in the ranks of the working class and betraying the workers to the ruling class by supporting sanctions. In this period social-patriotism and sanctions become absolutely synonymous.

LAVAL SHAKY

The Laval government, one that straddles the two major classes in modern society in the attempt to mediate between the two irreconcilables, the capitalists and the workers, has become extremely shaky. Its fall is predicted in a short time. The laws for the disarming of "armed leagues" have been made meaningless by the Senate, if one assumes that they could have had any real meaning even if passed in their original form. The Senate refuses to leave the matter of prosecution and punishment to the ordinary courts. It places the entire matter in the hands of the president and the cabinet. The armed bands are—if you please—to be disbanded and dissolved by decree, with no force to actually carry out the decrees. The farcical nature of the procedure in which the Socialists and Stalinists were led to participate by their eagerness for class-collaboration, stands nakedly revealed in this Senate proposal. Of course, nobody possessing an iota of political sanity could possibly have been led to believe that Lebrun or Laval would take any steps to disarm the forces held in reserve by their masters in case the workers become unmanageable. Far from attempting to disarm the Fascist bands, Laval will turn the attack on the workers and will do everything possible to aid his friend Colonel de la Rocque. Even if there were not direct evidence of the constant senecades between Laval and de la Rocque, this course could be infallibly inferred by the most superficial study of the relations between the Bonapartist governments and the Fascist bands in every country where Fascism has come to power. Without government aid, hidden at first, more or less open later, these bands could never have grown and become powerful.

of the Bolshevik-Leninists there came during the initial stages a considerable number of anarchistic and individualistic elements generally incapable of organizational discipline, and occasionally a mere failure who did not make his career in the Comintern. These elements viewed the struggle against "bourgeoisism" in approximately the following manner: no decisions must ever be arrived at, but, instead, "discussion" is to be installed as a permanent occupation. We can say with complete justification that the Bolshevik-Leninists manifested a good deal, perhaps even a good deal too much patience toward such types of individuals and grouplets. Only since an international core has been consolidated that began to assist the national sections in purging their ranks of internal sabotage did there begin an actual and systematic growth of our international organization.

Let us take a few examples of groups that split from our international organization at various stages of its development.

A Strange Example

The French periodical *Que Faire* is an instructive specimen of a combination of sectarianism with eclecticism. On the most important questions this periodical expounds the views of Bolshevik-Leninists, changing a few commas, and directing severe critical remarks at us. At the same time this periodical permits with impunity a defense of social-patriotic garbage, under the guise of discussion, and under the cover of "defending the U.S.S.R." The internationalists of *Que Faire* are themselves unable to explain how and why they happen to cohabit peacefully with social-patriots, after breaking with the Bolsheviks. It is clear, however, that with such eclecticism *Que Faire* is least capable of replying to the question what to do (*que faire*). The "internationalists" and the social-patriots are agreed on only one thing: never the Fourth International! Why? One must not "break away" from the communist workers. We have heard the self-same argument from the S.A.P.: we must not break away from the social-democratic workers. In this instance, too, antipodes turn out to be twins. The peculiar thing, however, is that *Que Faire* is not connected and, by its very nature, cannot be connected with any workers.

There is even less to be said about such groups as *International, or Proletaire*. They also abstract their views from the latest issues of *La Verite*, with an admixture of critical improvisations. They have no perspectives at all of revolutionary growth; but they manage to get along without perspectives. Instead of trying to learn within the framework of a more serious organization (to learn is difficult) these abhorers of discipline and very pretentious "leaders" desire to teach the working class (this appears to them to be easier). In moments of sober reflection they must themselves realize that their very existence as "independent" organizations is a sheer misunderstanding.

Field and Welsford

In the United States we might mention the Field and Welsford groups. Field—in his entire political make-up—is a bourgeois radical who has acquired the economic views of Marxism. To have become a revolutionist Field would have had to work for a number of years as a disciplined soldier in a revolutionary proletarian organization; but he began by deciding to create a workers' movement "of his own." Assuming a position to his "left" (where else?), Field shortly entered into fraternal relations with the S.A.P. As we see, the anecdotal incident that befell Bauer was not at all accidental. The urge to stand to the left of Marxism leads fatally into the Centrist swamp.

Welsford is indubitably closer to a revolutionary type than Field. But at the same time he represents the purest example of a sectarian. He is utterly incapable of preserving proportions either in ideas or in actions. Every principle he turns into a sectarian caricature. That is why even correct ideas become in his hands instruments for disorganizing his own ranks.

There is no need to dwell upon similar groups in other countries. They split from us not because we are intolerant or intolerable but and could not go forward. Since the time of the split they have succeeded only in exposing their incapacity. Their attempts to unite with each other, on a national or an international scale, produced no results in any single case: peculiar to sectarianism is only the power of repulsion and not the power of attraction.

Some crank has computed the number of "splits" we have had and

arrived at the sum of about a score. He saw in this annihilating evidence of our bad regime. The peculiar thing is that in the S.A.P. itself, which has triumphantly published these computations, there occurred, during the few years of its existence, more rifts and splits than in all our sections taken together. Taken by itself, however, this fact is meaningless. It is necessary to take not the bald statistics of splits but the dialectics of development. After all its splits, the S.A.P. remained an extremely heterogeneous organization which will be unable to withstand the first onset of great events. This applies even to a larger measure to the "London Bureau of Revolutionary Socialist Unity" which is being torn asunder by irreconcilable contradictions: its tomorrow will consist not of "unity" but only of splits. In the meantime, the organization of the Bolshevik-Leninists, after purging itself of sectarian and centrist tendencies, not only grew numerically, not only strengthened its international ties, but also found the road to fusion with organizations akin to it in spirit (Holland, United States). The attempt to blow up the Dutch party (from the right, through Molinar!) and the American party (from the left, through Bauer!) have only led to the internal consolidation of both these parties. We can predict with assurance that parallel to the disintegration of the London Bureau there will proceed an ever more rapid growth of the organizations of the Fourth International.

The Road to the New International

How the New International will take form, through what stages it will pass, what final shape it will assume—this no one can foretell today; and, indeed, there is no need to do so: historical events will show. But it is necessary to begin by proclaiming a program that meets the tasks of our epoch. On the basis of this program it is necessary to mobilize the co-thinkers, the pioneers of the New International. No other road is possible.

The Communist Manifesto of Marx and Engels, directly aimed against all types of utopian-sectarian socialism, forcefully points out that communists do not oppose themselves to the actual workers' movements but participate in them as a vanguard. At the same time the Manifesto was the program of a new party, national and international. The sectarian is content with a program, as a recipe of salvation. The centrist guides himself by the famous (essentially meaningless) formula of Edward Bernstein, "the movement is everything, the final goal—nothing." The Marxist draws his scientific program from the movement taken as a whole, in order then to apply this program to every concrete stage of the movement.

The Initial Difficulties

On the one side, the initial steps of the New International are rendered more difficult by the old organizations and splinters from them; on the other side they are facilitated by the colossal experience of the past. The process of crystallization which is very difficult and full of torments during the first stages will assume in the future an impetuous and rapid character. The recent international events are of incommensurate significance for the formation of the revolutionary vanguard. In his own fashion, Mussolini—and this should be recognized—has "aided" the cause of the Fourth International. Great conflicts sweep away all that is half-way and artificial and, on the other hand, gives strength to all that is viable. War leaves room only for two tendencies in the ranks of the working class movement: social-patriotism which does not stop at any betrayal, and revolutionary internationalism that is bold and capable of going to the end. It is precisely for this reason that centrists, fearful of impending events, are waging a rabid struggle against the Fourth International. They are correct in their own fashion: in the rear of great convulsions only that organization will be able to survive and develop which has not only cleansed its ranks of sectarianism but which has systematically trained them in the spirit of despising all ideological vacillation and cowardice. October 22, 1935.

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JOIN THE WORKERS PARTY

Question Box

By A. WEAVER

N. D., NEW YORK.
Question: What is meant by the "Permanent Revolution"?
Answer: The theory of the "Permanent Revolution," the essential features of which were formulated by Trotsky about 1905, has three aspects:

The first aspect concerns itself with the problem of the revolution in backward or colonial countries in which the bourgeois-democratic tasks have not yet been solved. The essence of the theory in this regard is that capitalism has decayed too far for the bourgeoisie to play a progressive role; that the only class which can solve these democratic tasks is the proletariat; that the solution of these tasks necessarily leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat; and that once embarked on this path, the proletariat cannot stop but must take the road to the solution of socialist tasks. Between the democratic revolution and the solution of the socialist tasks, there thus arises a **permanency** of revolutionary development. This aspect of the theory was historically confirmed, in a positive sense, in the Russian Revolution of 1917. Led by the Bolshevik party of Lenin and Trotsky, the proletariat, in the solution of the democratic tasks, had to take the power into its own hands, and subsequently embark on the road of a solution of socialist tasks. The Chinese revolution of 1927 confirmed the theory in a negative sense. Under the leadership of Stalin, the solution of the democratic tasks was placed in the hands of the Chinese bourgeoisie by requiring the Chinese Communist party to subordinate itself to the bourgeois Kuo Min Tang. The results are familiar to all.

The second aspect of the theory points to the permanent character of the socialist revolution as such. All social relationships are transformed in constant internal struggle for an indefinitely long time; there occur outbreaks of civil wars, revolutions in science, technique, economy, the family, etc. This complicated reciprocal action which does not allow society to reach equilibrium, accounts for the permanent character of the Socialist Revolution.

The third aspect of the theory points to the international character of the socialist revolution which begins in one country, but cannot end on national grounds; a national revolution being not a self-sufficient whole but a link in the international chain.

For more elaborate treatment of the question, see Trotsky's "The Permanent Revolution" which is available at Pioneer Publishers.

Question: Certain Lovestones claim that by the theory of the "Permanent Revolution" Trotsky underestimated the peasantry and that this was stated by Lenin. Is this true?

Answer: On the differences which existed between Lenin and Trotsky, neither of the two men were correct, on all the points. The peculiar part of the matter, however, is that the critics of Trotsky, who attempt to find a basis for criticism in past differences, long since resolved by history, are unfortunate enough to choose those questions on which Trotsky was correct. The "Permanent Revolution" is one of these.

When Joffe, a leader of the Russian Left Opposition, committed suicide in 1927, he left a note in which he stated that Lenin, in a conversation, had admitted to him that Trotsky had been correct on the question of the "Permanent Revolution." For the benefit of those who doubt the accuracy of Joffe's death-bed statement, or who doubt that Lenin could have admitted Trotsky to have been correct, we quote the following from an article by Lenin, published November 20, 1918, in the "Social-Demokrat":

"To make clear the interrelation of classes in the coming revolution is the main task of a revolutionary party. . . . This task is incorrectly solved in the NASHI SLOVO by Trotsky, who repeats his 'original' 1905 theory without stopping to think why life, during a whole decade, has passed by this beautiful theory."

"Trotsky's original theory takes from the Bolsheviks their appeal to decisive revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and to the conquest of political power by it; from the Mensheviks it takes the 'negation' of the role of the peasantry. The peasantry, it says, has become differentiated, divided into strata: its possible revolutionary role has dwindled more and more; a 'national' revolution is impossible in Russia; 'we live in the era of imperialism,' says Trotsky, and 'imperialism does not oppose the bourgeois nation to the old regime; on the contrary, it opposes the proletariat to the bourgeois nation.'"

"Here we have an amusing example of playing with the little word 'imperialism.' If, IN RUSSIA the proletariat is already opposed to the 'bourgeois nation, then it means that Russia is facing a SO-

(Continued on Page 4)

Betrayal in the Present War Crisis

By JOHN WEST

(This is a chapter from the pamphlet "War and the Workers" by John West.)

In the face of the developing war crisis, the forces for the betrayal of the workers in the struggle against war are maturing rapidly. From all sides, in all countries, the liberals, the pacifists, the reformists, the social patriots, under the cover of what look like anti-war and pro-peace campaigns, are in actuality preparing for sell out to the war-makers, are making ready to turn over the masses to the imperialists.

Again, as before the last war, we find the old ways and methods and slogans of betrayal. But the old methods are not enough. New appearances must be added: the masses cannot be deceived again in precisely the old ways. It therefore becomes of crucial importance to analyze the new and special forms of betrayal which are appearing in the present crisis.

1. «Good» and «Bad» Capitalist Powers

The most fatally dangerous doctrine, a doctrine which has been systematically propagated during recent years by liberals and by both the Socialist and Communist parties throughout the world, is the theory that a basic distinction must be drawn between the comparatively «good» capitalist nations, the «peace-loving» nations—Great Britain, France, and the United States, on the one hand; and, on the other, the altogether «wicked» capitalist nations—Italy and especially Germany.

This theory reasons as follows: Fascism, especially Hitlerism, means war. Therefore, the fight against war is the fight against Fascism, and especially against Hitlerism, the worst form of Fascism. The success of Fascism means the destruction of all democratic rights. The destruction of democratic rights means the crushing of the organizations of the working class, and thus defeat for the revolutionary movement. But Fascism, especially Hitlerism, can succeed only by war, and, since Fascism means war, will inevitably undertake war.

What then follows? What follows is the betrayal of the working class of France, England and the United States. For, on the basis of the above chain of reasoning, to support the democratic nations in a war against Hitler is to defend democratic rights against Fascism; and thereby the revolution. The wheel completes its circle. Defense of the national state—that is, defense of the imperialist bourgeoisie of England, France and the United States—becomes, through this theory, a revolutionary duty!

The mortal fallacy in this position is easy enough to understand when once examined from the point of view of Marxism. The statement, "Fascism means war" is incomplete. It is not Fascism that means war. Rather is it the continued existence of capitalism that

means both Fascism and war. Fascism means war only in the sense that it marks outwardly a great intensification of the inner conflicts of capitalism, and is thus an indication of the more rapid drive of the whole capitalist system toward the highest expression of these conflicts—imperialist war. But in the linked chain of causes that make war an inevitable concomitant of the continued existence of capitalism, the democratic nations have as integral a part as the Fascist nations. From the point of view of the working class, there can be no «good», no «peace-loving» capitalist states. Every capitalist state, democratic as well as Fascist, represents one or another form of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie over the working class, and is thus the implacable enemy of the working class. To defend the democratic rights of the working class is one thing. But this has nothing in common with the defense of the «democratic» capitalist state. The former is a primary duty of every working class party; the latter is the occupation of traitors. The latter will be put forward as the only way to protect the working class against war and Fascism; in practice, it will give the working class both war and Fascism, for the bourgeoisie of the democratic countries will not overcome the necessity for a resort to Fascism during the decline of capitalism merely by success in the next war. Indeed, the outbreak of war will in all probability be the signal for setting up Fascist governments in the «democratic» countries.

The business of the working class within any country is never under any circumstances to defend «the government»—that is, the political executive of the class enemy—but always to fight for its overthrow. To Fascism as to war there is only one answer: the workers' revolution.

2. Defense of the Soviet Union

A closely similar preparation for betrayal has gone on under cover of the slogan, «Defend the Soviet Union!»

As has already been indicated, the defense of the Soviet Union is one of the primary tasks of the working class in the coming war. But, to a Marxist, what does defense of the Soviet Union mean? The essence can be summed up quickly. It means: «Extend the October revolution.» It means to strengthen the economic and political organizations of the world proletariat, to carry the class struggle on a world basis to ever higher levels, to drive toward workers' power. It means to put all faith in the working class. It means to

achieve victory in the capitalist nations. And it means these things quite openly and realistically. For these are the only possible defense of the Soviet Union.

To Stalinism, however, and to the cynical Austro-Marxists, defense of the Soviet Union means: support the program of national Bolshevism; no word of criticism of Stalin and his bureaucratic associates; put all faith in diplomatic deals with bourgeois powers, in military alliances with France and Czechoslovakia, in maneuvering in the League of Nations; reduce the working class parties to branches of the foreign office of the Soviet state. And it means: do not carry on genuinely revolution-

ary activities within your own country, because this would upset «peace»; permit the working class of Germany and Austria to be crushed under Fascism rather than risk one ounce of cement at Dneprostroy or one tractor at Stalin-grad. And, lastly, it means: support the war policy of your democratic government, and offer the working class to the coming imperialist war in all nations where the bourgeoisie finds its imperialist aims best served by a temporary alliance with the Soviet bureaucracy.

Naturally, Marxists do not maintain that the Soviet Union should not, whenever possible, utilize the antagonisms and contradictions among the imperialist powers to its own advantage. But this tactic of Lenin. But this tactic can only be understood as subordinate to the strategy of the world revolution, and this strategy can have itself only on the international working class. Stalin's «maneuverings» with imperialist powers are the direct contrary of Lenin's. For Stalin «maneuvers» in such a way as to subordinate the working class to the capitalist powers, not to advance its interests. The Franco-Soviet pact is the most striking example of such subordination—whereby the French working class is turned over hand and foot to the French bourgeoisie, so long as the pact formally endures—but this is only one aspect of the consistent and continuous policy of Stalinism. Lenin, to prevent the capitalist powers from attacking the Soviet Union, placed his full reliance on the only possible force which could in actuality defend the Soviet Union: on the working class of the various capitalist powers. If the working class and its party were sufficiently strengthened in a given country, Lenin reasoned, the government of that country would not dare to attack the Soviet Union, since it would realize that such an

attack would only pave the way for its own overthrow. Stalin, with his eyes focussed on national Russian socialism, asks only for «peace» elsewhere, to let him build at home. He places his reliance, thus, not on the international working class, but on the «friendly» capitalist governments, on any agreements or treaties or pacts he can come to with them. But to secure such friendship, he must direct the Communist parties in the various nations not toward revolutionary struggle against their governments at home (which would endanger the government's «friendship» for Stalin), but toward putting pressure on the home governments to line up with the Soviet Union; and, then, to essential support of the home government so long as it stays or pretends to stay lined up. This necessarily weakens and destroys the revolutionary struggle, which is always against the home government; and thus, in the end, disrupts the only possible defense of the Soviet Union itself, which must be a defense against an attack on the international bourgeoisie and all their political instruments—the capitalist governments, never a collaboration with them.

We shall see the workers of France, England and the United States rallied to the flag by the leaders of the Communist Party. «Defend the Soviet Union! Enlist in the army, and—fight against war and Hitlerism! Defend the Soviet Union!»

This policy of betrayal has, also, been systematically developed over a period of many years. The recent Congress of the Communist International made it official for the sections of the C.I.; and the Dan-Zyromski-Bauer resolution on war advances it within world social democracy. Unlike the situation at the beginning of the last war, the betrayers this time wish to be fully ready beforehand.

3. Sanctions

A special and profoundly important feature of betrayal in the present war crisis revolves around the question of «sanctions.» The Covenant of the League of Nations provides that when a nation has been declared an aggressor against a member state, certain financial, economic, and even military measures shall be following an elaborate procedure—invoked by the other League member states against the aggressor nation. These measures are called «sanctions.» and the term «sanctions» is being extended to include measures which might be taken by nations on their own initiative (e.g., closing of the Suez Canal by Great Britain) as well as measures taken collectively by the League members.

This extension of the use of the word «sanctions» is significant. It indicates a new and ingenious method for turning opposition to war into support of war. All that is necessary is to call the war an «application of sanctions.» Then it becomes the duty of all «friends of peace» to support it.

This, indeed, is the real meaning of the doctrine of sanctions. League sanctions are, of course, nothing else than sanctions undertaken by the leading member states of the League. The League, as we have seen, is only the instrument of its dominant members. Support of

League sanctions, therefore, is exactly the same as support of sanctions applied by individual nations—e.g., by Great Britain or France.

But sanctions are war measures. They include withdrawal of financial credit, embargoes on trade, various forms of boycott. To enforce them genuinely would require a blockade of the country against whom the sanctions were invoked. The probable, the almost certain outcome of such a blockade, as history has so often proved, is war—since the blockaded nation cannot accept such a measure peacefully without surrendering political sovereignty.

Thus it follows that sanctions must be either ineffectual—a kind of large-scale bluff—or they must lead to war.

If they are ineffectual, support of them is certainly no aid to peace (or to Ethiopia). If they lead to war, support of them—no matter with what verbal reservations—means nothing else than support of war undertaken by the imperialist government applying the sanctions. In both cases, support of sanctions to be applied by capitalist governments (whether or not these are League members) is in effect support of these governments themselves. This means that such support necessarily leads to a betrayal of the revolutionary struggle

against war, and the revolutionary defense of Ethiopia, which is always a struggle against the capitalist governments and the bourgeoisie whose governments they are.

It does no good to say, as the social democrats and the Stalinists say, that we should support League and governmental sanctions, but at the same time «point out that the League and British and French imperialism are acting only in their own imperialist interests in applying them»; we are temporarily able to «use» the French and British governments to serve the interests of the working class, because their interests momentarily, though from «diametrically opposite causes» coincide. This is the reasoning of a Stalin or a Blum, but not of a Marxist. The Marxist knows that we can never «use» capitalist governments for the interests of the working class, because what these governments are instruments to be «used» for the interests of the bourgeoisie. On the contrary, we must always fight inexorably against the governments, and their acts. The Marxist knows that advocacy of governmental sanctions in any form necessarily binds the working class to the state and the class enemy, necessarily weakens the class position of the workers and thus the workers' struggle for power, and necessarily prepares for turning the workers over to the sanction-applying government when the sanctions find their natural outcome in war. If we support sanctions, and the sanctions lead to war, then we have already by supporting the sanctions supported the war. It takes more than verbal reservations to crawl out of the inescapable logic of cause and effect.

The disastrous consequences of support of sanctions are already apparent. In Great Britain a year ago, the masses were turning rapidly away from the National Government. Then the British Labor Party and the British Communist Party came out strongly for sanctions: that is, came out for the policy of British finance-capital and the National Government. This has, naturally, fatally obscured the class issue. No longer is there any clear line between the working class parties and the Conservatives on the war crisis. The Labor Party and the Communist Party have done for Baldwin what he could not do for himself: they have brought about «national unity» on the war issue. Baldwin of course understands this; and consequently

4. Neutrality

Careful notice should be given to a form of betrayal closely related to betrayal on the question of sanctions. This is a particular danger in the United States. In the United States, which is not a League member, the betrayers call, not for sanctions—which are formally irrelevant to League outsiders—but for «neutrality legislation.» In the present crisis, this demand is only an American form of the demand for sanctions, combined with the worst type of ordinary pacifism.

In the United States all the rotten reformist organizations, from World Peaceways and the League against War and Fascism to the Socialist and Communist parties, are joining in this call for «mandatory» neutrality legislation to be passed by the next Congress, and are «demanding» a «strong neu-

trality policy» on the part of the U. S. government. What does this mean in the concrete? It means, in the first place, to spread among the people of the United States all the fatal pacifist illusions about U. S. isolation. As we have seen, the United States is necessarily linked up economically, socially, and politically with the rest of the world. Its pretended isolation is a complete myth. As we have also seen, the U. S. will inevitably be involved in the coming war, will in fact play a leading and decisive part in the coming war. Not to point this out honestly and straightforwardly, and instead to pretend that some form of neutrality legislation will succeed or even aid in isolating the U. S. in the world struggle is to deceive and disorient the masses, to disarm them ideologically.

But there will be ineffectual in the immediate crisis? They are romantic and utopian? If so, then the revolutionary struggle is itself ineffectual, romantic and utopian. Perhaps such sanctions will not «solve» the present crisis. But they, and they alone, will help steel the class, materially and ideologically, for the struggle to come—the struggle for workers' power, which is, in the end, the only solution.

gically, to turn them aside from the genuine struggle against war, and to teach them to put reliance in exactly those forces which are preparing war—namely, the imperialist government of the United States and U. S. finance-capital, which that government represents.

Thus, as always, pacifism in the form of demands for neutrality legislation in actuality aids the war makers. It strengthens the hand of the U. S. government, strengthens its hold over the people. Since the policy of the government, like that of every imperialist government, is and must be a war policy, these demands are in reality doing their part in carrying out the war policy. The capitalists and the government officials are not slow to take advantage of the opportunity. Hearst and Roosevelt alike point out—just as does Baldwin in England—that to preserve a «strong neutrality and peace policy» the U. S. must build up its «national defense.» That is to say, they use the agitation for neutrality legislation as a basis for expanding the armed forces of U. S. imperialism, to build new and more powerful battleships and airplanes, and to mechanize still further the already highly «modernized» U. S. army.

But even more than this is involved in the so-called «neutrality legislation.» The substance of such legislation, if actually put into effect, can only be sanctions as the U. S. can apply them—various forms of financial and economic restrictions, boycotts, etc. As in the case of sanctions proper, therefore, the neutrality acts would be in effect war acts, and the same conclusions must be drawn with respect to them as we have already come to in analyzing sanctions. Realizing this is enough to expose the pseudo-Marxists in the U. S. who so bravely denounce the policy of sanctions in other countries (Great Britain, France); and then in the next breath advocate them (under the title of «neutrality legislation») for this country.

Here, as in any other phase of the struggle against imperialism, the fight for U. S. «neutrality» must be a working class fight, using the methods and means of the working class. It is only the working class, operating as an independent force, which can be counted on—certainly we cannot expect imperialism itself to put an end to imperialism, which is what we do when we call on an imperialist government to avoid imperialism war. The fight must be not for a «government policy of neutrality», but always a fight against the government.

Question Box

(Continued on Page 3)

CHALIST revolution! Then the slogan about confiscating the LAND-OWNERS' land (repeated by Trotsky in 1915, after the January conference of 1912) is incorrect; then we must speak, not of the «revolutionary labor» but of a «revolutionary SOCIALIST government» (Lenin, Collected Works, Volume XVIII, International Publishers' edition, pp. 362-3; capitalized words are emphasized in the original.)

Even the Lovestonesites will admit that the Russian revolution was SOCIALIST in character.

The Monkey Strike

By BILL HAYWOOD

(Editor's Note: «Big Bill» Haywood, picturesque founder and leader of the Industrial Workers of the World, is the author of the imaginative tale printed below. Haywood, who died in 1928 in Moscow, where he had lived in exile for almost ten years after his escape from a prison sentence for criminal syndicalism was the leader of countless strike struggles in the pre-war days in the United States. During one of these organizing campaigns which ended in a bitterly fought out struggle to organize the agricultural laborers in California, the fruit growers imported Japanese laborers to offset the growing strength of the I.W.W. among the white workers only to find the Japanese forming cooperatives against them. This Bill Haywood reduces the bosses' stratagem to the absurd in the following story.)

The fruitgrowers were again compelled to employ migratory white labor, until a wonderful idea developed at one of the conventions of the Fruitgrowers' Association. One of the delegates got up and suggested that it would be possible to train monkeys to pick and pack fruit. This was decided upon without hesitation, and steps were taken at once to get a lot of monkey fruit-pickers.

The chimpanzees breed was decided upon as the most intelligent. Splendid little houses, all nicely painted were built and equipped for monkeys. They were actually fed and taught what they were to do.

When the fruit got ripe, the owners brought their friends from

the city to see how ingeniously they were solving the labor problem.

The monkeys were restless in their houses, the air was aromatic with the ripened fruit. When they were turned loose, they hurriedly climbed the trees. But instead of doing as they had been taught—to bring the fruit down and put it into a box, the mischievous little rascals would dart about, selecting the choicest fruit, take a bite or two, throw the rest away, and go after more.

Before the day was gone, and the monkeys with paunches full had gone back to their houses, much damage was done. The wise fruitgrowers had to seek another method. The next day each monkey

had a muzzle put on. They went up into the trees rapidly enough, but none of them would pick any fruit. They were busily engaged in trying to rid themselves of the frightful contrivance that prevented them from eating and enjoying themselves.

The fruitgrowers were in an awful predicament with so many monkeys to feed which would do no work in return. They appealed to the Governor of the State, who regretfully replied that as the offenders were not men, they were not amenable to the law. If they were I.W.W.'s he could have them imprisoned and perhaps have them shot, but over monkeys he had no jurisdiction.

The Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, who had never interested itself on behalf of the I.W.W. or the Japanese, learning that the monkeys were being neglected, threatened to prosecute the fruitgrowers if the little animals were not properly taken care of.

The chimpanzees came to be disliked as much as the I.W.W. Some of the fruitgrowers owned cotton plantations in Imperial Valley on which they had trouble in getting white and black wage slaves sufficiently docile for the work of picking cotton. It occurred to them that the monkeys could be made to pick cotton, and there would be no trouble about them trying to eat it.

So all monkeys were shipped to the new location. Strange to say, they could pick cotton and at a speed that made their owners happy. Here was the solution of the labor problem as far as picking cotton was concerned. But their satisfaction was short-lived.

One day, while all the monkeys were at work, chattering while they gathered the white balls of cotton, a gentle breeze wafted a white tuft from a monkey's hand. It amused him to see it floating through the air. He tossed up another bit, and another. The other monkeys, catching the spirit of the fun, began to do the same. At first little bits and then handfuls, till the air was full of fleecy cotton. It looked as though the first snowstorm had struck southern California.

The overseers were alarmed. There was no way to stop the monkeys in their eager playfulness, which, before they had fired themselves out, had almost destroyed the entire crop of that particular plantation.

In some peculiar manner the monkeys on the other plantations learned of the fun, and their pranks caused the same disastrous result.

The fruit and cotton growers were at their wits' end. They knew not what to do with the monkeys, until deportation was finally decided on, and the chimpanzees were shipped back to the forests of Africa, where they now gather to-

THEATRE REVIEW

WINTERSET (The Bridge of Sighs). By Maxwell Anderson, at Marlborough Theatre.

«Winteraset» by Maxwell Anderson, is a continuation in verse of his play, «Goods of the Lightning», the drama of Sacco-Vanzetti, Judge Thayer, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and the electric chair. The story of the play is the story of the fears left behind when the current of the Public Utilities of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts turned into corpses the idealistic and revolutionary Sacco and Vanzetti.

Mio, the son of the fish peddler, haunted by the innocence and death of his father, comes to New York looking for a witness, Garth, discovered by a professor of jurisprudence as never having been brought into the trial. Mio, a philosophic person, meets Garth's sister Miriam, at a spontaneous festa, where a cop, objecting to the festivities, attempts to slug Mio. All the characters, including Judge Gaunt, who sentenced the fish-peddler, parade under the shadow of

the bridge. Judge Gaunt makes a point of law to the cop, who ignores his advice. Trock, who with his pal, Shadow, has just come out of jail, where both served a short sentence, fears that the knowledge of his murder of the cashier—known to Shadow, and Garth, the uncalled witness—will eventually send him to the chair, since there is talk of a new trial. He silences Garth with threats and attempts to get rid of his pal, Shadow, by shooting him and throwing him into the river.

At an informal meeting between the Judge, Trock and Mio, Shadow stumbles through the door, accuses Trock of being an assassin and a murderer. Garth, in fear of his own life, assists Trock in finally getting rid of Shadow. Through all this, Judge Gaunt, pontiff, presides with his wisdom of the objectivity of the State. Mio taunts him! The State had taken his father's life! The Judge, coming out of the semi-coma which has caused him to wander about, says that there could not be a reversal of decision, a reversal would mean that the forces of law and order would lose prestige, and would endanger the Commonwealth.

In the presence of two cops, Mio

accuses Trock as the actual murderer of the Dedham cashier, but is laughed at when Miriam, who is the sister of the witness, Garth, refuses to back up Mio's statement. For fear that Trock's thugs will then rub out the last living witness, her brother. Eventually they are both killed by Trock's gang.

This play can be understood in the light of a realistic fantasy. Certainly the verse patterns, the high philosophic plane in which the play dwells, the elements of time which fuses all the characters into «poems», their sudden meeting, prearranged by the author and in no sense from a series of normal accidents, gives it a fantastic touch. What is left when the poetry and philosophy dries on their lips, is that in the minds of all those who participated in the murder of the cashier, the electrocution by the State of Massachusetts, the son who is haunted by his father's death, the criminals who fear to be found out, the Judge who is restless, unsatisfied with his smug theories of the objectivity of the State, is, that classes exist, that nothing muffled by the State is objective justice, that the very idealism which seems to guide the shrewd patter of the Judge comes from an association with the ethics of the Democratic State and is, therefore, class justice. They are all bound within themselves with fear-philosophy and vengeance.

SPEAKER:

James P. Cannon

EDITOR OF THE NEW MILITANT

LABOR WAR IN MINNEAPOLIS

SUNDAY EVE. JANUARY 5 • IRVING PLAZA HALL • 15 STREET & IRVING PL.

NEW MILITANT

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NJ WPA Men Win Wage Rise

Officials Back Down in Face of General Strike Threat

By FELIX GIORDANO
NEWARK, N. J.—WPA workers in the Newark district have won a 10 percent increase in wages, from \$55 to \$60.50 a month, beginning from January 2, 1936.

This increase was due primarily to the organizational activity of the Association for Adequate Relief, Newark section of the N.U.L., which was the only organization to call the workers to a giant mass meeting which unanimously endorsed the demands for wage increases, lower working hours, and recognition of the workers' organization and committees.

The demands, presented to Mr. Lewis, district administrator, brought forth the usual answer that they would be kept in mind.

Tired of Promises
But the workers, who had organized to get results, were not satisfied with vague promises that bound the administration to exactly nothing. Dissatisfaction spread among them, which was heightened by the knowledge that in Pennsylvania and in New York, the two bordering states, wage increases had been obtained.

The mood of the workers was taking shape and found expression in the widespread response that the idea of STRIKE obtained on the various projects.

Local Strikes
On a number of projects, small local strikes occurred, in preparation for the general strike of all project workers, which was being prepared by the Association for Adequate Relief, and for which all the workers were getting ready.

It is against this background that the sudden decision to hand out a 10 percent increase is to be understood. For, undoubtedly the WPA officials, both local and state, were worried by the threat of an impending strike, and all the publicity that such a tremendous strike, involving close to 20,000 persons in this district, would have inevitably received.

Authorities Take Revenge

But the authorities would not be forced to grant a raise in wages without at least attempting to take their revenge. This they tried by firing a number of the more militant workers without previous advice or warning for no reason except that they carried on organizational work on their project. To be sure, this was not the official reason, but anyone with one eye could have seen it, and smelled it, a mile away.

This claim was further confirmed indirectly by Mr. Michael Condon, district labor manager, when he stated to a committee representing the Association which went to protest the firing of the men and demand their reinstatement, that one of the fired men had "threatened" to carry on organizational work on any other project he might have been assigned to.

The Association immediately (Continued on Page 2)

Cleveland Hot-Air Fest A Pacifist Jamboree

NEXT WEEK!

The second of a series of articles on the "People's Front" by Max Shachtman, entitled "The Government of the People's Front, and the People's Front and the War Danger," will appear in the next issue of the NEW MILITANT. For the first installment of this series turn to page 3.

Comrade John West will discuss the decision of the Supreme Court on the A.A.A., the Roosevelt message to Congress and the new budget in the next issue.

Left Wing is Only Hope in Silk Strike

Must Fight to Save Union From Stalinist Suicide Policies

PATERSON, N. J.—The strike in the textile industry in Paterson has now been going on for over two months. But the strike in no way resembles the historic struggles that the silk workers carried on in 1931 and in 1933.

Now under Stalinist leadership, the union carries on the strike without the pep and the militancy that made Paterson a byword of active struggle in the labor movement. Strike meetings are a flop, the workers are demoralized.

What are the reasons for such a state of affairs? First, the adventurist policy of the Stalinists, which called the strike at the most unpromising time by whipping up a false enthusiasm among a few members of the union—mostly Stalinists and stooges—and on such a slim basis called the strike. Secondly, the very fact that there are practically no positive demands; all that the union is demanding now is a "stabilization of wage rates in Paterson." Thirdly, and most important of all, the local nature of the strike, which, as the NEW MILITANT pointed out as early as last May, could bring nothing but demoralization.

Yet, against this background, the Stalinists are now coming to the elections and asking the workers to reelect them to office and to leadership. And what is still worse, it is safe to predict that they will be re-elected, so that the workers may be treated to a new and larger dose of the same kind of misleadership and adventurism.

Why is it that with such a record of lack of achievement the Stalinists will be able to maintain themselves in power?

Primarily because the efforts to form a coherent left wing, organized strongly and with a clear-cut program, up to now fell upon deaf ears, and also because the only other group in the field, led by Lovestonites and a couple of their stooges, is still living down some of the worst traits of the non-lamented Eli Koller.

The question poses itself: what (Continued on Page 2)

Patriots Take Lead in League for War Against Fascism Congress

By PHILIP STRYKER
CLEVELAND, O., Jan. 6.—The "United States Congress Against War and Fascism" closed its three-day session here last night, and Cleveland's city officials and businessmen are unanimous in agreeing that it was a fine convention and that this convention city will not have such a spending crowd until the Democrats get here in the summer.

The Congress opened Friday evening with a stirring rendition of "My Country 'Tis of Thee." On the second line of this anthem, on the words "sweet land of liberty," Robert Minor's voice cracked, but Earl Browder and the rest of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (present to a man) manfully made up for Minor's mishap. The national anthem was followed by an original verse, sung to the tune of "The Vagabond King":

War is coming nearer,
Fascist trends grow clearer,
Nations rushing to the fall
But the people waken
From their slumber shaken,
Form their ranks and heed the call.

Forward, forward, etc.
Harold H. Burton, Mayor of Cleveland and a prominent Legionaire, gave the official address of welcome to the congress. "We welcome this gathering to our great forum," he declared, "with faith in God, with faith in America, and faith in ourselves to meet the future in the deepest interest of humanity."

Rabbi Barnett R. Brickner of Cleveland (desisting for the evening from his labors for his million-naire congregation) also welcomed the congress, and said that religion and war were incompatible. Bishop Edgar F. Blake, Methodist leader of Michigan and vice-chairman of (Continued on Page 2)

Workers Pay for Tire War Report Shows

By JACK WILSON
AKRON, Ohio, Jan. 7.—Even a government fact finding board in the rubber industry was forced to criticize policies of the rubber barons which have brought lay-offs, longer work hours and less pay for rubber workers, as indicated in a report released by the labor department this week.

The report showed that every warning printed in the NEW MILITANT three months ago telling of the plans of the rubber companies to lower real wages so that a tire price war would be paid for by workers were correct in every respect.

The board which worked under the direction of Frances Perkins, labor secretary, made its finding specifically against the Goodyear tire company which returned to an 8-hour day last fall after having been forced on a six-hour day in 1930.

Nationwide in Scope
That this move was part of a nationwide employer drive against workers as we pointed out long ago, the board admitted in saying, "the opinion appears to prevail that if Goodyear with its large production capacity lengthens hours, other tire manufacturers will follow a similar course."

The board, which was naturally conservative in its findings, declared that, "an average of 36 hours per week would mean reducing the working forces by approximately 12 per cent." Actually a 40-hour week work prevails so it can safely be said that at least 15 per cent of Goodyear's 15,000 employees have been laid-off permanently!

The basic reason for these offensives against the already poor standard of living of the workers can be extracted from a single paragraph hidden in the middle of the 99 page report.

It reads, "Goodyear management states to the board that one of the motives in changing from six to eight hours is to effect a reduction in costs. This objective appears to be to increase income. It would be better to approach such a problem from the standpoint of marketing methods and elimination of price cutting warfare than by decreasing wage rates and increasing hours per day of workers."

Workers Shoulder Costs
The relentless forces of competition drive rubber companies to gain market control at any cost and this cost has been thrown on the work- (Continued on Page 4)

President's Speech Prepares the Masses for War with the Lie of "Peaceful" Imperialist America

STALINISTS PLEDGE FAITH TO GREEK MONARCH

(The following Havas dispatch is reprinted from the N. Y. Post, Jan. 7, 1936)

ATHENS, Jan. 7 (Havas).—The Greek Communist Party today formally pledged allegiance to King George II whom it hailed as a "guarantee against Fascism and against any authoritarian regime."

A delegation of the party that used to call for the overthrow of existing governments and the prevailing economic and political system came to the royal palace today and was received by King George, whom it assured of the unfailing support

of its organization.

The delegation announced that the Communist Party had decided to function "within the framework of the present regime."

This unprecedented scene followed similar steps taken by Communist parties in various countries since the dictum of the Seventh World Congress of the Comintern last July which called upon members of the Third International to support existing democracies instead of seeking to overthrow them.

Toledo Auto Plant Shut Down By Mass Picketing

Two Month Old Strike Galvanized by Militant Tact Wins First Concession From Mathers Spring Co.

TOLEDO, O., Jan. 8.—Mass pickets today forced the promise from the Mathers Spring Company that the plant will be shut down immediately.

The company's vice-president made this as a personal pledge to pickets at the plant gates in return for permission for strikebreakers to leave the plant unscathed.

Negotiations are expected to start immediately.

Burke Cochran, strike leader, stated that picket lines will continue until the union's demands are met.

TOLEDO, Ohio, Jan. 8.—Open clashes broke out here today between striking pickets of the Mathers Spring Co. and police and strikebreakers, as the company management proceeds with its threatened attempt to reopen the plant which was shut down two months ago. Flying bricks shattered the windshields of scab-conveying cars, police-bulldozers flew as scores of blue-coats scurried about the picket line, which is swelling into the hundreds as a showdown fight appears imminent.

Although the strike involves only 425 men, the bitter battle between the members of the Mechanics Educational Society of America has put up since the strike was called on November 1 is beginning to stir up the coals of class-warfare which have smoldered here since the Auto-Lite strike. In response to an appeal for aid issued yesterday by the strikers to all Toledo working class organizations, scores of workers from the Chevrolet plant (members and shop chairman of the A. F. of L. auto international), from the Spicer Mfg. Co., the Lucas County Unemployed League and its affiliated organization, the WPA Workers Union, and from other groups, joined the mass picket line.

Present attempts to operate the plant, or to prepare it for operation (since as yet only several dozen maintenance men have been run through the picket line under heavy police protection), began as a surprise move last Thursday when the management announced its intentions of reopening the plant, after two months of solemn declarations that they were preparing to move it elsewhere or close it permanently.

Heightened significance is added to the present developments as all signs increasingly point to the fact that the Mathers strike is being used as a test battle by the automobile and parts manufacturers to determine the present temper and organizational solidarity of Toledo labor as a guide to the strategy to be employed in the general union-busting campaign which was inaugurated here over a month ago by General Motors with the firing of 900 Chevrolet union men.

For the first time since the Auto-Lite strike, police are being used in imposing numbers and are attempting all sorts of vicious intimidation and provocation. A rigid conspiracy of silence which has been maintained in the capitalist press about the issues of the strike, in the face of wide-spread disapproval of the company's policies in refusing even to talk with the union committee or negotiate through the Toledo Peace Board, established here by Edward L. McGrady shortly after the Chevrolet strike, is expected to be broken any day, as the daily press distills its venom in (Continued on Page 2)

Progressives Gain in AFL Union Meets

Radio Workers Decide to Affiliate with Lewis Movement

By ARNE SWABECK

The convention held in Pittsburgh last week of federal local unions, representing about 50,000 workers in radio and refrigeration manufacture, decided to demand from the A.F. of L. Executive Council that it be given an international charter guaranteeing the industrial form of organization. The delegates assembled apparently had no difficulty in making up their minds on this question. At the same time it is reported, that the delegates also decided to align themselves with the aims of the Committee for Industrial Organization, headed by John L. Lewis.

Both of these decisions are important and indicative of the present trends in the trade union movement. Once again they prove that under modern industrial conditions the most elementary questions of union organization bring forward from the outset the disputed progressive issues. They are not injected artificially. They grow out of the problems that arise and thereby become necessary measures for the movement to adopt. Once the trends, now beginning to take form around the progressive issues, get to a solid basis they can be expected to sweep the trade union movement like a prairie-fire.

Join With Lewis Movement

Like the unions in other mass production industries the federal locals in radio and refrigeration manufacture found their first real obstacle to organization in the (Continued on Page 4)

He Flaunts U.S. Slave Hold on South America

By A. J. MUSTE

President Roosevelt put on another good show when he made his annual address to Congress last week in person at nine o'clock in the evening. No president had ever addressed Congress at that hour in the entire peace time history of the nation. It took a little parliamentary maneuvering to arrange it and the Republican politicians would have liked to chew our dear President's ear off for thinking up this bright publicity stunt, for nine o'clock in the evening is a swell spot for a radio broadcast and one was arranged which took in every station in the good old U. S. and quite a few in some of the more benighted lands outside our borders.

Under the circumstances we shall not be far wrong, and we shall also for once be in accord with every one else in the country including the newspapers and the Republican party, if we assert that F.D.R. was addressing the American people and not Congress and was firing the opening gun in the Presidential election campaign. This only makes it more important of course that the workers should look beneath the lovely, liberal surface of the President's speech and behind his smiling face and analyze what he was really putting across.

A Cheerful Picture

The content of the speech was at many points as clever as the time and manner of its delivery. Not least the opening touch. In 1933 when I came into office, said Roosevelt, everything here in the U.S. was in a mess while abroad everything was quite calm and there was general hope that an era of peaceful settlement of disputes had dawned. Today everything is bright and smiling in the good old U.S. and look what a mess things are in elsewhere, what with war, armament building, etc. Fundamentally that picture holds good neither for 1933 nor for 1936, but on the surface it seems plausible and plenty of people will be fooled by it—enough in all probability to reelect F.D. next fall.

Nearly half, and this the first half of the speech, was devoted to Mr. Roosevelt's views on the world situation and the relation of the U.S. toward it. This is in itself significant. In the same breath almost he says that this country is neutral, that it stands apart from embroilment in the quarrels of other nations and he must also say that "the people of the Americas must take cognizance of... a situation which has in it many of the elements that lead to the tragedy of a general war." In other words, Roosevelt gives warning that war is coming, that we will not and cannot stand aloof, we shall be embroiled.

Creating War Psychology

The President in all this first section of his speech tried to create a psychology which will prepare the American masses to take part in the next war and in the meantime permit American capitalists through his administration to continue their huge war preparations without interference. How is this done?

In the first place, he builds up the picture of the U.S. as a righteous, noble, peace-loving, irreproachable nation. We have "democracy," not autocracy. We want to reduce armaments (sliding over the fact that we are increasing them) while others are building armaments. If a fight breaks out anywhere, we virtuously stay out of it and hope that this good example will persuade others to stop fighting. We as the big nation in the western hemisphere follow the policy of "the good neighbor" and just see the result compared to the frightful mess in Europe, Asia and Africa. Never "in four and a half centuries" has there existed "a greater spirit of mutual understanding, of common helpfulness, and of devotion to the ideals of self-government than exists today in the twenty-one American republics and their neighbor, the Dominion of Canada. . . . There is neither war, nor rumor of war, nor desire for war."

False Pictures

The picture, again, is false to the core. It is only a few months since there was actual war in the Chaco. American capitalism is so (Continued on Page 2)

NEC Suspends N.Y. Old Guard as Socialist Party Split Widens

By a vote of 8 to 2 the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party suspended the charter of the New York State Committee (Old Guard) at its meeting in Philadelphia last Sunday. The state committee set up at the Utica convention of the "Militants," however, was not recognized. Instead, a new temporary committee of fifteen members was appointed as a result of a compromise of Thomas and the "Militants" with Coolidge of Massachusetts and Boopes of Reading, Pa., who had tried to steer a middle course in the two-day debate.

The new state committee contains 9 from the Utica conference group and 6 Old Guardists, some of them camouflaged as "Independents." The new committee is to function under the supervision of a sub-committee of three members of the National Executive Committee—Kraybill, Allen and Coolidge—and is to draft plans for a state convention to be held not later than June 30, when a permanent state committee is to be constituted.

Ouel, editor of the New Leader and James Graham of Montana voted against the N.E.C. decision. Ouel walked out of the meeting,

declaring that the whole procedure was "unconstitutional" and that his group would not recognize it. At the same time it was announced that an Eastern States Conference under the auspices of the Old Guard faction will be held in the latter part of January. Bismark, Old Guardist representing the Massachusetts State Committee, which is formally sponsoring the Eastern States conference, threatened a deep split in the party if the charter of the New York State Committee was suspended. Sarah Linnbach, representing the Pennsylvania State Committee, also appeared before the N.E.C., and took a similar position.

In a statement defying the N.E.C. the New York State Committee said: "The New York State Committee will continue to function as the duly constituted State party supported by a majority of the members." It further declared that the Old Guard has the support of "the States which are strongly organized" and that "some of them have already advised the committee that the revocation of the New York State charter means that they shall not be able to continue as a (Continued on Page 2)

Protest Lays Cuban Terror Regime to Roosevelt Gov't

In a sharp protest to President Roosevelt, leading labor organizations and prominent individuals today laid at the door of the American government the responsibility for the terroristic regime of Cuba. The Cuban general elections, set for January 10, are denounced as a fraud, since the only political parties permitted to participate are those of the wealthy landowners and employers, while every group which participated in ousting Machado is declared illegal, the trade unions are ordered dissolved, and hundreds are assassinated or executed and thousands jailed.

The protest was issued by Norman Thomas, chairman of the Labor and Socialist Defense Committee; Joseph Wagner, Secretary of the General Defense Committee; and Felix Morrow, Secretary of the Non-Partisan Labor Defense.

Among the signatories are John Dos Passos, Lewis Corey, Charles Yale Harrison, James Borty, Anita Brenner, Sidney Hook, Carlo Treca, Bertha Poole Weyl, Elsie Gluck, Adelaide Walker, Martha Greening, Grace Lumpkin, Dr. John Haynes Holmes, Babette Deutsch, Sherwood Eddy, Anna N. Davis, B. W. Huebsch, Matthew Josephson, Wil-

Ham Pickens, Quincy Howe, Chas. S. Zimmerman, manager of Dress-makers Union, and Paul Sturm, secretary of the Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund. Another signatory is Clifford Odets, noted playwright, who was refused admission to Cuba recently because he went to investigate labor conditions.

The letter of protest to President Roosevelt, copies of which were sent to Ambassador Jefferson Caffery, President Jose Betet of Cuba, and Secretary of State Cordell Hull states in part:

Letter of Protest
"The present political regime in Cuba came into existence through the direct intervention of Ambassador Jefferson Caffery. After years of terrible oppression, the Cuban masses had finally ousted Machado. But the American government refused recognition to the government of President Grau San Martin, which granted a minimum of democratic rights.

"In grim contrast to this treatment was the American government's immediate recognition of the present regime which violently seized power and has held it through a reign of terror."

PATRIOTS RUN WILD AT CLEVELAND JAMBOREE

(Continued from Page 1)
The American League of War and Fascism, spoke, saying: "It is to the schools and colleges and universities that we must look for the leadership that shall pioneer the way to a new day." There were other speakers of similar kidney all evening, but the chief speaker of the evening, and the most honored guest of the Congress, was Major-General Smedley Butler.

War, declared the General, is a racket, but it could be ended. The way to end war is to amend the Constitution so that no armed forces should be sent beyond the continental limits, and to build up a sufficient force of battleships and also "Ford-type" airplanes with small cruising radius, all to be used for defense. When interviewed later, the General declared hearty approval of the American League's campaign for neutrality legislation, and declared, "We must remain strictly neutral in thought, sympathy and in fact. We must cultivate relations with the Latin-American countries, which can provide all the foreign trade we need." Upon the conclusion of his speech, the General got a stirring ovation from the assembled delegates.

Another general was the chief speaker the following night: General Fang Chen, Wu of China. General Fang is being toured by the Stalinists, both here and abroad, as the future leader of the anti-Japanese movement. [An article on General Fang appears in another section of this issue.—Ed.]

A "biography" of the general in the January "Chiao Today" fails to mention that the general was elevated to the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang in May, 1929 at the very height of the Kuomintang reaction when even liberals were being hounded, and turned to the useful slogan of "anti-Japan" together with his chief, the "Christian General," Feng Yu Shiang, when they both had a falling out with Chiang Kai Shek. Cable dispatches today report that General Fang has patched up with Chiang and become his chief aide. We predict that his protégé, Fang, will shortly return to China.

Candor compels one to admit that General Fang is a more principled man than his Stalinist sponsors. In the days when Chiang Kai-shek and Stalin addressed each other as comrades, the leaders of the Chinese bourgeoisie had to render a certain amount of lip service to the world revolution, the proletariat and peasantry, etc. General Fang didn't go in for this kind of nonsense at Cleveland. He had a message, and he made several speeches to the congress about it: The root of war is in aggression; therefore aggressors must be stopped. The way to stop them above all Japan, is to abolish the unequal treaties and enforce the other treaties such as the Kellogg Pact. "If only the signatories had not permitted Japan to break these treaties. . . . Breaking the treaties is an insult to the other nations, a sign of their weakness. . . . America should protect the treaties." This thoroughly bourgeois-reactionary message was cheered every time the general bared his teeth.

The generals were the ace exhibits of the congress. Their nearest competitors for honors were: Harry F. Ward, re-elected national chairman of the League and America's best-known Methodist; Roger Baldwin, re-elected to the national bureau of the League, famous, as director of the Civil Liberties Union.

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ion, for his equal defense of civil liberties for Fascists and non-Fascists; and Earl Browder, General Secretary of the Communist Party. When Browder rose to speak, each time the assembled "veterans, Democrats, Republicans, Socialists, Farmer-Laborites, social workers, ministers, workers, etc." rose to their feet and (as the Daily Worker, Jan. 8 wrote) he "was received with tremendous ovation, cheers and applause lasting for minutes before he was permitted to speak." If we had not solemnly been assured that these wildly cheering delegates had registered as representing all sorts of organizations totalling two million membership, we might have thought it was just a crowd of Stalinists paying homage to their appointed leader.

Browder's chief ideological contribution to the congress was his declaration that the Communist Party would help the American League "reach out to include not only one or two but fifteen to twenty million people in America, who will make this country a decisive force for peace, taking its stand alongside that other great country, the Soviet Union."

In current Stalinist terminology, an imperialist country becomes a "force for peace" when, like France, it makes an alliance with the Soviet Union. The role of the "united front against war," therefore, can have only one function: a pressure bloc to help push the United States into a military alliance with the Soviet Union.

"Pacifism is part of the ideological preparation for war." This fundamental doctrine of the revolutionists has now been forgotten by the Stalinists. In the heroic days of the Comintern, this doctrine guided an irreconcilable struggle against pacifism. Today the doctrine is remembered for the opposite purpose of using pacifism to put pressure on the American government to make the "right" alliance, that is, with the Soviet Union. Imperialist America will then be declared to be fighting a "progressive war," the pacifist illusions will, as during the last war, be transformed into idealistic chauvinism, and the American League will have achieved its foul purpose.

The three-day congress was a field day for pacifism. Every odd variety of illusion about war was heard; everything except the voice of revolutionary struggle against war. No one was contradicted; believers in religious ways of keeping the peace; advocates of refusal to register for the draft; advocates of sending the "right men" to Washington to stop war; advocates of conscripting both wealth and men; those who swore to refuse to bear arms; advocates of constitutional amendments to stop war;

Wage Raise Won In Newark WPA

(Continued from Page 1)
took up the fight of the fired men, charging discrimination and demanding reinstatement of the men on the projects and pay for time lost. The men have in the last few days been reassigned to projects, while the appeal is pending in the state office of the WPA.

Another aspect of the struggle that the administration is carrying on against the Association is to be found in the arrests (four to date) of members of the Association who are guilty of organizing WPA workers. The arrested were Thomas Morans, Jack Dale, Felix Giordano and Victorson. A convenient excuse for such arrests is the distribution of leaflets. Anybody caught distributing leaflets for the Association is liable to arrest on sight, to be charged with anything from "distributing leaflets without a permit"—which is impossible to get to "obstructing and interfering."

This phase of the struggle has now been taken up by the recently formed local of the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, which is in charge of the appeals.

With the victory of the WPA front, now being firmly established, a new and most important fight looms on the horizon of the Association and of all genuine unemployed organizations. From now on, it is officially reported, all new applicants for relief will not be given cash, but will be treated to a permanent "grocery order" system. This is heralded by the reactionary press as a first step toward the general reestablishment of the grocery order system. The real meaning of this new step, aside from being a boon to large stores, is to be found in an official announcement to the effect that the administration expects to save 20 percent of the cost of relief by the return to the food order system.

Preparing to Defeat Relief Cut
Thus what is really implied by the move is a cut in the standards of relief. What such a cut would mean to the undernourished families of the unemployed is easy to picture.

Against this new attempt of the administration the Association for Adequate Relief is preparing itself for a real struggle.

every anti-Marxist notion about ways and means of stopping war was voiced and went unchallenged. The one possibly conceivable function of such a gathering, the educational function of revolutionists making clear the difference between these crack-pot ideas and realistic methods of struggle against war—that was the last conceivable function which the Stalinists could or would exercise!

With over two thousand ostensible delegates, the congress itself was nothing more than a mass meeting, in which the delegates submitted to speeches by the generals and preachers. No provisions were made for delegates to have the floor. To make doubly sure that everything would go through greased, the rules provided, when the program and resolutions were brought in and shoved through in scarcely more time than it took to read them, that there could be no resolutions offered from the floor, and no amendments. With a hand-picked resolutions committee, this effectively prevented discussion.

The only possible place where there might have been some purposeful discussion was in the one afternoon session in which the congress broke up into commissions—religious, children's, women's, trade union, etc. In theory these smaller groups were supposed to prepare and discuss resolutions for submission to the general resolutions committee. Actually, however, these commissions were merely smaller editions of the wind-baggy of the congress as a whole. I can speak particularly of the trade union commission, which I covered. The leaders of the commission, instead of presenting resolutions for discussion, gave the floor to a series of speakers who talked on nothing and everything, and then, when the afternoon was over and the delegates were streaming out, called for the election of a well-Stalinist resolutions committee to prepare the trade union resolutions.

A resume of some of the incidents at the trade union commission is instructive. A labor attorney made a speech in favor of the NRA, which had been very good, he said, it "did away with many strikes." A representative of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen made a speech supporting League of Nations sanctions and, in closing, declared: "I endorse everything General Butler said last night." A representative of the Mexican Popular Front made a speech declaring that President Cardenas was the savior of democratic rights. It was moved and seconded and unanimously adopted, to send a message of greetings to Cardenas as the savior of democratic rights. An aging steel worker urged the audience not to let their boys go to war but to keep them at home. A machinist delegate spoke of organizing unions and the People's Front. A representative of a United Mine Workers local spoke for the united front. Charles Zimmerman objected to the congress solely on the ground that it did not include more unions. A Negro made a splendid speech against Jim-Crowism in the union. Ben Gold made a vicious attack on Zimmerman, for which he was duly reprimanded the next day for not having learned the new line. Zimmerman answered by again complaining about the lack of trade unions in the congress. A couple of speeches, including one by the Friends of the Chinese People, and the trade union commission was about over.

Max S. Hayes, prominent Cleveland trade unionist, arose to express his indignation at the standards cast against the League as being a Communist organization. He proposed to settle that kind of thing once and for all by a resolution which he read. The resolution declared that whereas the League existed to perpetuate the American democratic form of government, etc., therefore he it resolved that the League goes on record against all dictatorships, including the Russian. Here was an opportunity to clarify the distinction between defending bourgeois democracy and fighting for the democratic rights of the masses: an opportunity to defend the nature of the workers' state. Nor the Stalinists! Louis Weinstein arose hastily to propose that the resolution be referred to the resolutions committee, where it remained buried, the only reference to it being a casual remark by the reader of the resolutions to the congress, that "two resolutions submitted were not reported out by the resolutions committee because of their political character." Then came the announcement that Max Hayes, author of such a resolution, was elected vice-chairman of the American League.

If the trade union commission was so formless, undoubtedly the others were even worse. A glimpse into one of them was provided by the Rev. Herman Reissig, chairman of the religious commission, who reported that his commission had had a long and most interesting discussion of the difference between prophetic religion and traditional religion, but had finally decided that a resolution on this point was

not germane to the congress. Thus, deliberately, the congress was a Babel of all tongues except revolutionary ones; a veritable three-day parade of preachers and generals, politicians and professional pacifists, and a small section of earnest but thoroughly confused workers, who could not but be even more confused by the whole proceeding. The vague, pea-fog intellectual atmosphere clogged minds and hearts, stupefied working class instincts and bred vast, fantastic illusions about the struggle against war.

These illusions were embodied in vicious succinctness in the temporary program adopted by the congress. The program falls into two parts, the first being points dealing with struggle against reaction. These are issues which properly should be raised and carried on by a broad labor defense organization and by a progressive movement in the trade unions, and provide no real reason for the existence of the American League. They are, in fact, quite perfunctory, and are merely window-dressing for the real purpose of the League: its pacifist program. The "anti-war" part of the program is its real essence. These points are the replica of the Stalinist line on the war question.

In reading these "anti-war" planks, one realizes the enormous usefulness of this "people's front" to Stalinism. Speaking in its own name, the Stalinist is still embarrassed by the baggage of scraps of Leninism which remain from the days when the Comintern was a revolutionary organization. Stalinism must in the same breath declare that France will fight a progressive war which Communists will support but that at the same time they will prepare for civil war. Stalinism must in the same breath declare its loyalty to bourgeois democracy to the People's Front but simultaneously swear it has not forgotten the dictatorship of the proletariat. All this baggage, so outmoded for the chauvinist role of the Stalinist, they can happily leave outside when they appear in the guise of the American League. In the name of the discipline of the "united front," away rendered lip service to the class-struggle approach but hastened to declare that this is "a perspective we know that many people at this congress are not yet ready to accept"—and therefore the Communist party "unconditionally" accepts the American League program which is not based on class struggle!

The united front used to be a form of joint action on class struggle lines but not requiring all participants to accept the final revolutionary outcome of the class struggle. Now, under the formula of the People's Front, "against war and Fascism" in the abstract, even the elementary conception of independent class action is thrown overboard!

(Another installment on the program of the League will appear next week.)

Left Wing Is Need in Silk

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must be done now? Is the strike necessarily to be a complete rout of the union forces? Will the union that the workers built and tempered in struggle now be completely smashed?

First: What is to be done? We know of no other answer than the one we gave on May 1: Build the left wing. By that, we are forced to insist, we do not mean what is now considered by some misinformed people to be the left wing, the Stalinist misleadership and adventurism. What must be built is a group of serious union members that can gauge a situation objectively and supply the workers with the necessary program and leadership. We have lost precious time in the building of such a left wing, and we are now paying dearly for it. Still, the situation is not desperate, and if we apply ourselves to the task and actually do build such a left wing, the union will have a chance to experience a re-growth.

Second: Will the strike be a complete defeat? Not necessarily. If the left wing is built, and if it is able to rally the workers to its program, it will be possible, though in no way assured, that something may be saved out of this battle which now has all the appearances of an inglorious defeat.

Third: Will the union be smashed? Again that depends on the speedy establishment of the left wing. Such a new group would be able to give new life to the union, and steer it out of its present difficult straits. If the left wing is not built soon, then the union, as the result of the defeat, will fall back, lose membership, and become again what it was before 1933, a small group trying to be a union. And all the work of building that has been carried on for over five years will have availed us nothing, and will have to be done all over again. The task before the silk workers of Paterson presents itself in no ambiguous form: Build the left

FDR Masks War Plans

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completely dominant in the economic sense over both northern and southern continents, European nations so utterly unable to challenge it, that it ran masquerade as the benevolent good rich neighbor in the same way as some individual steel, coal or textile magnate plays "the good neighbor" to his wage-slaves at the foot of the hill. Indirectly, but it may well be intentionally, Mr. Roosevelt when he draws his picture of the twenty-two "democratic" nations of the two Americas, arms all linked together and dancing the dance of brotherliness, is telling other nations that twenty-one of them are essentially satellites of the U. S., that the U. S. is not going to tolerate any other suitors, and that if any nation from the more barbaric continents steps on Uncle Sam's toes it may have to fight the other American nations too.

But the picture of noble, peaceful Uncle Sam and his neighbors, as Mr. Roosevelt paints it, is plausible and touching and subtly insinuates into many minds the idea that if ever such a country as this should be involved in a war, it would be "purely defensive" or unselfishly on behalf of some great ideal—perhaps the missionary ideal of carrying to other lands the blessings of American peace and neighborliness. And of course when such a country now drills troops, builds military planes and war vessels, it is for the same noble, irreproachable ends! Only some nasty-minded Bolshevik could think otherwise.

The Certainty of War
Once again we note the tenseness of international relations today, the certainty of war and of our involvement in it, involuntarily coming to the surface. In the very act of picturing the peace-loving U. S. Roosevelt conjures up the enemy whom we are to fight in the approaching war. "The temper and the purposes of the rulers of many of the great populations in Europe and in Asia have not pointed the way either to peace or to good-will among men." The "twin spirit of autocracy and aggression" rule these nations. Roosevelt is not satisfied to charge the rulers of these autocratic and aggressive nations (obviously Japan, Germany, Italy, etc. are intended) with crimes. More openly than is customary in this stage of war preparation he tries to prepare the American masses to hate and therefore to fight the peoples of other lands. "It is idle," he says, "to preach that the masses of the people who constitute those nations which are dominated by the twin spirits of autocracy and aggression, are out of sympathy with their rulers. . . . They follow blindly and fervently the lead of those who seek autocratic power." After more of this kind, he becomes positively truculent, challenging these wicked nations to knock the chip off his shoulder: "I recognize that these words which I have chosen with deliberation will not prove popular in any nation that chooses to fit this shoe to its foot—the implication, if they don't like it, to hell with them."

Let American workers, farmers and intellectuals make no mistake about it. Primarily, Roosevelt's speech was an expression of American imperialism flinging defiance at its foes, seeking to engender a war spirit in the American masses. "Good" and "Bad" Capitalist Powers

The Roosevelt speech gave support to the two rationalizations by means of which the imperialists—and, it cannot too often be pointed out, the Stalinist and social democratic misleaders of the working class—made use in duping the masses into participation in imperialist war. One is the idea to which we have already alluded, namely, that there are two kinds of big nations: the good, non-aggressive, "democratic" ones and the bad, aggressive, autocratic, Fascist ones. The fact that all alike are capitalist-imperialist nations, engaged in daily deadly competition with each other, which some day shifts into open, military conflict, this is pushed into the background. So is the fact that in the Fascist countries the masses are told that the "democratic" countries are plous hypocrites who have plundered and slugged their neighbors and now won't let them get up and rehabilitate themselves. Thus as in 1914 the masses are to be duped, hypnotized by looking at an illusion so that they don't realize the truth until they perish in agony in No Man's Land.

And the other fairy tale is that of the small nations who "left to themselves, would be content with their boundaries" and whose rulers "deep in their hearts follow these peaceful and reasonable aspirations of their peoples." Poor little Belgium, noble, democratic King Albert, and build it now!

After Roosevelt has then foretold war, aroused the war psychology and indicated at whom the guns we are making are pointed (mainly Japan, of course) it is not hard to discern the real meaning of our "neutrality" policy over which pacifists, including socialists and Stalinists, wax so enthusiastic. There is no "moral" consistency about it, certainly, for it proposes to withhold munitions equally from the "good" neighbors and the "bad" ones. In case they are involved in war and to keep up "norms" trade if possible with both in other forms of merchandise which might be used for war purposes. For the present, while the preliminary skirmishes take place, we can hold aloof under this "neutrality" policy, go about our business of consolidating our economic power especially on the American continent, building our naval and military machine, letting other countries deplete their resources and energies. Even after the outbreak of large-scale conflict the U. S. may still for a time pursue the same superficially virtuous course, as in 1914-17, but in due time, unless the American workers under the leadership of the revolutionary internationalist party decree otherwise, when it has exhausted possibilities of gain from a "peaceful" policy will plunge again into war.

It is when we thus see clearly that the first half of Roosevelt's speech for American capitalist imperialists, a pledge that the administration will look tirelessly after the national (capitalist) "defences," that we can see through the sham and demagoguery of the last half which has been ecstatically hailed by liberal and all good Democrats as a fighting speech against autocratic and reactionary capitalism.

New Deal Served Capitalism
The New Deal, as Roosevelt points out in this very speech, holding it to be to his credit, saved capitalism and the capitalists. Business is on the upgrade. Stock quotations and profits are mounting. Relief funds are being drastically cut. Strikes were kept to bounds by Hugh Johnson and his successors. The basic industries are still unorganized. There are eleven million or more unemployed. But the capitalists are feeling cheery, now that profits are being made again temporarily. They want to take away from the workers even those concessions, mainly illusory, which Roosevelt realized had to be given to save the system. So there is to be a sham battle to divert the masses' attention from the truth. Some Republican back will run against Roosevelt, champion of the forgotten man.

Unwittingly he made it clear—and this is for us the most important point in the second half of the speech—that regardless of who is elected President, which old party

Pickets Shut Mather Plant

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preparation for the moment when it can cry out "Violence!" and "Unruly agitators!"

There is little doubt but that every agency of the capitalist class, government, police, press, strike-breakers, reactionary organizations, are being mobilized in an effort to demoralize unionism in Toledo by restoring a plant to full operation in the face of a picket-line for the first time in a score and over of strikes during the "New Deal" period. Industrialists are deliberately driving for a violent show-down battle.

Leading figure in the strike is Burke Cochran, vice-president of the M.E.S.A. Toledo local, who has been elected to take full charge of all strike activities. Cochran was the key-speaker at the mass meeting of the Mather strikers and M.E.S.A. men yesterday, which was called for the purpose of mobilizing the forces in the strike. His inflammatory drive, keen tactical sense and fighting fervor have revitalized the spirit of the strikers, drooping under two months of inactivity, tension, uncertain waiting and slimming. Today's clashes indicate that the union is going to fight bitterly. A mass picket line is being built up in icy blizzard weather.

At the moment when the scabs appear to start actual plant operation, there is going to be a fight and the outcome of this fight may determine in large measure the course of all auto unionism in this city for some time to come.

is in power, the old age of individualism, of laissez faire is gone. Government will more and more throw off any pretense of being merely an agency to keep peace between individuals in the land or some higher essence "above the battle" of economic forces. More and more open-ly, including socialists and Stalinists, directly through government agencies. Government will "interfere" in every phase of life, including the labor movement. "Our resplendent economic autocracy," orates Mr. Roosevelt, "does not want to return to that individualism of which they prate. . . . They realize that in thirty-four months we have built up new instruments of public power." Of course, says Mr. Roosevelt, in my hands, "in the hands of a people's government this power is wholesome and proper." But Mr. Roosevelt used it to save these very capitalists whom he pretends to fight. "The new instruments of public power" designed to save capitalism, point inexorably to Fascism.

From that and from the war to which Mr. Roosevelt also pointed, the tolling masses of this and of all lands cannot be saved by pacifism or reform, but only by taking power into their own hands by revolutionary action, smashing the capitalist state and building a workers' state and an ordered economic life.

NEC Suspends NY Old Guard

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filial organizations of the national party."

Daniel Hoan absented himself from the N.E.C. meeting but sent a telegram demanding unity and proposing that the five leading factionalists from each side should withdraw from party work for the next period.

National Split
There is no doubt that the split, already an accomplished fact in New York State, will be extended throughout the party. But, from all indications, the Old Guard claims of a majority will not be substantiated. The Federations—Finnish and Jugo-Slav—will go with the right wing in the split and the Jewish Verband majority will follow suit. A minority of the latter, however, is expected to remain with the official party. The Young People's Socialist League will follow suit by an overwhelming majority. The Reading organization is divided over the issue; this accounts, it is said, for the middle-of-the-road position of Hoopes. The Milwaukee organization is expected to remain with the official party once the split becomes definitive on a national scale. The municipal Socialist organization controlled by Mayor McLevy, on the other hand, will probably go with the Old Guard.

Throughout the debate at the sessions of the N.E.C., as in the long struggle since the Detroit convention, the Old Guard hammered away on political issues, making no compromises in its demand that "armed insurrection" and "united front with the C. P. be banned as a condition for unity. The "Millitants" took a defensive position on the political issues and centered their arguments on "autocracy" and the demand for an "active and inclusive party."

In the national split, which now appears to be irremediable, the Old Guard will have the advantage of a homogeneous grouping and an unambiguous program. It will also have the important financial resources accruing from the institutions under its control, particularly the opulent "Forward." The Forward was attacked by Thomas as having dominated the party "because it has the money." The Forward was also attacked by Krueger, according to press reports, as a "job machine and a money machine" which employed Tammany methods in the party.

The official party, headed by Thomas, will come out of the split with a decisive majority of the membership, the "activists" and the youth. The personal popularity of Thomas as the Presidential candidate will also be an important factor in the struggle to prevail. Its handicap will be its heterogeneous composition and its lack of a definite and consistent policy. This is the fruit of the strategy of the activists in conducting the struggle primarily on the basis of secondary and organizational questions and evading the challenge of the Old Guard on political issues.

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'People's Front' - New Panacea of Stalinism

By Max Shachtman

Fascism, in seizing power in Germany without encountering the slightest resistance from the working class, revealed how utterly savage and reactionary capitalism has become in the years of its decay. It nevertheless yielded one positive result. It brutally jerked the proletarian movement out of its complacency with the old labor parties, their theories, their practical policies and their leadership, and compelled it to undertake a search for a course different from those which led it to such a calamitous and humiliating defeat. At the same time that Fascism brought to the workers everywhere an acute awareness of the hideous inferno which it holds in store for them whenever and wherever it triumphs, it also impelled them to think deeply about why it took over the helm so easily in Germany and what line of action must henceforward be adopted so that the reptile may be strangled before it strangles them.

Nothing is more understandable than the fact that the workers, alarmed by the spread of Fascism to one country after another, should lend a receptive ear to every plausible plan presented as a means whereby they may deal an effective blow to what menaces their very existence. And of the plans recently put forward, none appears so

simple, so plausible, so effective as the one now so vociferously advanced by the Stalinist parties, following the 7th Congress of the Communist International, for virtually all the countries of the globe. But only appears! For a closer examination of the Stalinist panacea against Fascism and war, which goes by the alluring name of "The People's Front," will not only reveal that the "plan" is far from a new one but also that its execution would have just exactly the opposite effects from those it promises to produce.

The opposite effects? Precisely. Do you then mean that the Stalinists, instead of wanting to avert Fascism and war, would rather bring them on? Not at all, any more than the German social democrats wanted the war of 1914-1918 or the victory of Hitler in 1933; for that matter, any more than the bulk of the members of the capitalist class "want" imperialist war. What is decisive in this, as in all other social questions, is not what you want, but what will logically result from the policy you pursue. Not even the most ardent and anxious mountain climber has ever been known to reach the top of Mont Blanc by starting to dig a ditch at the foot of it; such a method would hardly bring him half-way up the side of it.

How the German Social Democrats Followed the Road to Ruin

The classic party of the "practical" struggle against Fascism, for peace and democracy, was the German social democracy. Its policy, generously complemented by the German Stalinists, resulted in the final victory of Fascism, the enhancement of the danger of a new world war, the destruction of the last remnants even of bourgeois democracy. Briefly its course was based upon the following conceptions:

Not having behind us the majority, we cannot yet take control of the country, establish a Socialist government, and inaugurate a socialist society. The Weimar Republic is better for the working class than the Hohenzollern monarchy; Hitlerism is worse than the Weimar Republic. We must therefore defend the bourgeois republic, for the alternative is not socialism or capitalism, but democracy or Fascism. Being in the minority in the country, we can find a majority to defend the republic ("democracies require majorities") only if we ally ourselves with the democratic elements of all classes. They will ally themselves with us in the struggle against Fascism only if we do not drive them into its arms by a systematic prosecution of the class struggle. The class struggle, in such critical times as exist by virtue of the Fascist threat to seize power, is superseded by the struggle of the people (all classes, the good people of all classes) against the psychopathological Brownists. The unity of the people is represented by the Iron Front. That we have won the democratic bourgeoisie to the struggle against Fascism, is represented by the fact that Hindenburg is our candidate

Why the Stalinists Made the Turn to the 'People's Front'

Up to the time Hitler took power, the Stalinist line in Germany (as in all other countries) was derived from the theory and practice of "socialism in one country." The source of the new Stalinist line is exactly the same theory. At bottom, the latter is based upon the loss of faith in the revolutionary capacities of the world working class, for the Soviet bureaucracy simply says, when it formulates and fights so furiously for the idolization of its theory, that backward Russia will arrive at the classless socialist society, with a standard of living higher than that ever enjoyed by any working class in any capitalist country at any stage of development, sooner than the German, French, English or American workers will overthrow their bourgeoisie. Arrive there if military intervention can be prevented, if the capitalist world, especially Europe, can be made to preserve (more or less) the status quo, without eruptions or convulsions. A civil war in Germany to prevent Hitler from coming to power, would precipitate international complications and probably war, without the German workers being able to win (that prospect, the Moscow bureaucracy simply ridicules over its tenebris). That would endanger the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union. Therefore, retreat before Fascism without giving battle.

Far from dispelling the danger to the Soviet Union, this abysmally blind policy vastly heightened it. Hitler in power became, to quote Trotsky, the super-Wrangell, the sword poised for Russia's heart. Frightened, panic-stricken by the results of their whole "Third Period" policy, the Soviet bureaucrats who manipulate the Third International like jugglers, made a

either "friendly" or "allied" with the Soviet Union, or whose "friendship" the Soviet Union seeks. This friendship (how temporary, how treacherous such friends always prove to be in a crisis!) is purchased by the Stalinists at the price of converting—more accurately, of organizing—their "People's Fronts" into recruiting agencies figuratively and literally of the democratic imperialist bourgeoisie in the respective countries.

It is at this point that the difference between the Stalinist and the German social democratic courses comes to an end, and their identity is resumed. The difference is of little or no fundamental account, and of no practical significance; it relates to the Why and the Who, but it alters nothing in the How and the What . . . or in the results.

The Soviet government signs a military-political pact with Czechoslovakia; the Stalinists, "pleased," reads the New York Times cable (Dec. 22, 1935), "with a Soviet pact for defense against German aggression which Mr. Benes' realism induced him to conclude, voted alongside the bourgeois Catholic parties for their former enemy." Cause and effect! Litvinov signs a pact (good, bad or indifferent, that is not the point at the moment) with the Czech bourgeoisie. The Czech Stalinists promptly suspend the class struggle and every other revolutionary principle by voting for the military budget in parliament

'People's Front', Democracy and Fascism

Almost up to yesterday, the Stalinists not only rejected a united front with the Socialist parties and the reformist trade unions, but denounced those revolutionists who advocated such a bloc against Fascism as being themselves a species of "social-Fascists." Not a united front with the social democracy against Fascism, said the Stalinists, but first crush the social democracy, and there will be no Fascist problem. The head of the world proletariat, the beloved Stalin, delivered himself in 1925 of the dictum which became canonical doctrine in the International: "Social democracy is objectively the moderate wing of Fascism. . . . These organizations do not negate, but supplement one another." The headquarters of the world proletariat, the slightly less beloved Manuilsky, warned at the 11th Plenum of the C. I., in March, 1931, that "the social democrats, in order to deceive the masses, deliberately proclaim that the chief enemy of the working class is Fascism, in order thereby to divert attention from the question of the struggle against the dictatorship of capitalism in general, to idealize the democratic forms of the latter and to create among the workers the impression that they must struggle for the 'democratic' forms of their exploitation and against the Fascist forms."

But all this was in the period when the Stalinists guaranteed us that there was a universal stormy revolutionary upsurge of the proletariat, a mass radicalization, which threatened the innermost fortresses of world capitalism. The upsurge has apparently abated considerably under the general leadership of the Stalinist staff, and from the struggle on all fronts for the proletarian dictatorship the Third International has made a forced march forward to the struggle for "the democratic forms of . . . the dictatorship of capitalism in general."

"Now the toiling masses are faced with the necessity of making a definite choice, and of making it today," announced Helmsman Dimitroff at the 7th Congress, "not between proletarian dictatorship and bourgeois democracy but between bourgeois democracy and Fascism."

To the extent that there is a kernel of truth in this assertion, the responsibility for a situation in which—in the era of imperialist decay and social revolution—the struggle for working class power has been set low on the order of the day, lies with the reformist social democracy and the no less treacherous policy of Stalinism. The conclusion, however, which the Stalinists draw does not differ by a hair from the conclusions drawn by the social democracy for years.

From the fact that on this, that or the other day the working class did not yet stand on the eve of the fight for power, the German reformists concluded that not only was this fight postponed to the Greek Kalends, but that no steps should be taken to organize the class struggle in such a manner as to bring the proletariat constantly closer to the decisive battle. It is false to think that the German Socialist leaders ever declared that the ideal of a socialist government was abandoned by them—any more than the Stalinists now declare their renunciation of the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat some day in the future—the distant future. The crime of the social democrats consisted not in failing to take power when it could not be taken, but in supporting the spurious capitalist democracy of

and by joining with the bourgeois parties to elect Eduard Benes, shrewd and faithful servant of Czech and French imperialism, as president of the republic. A Roland for an Oliver! A Benes for a Hindenburg!

Ditto in France. Only here, instead of Benes or Hindenburg, the name is Herriot, or Daladier, whose renown as a fighter against Fascism was first gained on that famous February 6 when he crumpled up at the mere sight of several thousand Fascists, armed with razor-blade-tipped canes, demonstrating in front of the Chamber of Deputies.

Ditto in Mexico, the "friendship" of whose bourgeoisie the Soviet bureaucracy thirsts after. The clever bourgeois demagogue, President Cardenas, during whose less than two years in office more than 2,000 militant peasants have been assassinated in the state of Vera Cruz alone, has the ardent support of the ludicrous little C. P. of Mexico. Its manifesto only a few weeks ago, pasted all over the capital, began: "With Cardenas! Against the Callesist reaction!" and ended: "Let us support Cardenas in his struggle against the Callesist reaction!" Half the Mexican C. P. membership working in the government apparatus, is only added reason for such ardor.

Now let us see the "People's Front" as it labors to be born in the United States.

The Weimar Republic, they helped the bourgeoisie consolidate itself in power on the grounds that Fascism would thereby be warded off. Then, having demoralized and devitalized the proletariat, they stood by helplessly while Fascism rose to power quite legally and constitutionally and "democratically" on the basis of that very same Weimar Republic.

The intentions of Stalin and Co. may be of the noblest type, but we see no reason why the general run of the German Socialist bureaucracy should not be characterized similarly. In any case, it is not important. What is important, is the identity of their positions. The so-called "conditions" that Dimitroff sets for casting his vote for bourgeois democracy are essentially the same as those promulgated by the German Socialists in their time. The latter also demanded that the bourgeois democratic governments which it supported or "tolerated" should "disarm the Fascists" and do this, that and the other thing. Like the Stalinists, they too spoke of a "real struggle" against the Fascists. Like the Stalinists, they too said that "final salvation this government cannot bring." And like the Stalinists, they supported bourgeois democracy as the "lesser evil."

Lenin too made demands on the bourgeois democratic government of Kerensky in the struggle against the "Fascist" Kornilov. Quite true. But—and here lies the fundamental, unobliterable difference!—at no time did Lenin support the Kerensky regime, at no time did he put the social democratic-Stalinist alternative. In the very struggle against Kornilov he subjected the bourgeois "democracy" and its government to a pitiless criticism, organizing the masses independently, warning against the counterfeited "democracy," patiently explaining, and systematically mobilizing the masses for the struggle for power. The same policy is now denounced by the French Stalinists in terms lifted directly from the Russian Mensheviks of 1917: except that where the latter said "a Leninist-Trotskyist provocation," the former merely say "a Trotskyist provocation."

In its consequences, the policy of the German social democracy led to the victory of Fascism, despite the fact that it was calculated to prevent it. The "defense of bourgeois democracy," of the Weimar Republic, as the lesser evil, did not bring the workers to power, and did not even save bourgeois democracy from inundation. Let that not be forgotten!

At the 7th Congress, the beloved Czech Stalinist spokesman, Gottwald, impudently plagiarizing Hitler, Ferdinand, Wells and Loeb, declared: "If this bourgeois democratic republic is threatened by bloody Fascism, then we defend this republic against Fascism and call upon all real socialists, democrats and republicans to a united front for the joint fight so that this republic shall be spared the greatest disgrace of all, and the tolling people the greatest catastrophe of all, viz., bloody Fascist dictatorship." When this is followed by the Stalinist vote for Hindenburg-Benes for president of the Czechoslovakian Republic, one must ask (no answer will be forthcoming!): Where is the difference between the social democratic Iron Front in Germany, which was so mercilessly attacked by the revolutionists, and the Stalinist "People's Front"? And wherein will the consequences differ?

In the official textbook of the Stalinists, published only a few months ago—"Fascism and Social Revolution"—the author, Dutt, comments as follows on the resignation of Daladier after the February 6 Fascist demonstration in Paris:

"There with the whole card-castle of bourgeois democracy, of the 'democratic' defense against Fascism, of 'democracy' versus dictatorship, of the whole social democratic line, came tumbling down. The line of the 'Left Cartel,' of the French Socialist party, of the parliamentary-democratic defense against Fascism, was once again only to have smoothed the way for the advance of Fascism, for a government of the Right, for intensified dictatorship against the workers. . . ." (P. 276.)

The Farmer-Labor Party and the 'People's Front'

Like Theseus in the labyrinth of mythology, one would need a large ball of string to enable him to get to the center (and out again) of the maze through which the American Communist party has travelled in its futile search for a Farmer-Labor party in the course of the last dozen or more years. Shelled with a sigh of relief several years ago, it was taken down—not the party, but the hope—shortly before the 7th World Congress and dusted off. Now, a few months afterwards, it appears, considerably the worse for alteration, as the specific American form of the People's Front.

In the October 1935 issue of "The Communist," W. Z. Foster, who has also been taken off the shelf and dusted off, explains that unlike France, where the masses have "parties, of their own, which could serve as the basis of such a united front," the United States possesses no large mass party. If the decisions of the 7th Congress are to be carried out in this country—and God knows they must be—the C.P. must unite with somebody or something to form the "People's Front." If there is no somebody or something, it will have to be manufactured.

The fabled sculptor, Pygmalion, became enamored of the lovely but inanimate statue he had chiseled, and wished so ardently that it might come to life that the gods finally granted his request. The marble gave way to the flesh and blood of Galathea, whom Pygmalion espoused and lived happily with for a goodly period of time. Let us see what the Stalinist Pygmalions aim to infuse their marbleheaded ideas with in order that they may come to life as the American

And further: "To preach confidence in legalism, in constitutionalism, in bourgeois democracy, that is, in the capitalist state, means to invite and to guarantee the victory of Fascism. That is the lesson of Germany and Austria." (P. 299.)

Perfect! If anything is to be added to it, it is this: The place of the Left Cartel in France has now been taken by the Stalinist-organized "People's Front"; the Stalinists now cry for the same Daladier to take power! The line of the "People's Front," instead of averting Fascism, will, if continued—we are merely echoing the pre-7th Congress Dutt—smooth the way for the advance of Fascism, for a government of the Right, for intensified dictatorship against the workers. And not only in France.

People's Front.

In the resolution adopted by the Central Committee of the C. P. on January 18, 1935, upon Browder's return from Moscow with the straight information that the American masses were clamoring for a Labor party, four types of Labor parties are described, "reflecting the two chief political tendencies of this movement—the class struggle or class collaboration . . . : (a) a 'Popular' or 'progressive' party based on the LaFollette, Sinclair, Olson and Long movements, and typified by these leaders and their programs; (b) a 'Farmer-Labor' or 'Labor' party of the same character, differing only in name and the degree of its demagoguery; (c) a 'Labor party' with a predominantly trade union basis, with a program consisting of immediate demands (possibly with vague demagoguery about the "cooperative commonwealth," a la Olson), dominated by a section of the trade union bureaucracy, assisted by the Socialist party and excluding the Communists; (d) a Labor party built up from below on a trade union basis but in conflict with the bureaucracy, putting forward a program of demands closely connected with mass struggles, strikes, etc., with the leading role played by the militant elements, including the Communists." (The Communist, Feb. 1935, p. 123.)

Being, as they were, in a position to choose, the Stalinists decided only a year ago to having nothing to do with any of the variants except Type D. Anything less represented class collaboration. But that was before the 7th Congress. What does the "People's Front," anti-Fascist, mass Farmer-Labor

part look like now, in the Stalinist conception? "Les und stau!" as the Germans say; read and gasp.

"The anti-Fascist mass party," writes Foster in the October 1935 Communist, "should be based on the trade unions [What? Not from below?] and should include farmers' organizations, the Communist party, Socialist party, state Farmer-Labor parties, veterans' organizations, working women's organizations, workers' and farmers' cooperatives, workers' fraternal societies, tenants' leagues, anti-war societies, groups of intellectuals, etc." (p. 901.) One would think that these were enough, that everyone has been covered. But no, the "etc." impels us to read further and to gasp more:

"The new mass party of toilers should also strive to include sections of the sprouting Fascist or partly Fascist organizations and tendencies; such as company unions, American Legion posts, and groups of the Coughlin and Long movements, etc." (Ibid.)

If, after this stupefyingly comprehensive enumeration, there is still one man, woman, child or beast omitted from the roll call, he, she or it will undoubtedly be covered by the second, more ominous "etc."

What more pointed indication could the sager sections of the American bourgeoisie have of the fact that, as another installment on the price for Russian recognition, and as a promise of what greater gifts the Soviet bureaucracy is prepared to make to the "democratic" American rulers in return for an alliance against Japan, the Stalinists are working with might and main to blur all class lines, to soften the class struggle, to reduce themselves voluntarily to the position of an innocuous, all-embracing, national extension of LaFollette petty bourgeois "progressivism"? Or do we owe the LaFollette dynasty in Wisconsin an apology? If we are not mistaken, it draws the line at "sprouting Fascist or partly Fascist organizations and tendencies" in its ranks, and the trade unions which are part of the "progressive" movement, being uneducated in the precepts of overhauled Stalinism, would probably balk, in their unreasonably sectarian way, at sitting in the same party with company unions and Coughlin-Long groups.

Just read what is palmed off nowadays, without a smile, as Leninism: "The hour," reads the 1935 election platform of the Stalinists in New York, "demands the building of the broadest people's front, uniting workers, farmers, unemployed, professionals, small business men, Protestants, Catholics, Jews, Socialists, Communists, Democrats and Republicans, a people's front, fighting in the interests of the common people, the working people and the poor farmers." "Every means and effort," reads a circular, dated August 26, 1935, sent to all C. P. units by the New York district literature department, "must be made to widen and broaden our united front among all classes of people in New York City. . . . The necessity for the widest distribution of this platform, as you can see, is very great, much greater than ordinarily, because of our attempt to unite all people in an anti-Fascist front."

Socialists, Communists, Republicans, Democrats, all classes of people, all people, fighting in the interests of the common people—where is there room for the class struggle in all this vulgar verbiage so adeptly lifted from the platform speeches of every capitalist demagogue in the history of modern politics?

The "People's Front" will embrace all parties and political views (except the revolutionary, to be sure!) and it will therefore be an appendage of the bourgeoisie just as unflinchingly as was the Iron Front, paralyzing the independent movement of the proletariat. The "People's Front" will embrace all classes of people and it will therefore represent none of them. Comprehensive in its scope and composition as it will be, it will have few to struggle against, just a few, like Mr. W. R. Hearst who—O knave impure in body and soul!—in addition to being a Fascist is further indicted by the Stalinists for his shocking habit of conjugal infidelity.

And in such a struggle, what more powerful, even if—how shall we put it?—not entirely reliable and not entirely consistent ally can the "People's Front" have than that distinguished paladin of bourgeois democracy versus autocratic dictatorship, Franklin D. Roosevelt? But this is an aspect of the question so central in importance that it requires and deserves more ample treatment than can be devoted to it in this article.

(Next week, Max Shachtman will deal with the question of the "Government of the People's Front" and the "People's Front and the War Danger."—Ed.)

Toledo W.P.A. Has Its Say

(Continued from Page 1)

The WPA here which has left thousands of qualified workers on the relief rolls, laid off thousands of others for varying periods of time that cut monthly pay from the \$55 minimum down to as little as \$20, delayed issuance of pay-checks for days and weeks, short-paid hundreds who have worked full time by a trick method of accountancy, and has provoked scores of other grievances. Schuhl, at the last minute the day before, attempted to evade speaking at the meeting, the date for which he himself had set. A little persuasion by a union committee forced from him an agreement to speak for "15 minutes."

When Schuhl put in his appearance at the meeting, the entire audience rose at the signal of the chairman, Art Preis, one of the first members of the Ohio Unemployed League in this territory and a leader of the big FERA strike here last spring, and sang lustily the words of a parody song to the tune of "Hinky-Dinky-Parley Vouz" especially written for the occasion as a greeting to the administrator: "Two verses of the song, printed on song-sheets issued to every worker, reflected the spirit of the meeting and had Schuhl's ears burning. They went:

"They promised us fifty-five bucks a month and said, 'This will do.' Then they laid us off for half the time, and it was cut in two. They give you hot air and bally-hoo To warm up your house and make you stew. And say, 'That's good enough for you.' We workers are simply all fed up on bally-hoo. We're tired of all this passing-the-buck and parley-vouz. There's plenty here, as we all can see. We don't have to beg on bended knee. We'll get what we want, and to hell with you."

K.O.ed by Questions The chairman then introduced Schuhl, and pointed out that the administrator was the WPA workers' servant, and that while the

union would extend every personal courtesy to him, he should not take this in any sense as a truce with the administration and that there would be no pulling of punches in questions or remarks addressed to him as a representative of the administration. The chairman then added that since Mr. Schuhl had indicated that he was a very busy man, and the union was a very busy organization, he wished to submit a printed list of nine questions drawn up by the union, copies of which were in the hands of every worker present, as the basis for the speaker's remarks.

For fifteen minutes Schuhl rambled and fumbled through the questions, passing the buck to the Federal WPA and to the local city and county governments. He ended up feebly by stating: "I know I haven't answered these questions very much to your satisfaction, but it's all I can say." When he turned to go, the chairman called upon him to answer direct questions from the workers. His 15 minutes stretched to an hour, as worker after worker speared Schuhl with sharp questions that tore his apologies apart, and exposed his false claims on many points by stating their own experiences. The chairman mercifully closed the question period to permit the groggy administrator to beat a hasty exit.

Stalinists Sabotage Unity

Great confusion, however, still exists among the WPA workers due to the refusal of the local W.A.A. to cooperate in joint action with the union in fighting for the WPA workers. Members of the Communist Party and the liquidated Unemployed Councils have taken practically complete control of the local W.A.A. These individuals have stopped at no vile tactic to prevent unity among the unemployed and project workers in the W.A.A. and Unemployed League. They have stooped to the basest type of personal slander against leading members of the union and League. At a meeting of the union last week, five members of the W.A.A. who incidentally had been among those for whom the union had secured back-pay and new jobs, inspired by Fred Voelker, former Unemployed Council organizer and now a leading light in the W.A.A., attempted to break up the union by a vague charge of "selling out." The rank and file union members took the floor and smashed their flimsy lies and laughed them out of the meeting.

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"Rally 'Round the Flag'"

IF WAR leaves room for only two tendencies in the labor movement—social-patriotism and revolutionary internationalism—the present period of an imminent new imperialist slaughter makes the attitude toward the coming war the decisive criterion by which to judge all parties, groups and tendencies in the ranks of the working class.

The tendency of the Stalinists in this regard—now clear enough to all who are able to read and observe—has been implicit all the time in their nationalistic policy. More than seven years ago, in his criticism of the program of the Sixth Congress of the Comintern, Trotsky prophesied that the dogma of "Socialism in One Country" (and no other country!) would inevitably lead to degeneration along the lines of social-patriotism. The prediction is a reality already. The Stalinists in the impending war will take their place in the camp of the betrayers of 1914. But, unlike the social-democrats of 1914, who openly joined the imperialist camp only on August 4, after the declaration of war, the Stalinists are showing their hand in advance. Not only objectively as a result of false policy, but subjectively, consciously, deliberately, they are preparing to act as recruiting agents of American imperialism in the coming war under the pretext of "defending the Soviet Union." The main task at present is to entice the Stalinists to rally round the flag.

Debating with Norman Thomas, Browder, who certainly "speaks with authority" as long as his commission is not revoked, explained the real motive of the excessive sentiments of love and unity for the Socialist workers and youth. He said:

"A situation can develop tomorrow when German and Japanese Fascism will proceed to attack the Soviet Union. . . . Will the militant Socialists adopt a position of neutrality? Will they advocate the slogan 'Keep America Out of War'? Impossible!"

The meaning of these remarks is perhaps as clear as Browder could make them. Precision of thought and utterance was never one of the merits of the "leader." In one of his priceless essays in the Daily Worker of December 9, Michael Gold, one of the literary specialists who are hired to translate the "party line" into English, has explained what Browder meant. Said Gold:

"But if Fascist Germany and Japan unite against the Soviet Union Mr. Zam wants American Socialists to stand idly by, and to adopt the neutral policy of the Borahs, Hearsts and J. David Sterns."

"Will they do it? Anyone who went through the last World War knows that Socialists won't."

"If the line-up is such, THEY WILL FIGHT IN THE AMERICAN ARMY. If it is allied to the Soviet Union." (Our emphasis.)

That is clear enough. That is what all the Browders have been hinting at in their cloudy formulations. Most damning of all was Gold's "correction" of this too-frank appeal for the "American Army." The Socialist workers are not yet ready for such blunt proposals, and Zam directed a withering fire against Gold in the Socialist Call. Sixteen days later, on Christmas day with all its cheer and good will, Gold admitted his error. Hidden in a cloud of verbiage which justified the essence of what he had written, the "admission" consisted of this: The reference to "fighting in the American army" was—what? A "bad formulation," and "to simple a statement of a complicated situation." What Gold really meant is: "I spoke too frankly and let the cat out of the bag. Therefore I was instructed (after a delay of 16 days) to cover up without really retracting anything essential in what I had written. I am doing the best I can."

Gold simply ran ahead of himself a little. He explained the line as he understood it, and he understands it correctly. But the strategy of the Stalinists at the present time is not to speak too plainly. The game is to muddle and confuse the revolutionary workers, blur the issue, dope them by degrees and, in general, psychologize them for the call to "fight in the American army" which will surely come a little later. That explains the epidemic of indecent flag-waving, and the sickening "love of our country" which they profess now on all occasions with that ardent "patriotism" which Dr. Johnson said is the last refuge of a scoundrel—all to one end: to distort and corrupt the vanguard of the American workers and drag them as slaves of American imperialism in the coming war.

The Maritime Federation

FROM all indications another great labor struggle is impending on the Pacific Coast, and once again we see the old familiar combination—bosses, government and reactionary labor leaders—lining up against the rank and file of the workers. In this case, however, the collaboration of these three agencies of exploitation and betrayal, usually concealed and camouflaged, is conducted openly even before the outbreak of the struggle. This makes the real issue clearer.

It also shows the extreme tenseness of the relations between the marine workers and the employers and the imminence of an open, desperate struggle. The Maritime Federation has become a great power. The bosses feel obliged to mobilize all their forces in the endeavor to destroy it. On a showdown these always include the U. S. Department of Labor and the A. F. of L. bureaucracy.

Only a few days ago the press was filled with threats of the employers' representatives to smash the marine workers' organizations by "vigilante" terror. This was followed by the intervention of McGrady, Assistant Secretary of Labor. He called to the heads of the international unions of seamen and longshoremen; their meeting was a conspiracy against the Maritime Federation and the workers united under its banner. Now it is announced that the convention of the International Seamen's Union, to convene at Washington on Jan. 13, will attempt to "outlaw" and reorganize its Pacific Coast locals "as the first step toward breaking the hold of Harry Bridges, left wing leader in the Maritime Federation of the Pacific."

The urge and drive of the workers for industrial unionism and a militant policy is not confined to the conflict in the upper circles of the A. F. of L. officialdom. That is only a reflection of the real movement, and a distorted reflection at that. The authentic movement comes from below, and is beginning to express itself in formations and methods of struggle which in effect break out of the bounds and discard the obsolete tactics of craft unionism. That is what

happened at Minneapolis, at Detroit, and on the Pacific Coast.

Shrewdly enough, the reactionary labor leaders see in these movements the real challenge to their antiquated forms and methods, their treacherous policy, their power. Hence the expulsion and "Red Purge" aimed at Local 574, the sabotage of the independent auto strike in Detroit and the move now to expel and "reorganize" the locals affiliated to the Maritime Federation on the Pacific Coast. Between such labor leaders and the employers, the vigilantes and the government agencies there is only a division of labor.

There is no way for the marine workers but to stand their ground and fight it out. Capitulation to the demands of the Scharrenbergs and the Tobins amounts to the same thing in the end as capitulation to the bosses. The latter strive to smash the unions from without. The former would blow them up from within, split them into fragments and deprive them of the right to choose their own leaders. Unions which submit to such invasions of their rights cannot conduct any effective struggle against the employers.

Affiliation to the A. F. of L. and its international unions is undoubtedly the correct policy for the militant local organizations. Even when suspended or expelled they should continue to fight for re-affiliation and to stand for trade union unity as Local 574 in Minneapolis does. But to purchase affiliation to the A. F. of L. at the price of capitulation to the union wreckers masquerading as labor leaders, to give up the right of autonomy and internal democracy and renounce the policy of militant struggle—that is fatal for the workers involved.

The marine unions on the Pacific Coast have become a great power precisely because they have discarded the old methods and, to a certain extent, the old forms and have banded themselves together into a Maritime Federation for common action. That is the right road for these times. We hope they stick to it. They are entitled to the warmest sympathy and solidarity of all progressive workers in their struggle against the employers, the vigilantes, the Assistant Secretary of Labor and the labor reactionaries—all birds of a feather.

Socialist Party Split

THE split in the Socialist Party, which began in New York City and was then extended to New York State at the Utica Conference, will now become national. Every state organization and virtually every local will soon witness a definitive separation of the Old Guardists and the official party headed by Norman Thomas. All doubt on this score was removed by the action of the National Executive Committee in revoking the charter of the Old Guard State Executive of New York at its Philadelphia meeting last Sunday, and the simultaneous announcement of an Eastern States conference under Old Guard auspices to be held in the middle of January. The split will be deepened at this conference, so it was frankly announced by its sponsors. In all probability a national organization of the right wing, rivaling the official party, will be set up even before the May convention. These are the clear indications of the trend of developments which culminated in the Philadelphia decisions of the N.E.C. and the reaction of the Old Guard to them.

From every point of view the definitive break of the party majority with the incorrigibly reactionary Old Guard is a step forward. The split is a progressive split. It creates a new situation in the workers' political movement and opens up new possibilities and prospects for the rapid development of a truly revolutionary movement in the United States. By the organizational break with the extreme right wing which represented an outright bourgeois, social-patriotic current in the party, the potential weight of the left Socialist workers, and especially of the Socialist youth, in the regroupment and unification of the vanguard on a revolutionary basis is automatically increased. It remains to be seen whether they will rise to the level of their opportunity and their task and develop the implications of the split in programmatic terms. That is the first real test of revolutionary seriousness.

In our opinion the weakest side of the strategy of the "Militant" group, fraught with the gravest dangers for the future, has been the subordination of programmatic questions to disputes of a purely organizational nature, the true merit of which is usually lost in a maze of quibbling, charges and counter-charges and personal acrimony. The Socialist workers can really learn something in the course of the bitter fight with the Old Guard, and draw inspiration from it, only if it is lifted onto a political basis, without camouflage and without pretense. The left wing will grow in strength and self-confidence not by pretending to represent a second edition of Old Guard reformism—the original article is always preferable to the substitute—but by irreconcilable political struggle against reformism and social-patriotism. That is in fact the real implication of the split, the heart of the conflict between revolutionary socialism on the one side and the Old Guard and its political twin, Stalinism, on the other.

Cahan, O'neal and Co. do not fight the official "Communism" of the C. P. on the ground of present day political realities but from old memories. On the most fundamental principle questions all differences between them have been obliterated; the Stalinists have gone completely over to the positions of reformist social democracy. The Old Guardists do not yet trust their "sincerity," but this skepticism will be dispelled, for the Stalinists are desperately sincere in their present line of reformist and social-patriotic betrayal of the masses. A rapprochement between them and the right wing Socialists is inevitable. (It is already taking place in certain unions.) Their strategy now is to drown the left Socialists in a wave of "unity" on the way to the broader people's front for patriotism in the coming war. Subordination of program questions facilitates this game. Such a policy, if persisted in, can only vitiate all the progressive features of the split with the Old Guard and end in debacle.

LENIN MEMORIAL

MEETING

SUNDAY EVE.
JANUARY 9th

SPEAKER:

MAX SCHACHTMAN

IRVING PLAZA HALL
15 STREET at IRVING PLACEGen'lfang, Stalinist Hero,
& Kuo Min Tang Butcher

By LO SEN

On the front cover of a Stalinist publication called "China Today" is the picture of a Chinese general named Fang Chen-wu. Fang has been greeted by the Stalinists in this country as a "fighter against Japanese imperialism." He was sponsored by them at the recent "Anti-War Congress" in Cleveland. In an article by that other fighter against Japanese imperialism, Hansu Chan, in the same magazine, we are informed that "the Chinese people respect him (Gen. Fang) even more as a veteran revolutionist and the embodiment of the anti-Japanese tradition in North China." His influence "is bound to reach great proportions." He "has it in his power to play a great role in the remaking of China."

What does this mean? Who is Gen. Fang and what has been his role as a "veteran revolutionist"? Since the Seventh Congress the Stalinists have played soft pedal on the slogan of "Soviets for China." What they want now is a "national defense government" to unite all "fighters against Japanese imperialism," fighters like Fang Chen-wu and Hansu Chan. What does this signify?

A Policy Drifting with Blood

It means that the Stalinists are reverting in China to the policy of the bloc of four classes.

That was the name given eight years ago, in China, to the policy that is now known as the "People's Front."

In France today and elsewhere for tomorrow, the monstrous betrayal represented by the whole class-collaborationist concept of the "People's Front" is being thrust upon workers to whom it is represented as something new. But in China the history of the People's Front idea was written eight years ago in letters of blood drawn from the veins of thousands of betrayed and massacred workers, peasants and intellectuals.

Without even an inner shudder (or perhaps with?) these people who still call themselves "Communists" are embarking upon exactly the same policy which eight years ago destroyed the tremendous Chinese mass movement of 1925-27, which handed the workers and peasants over to nearly a decade of unimaginable terror and black reaction under the Kuomintang. For the Kuomintang was in its day also a "fighter against imperialism."

Eight years ago, in the dim days before the Third Period, the Stalinists created in China the "national united front" against imperialism. Eight years ago it was Chiang Kai-shek and Wang Ching-wei who were the "veteran revolutionists" who had it in their power "to play a great role in the remaking of China." It was the Chingangs and the Wangs who ex-corporated "imperialism" and whom the Stalinists told the workers they had to "respect" and follow. And it was the Chiang Kai-sheks and Wang Ching-weis and Hu Han-mins who in 1927 played out their "great role" by smashing the mass movement and launching the era of Kuomintang reaction.

After eight years out in the wilderness of ultra-leftism, after six years of new disasters with experiments in "soviets" without even an organized labor movement back of them or interested in them, the Stalinists are shamelessly returning to it for morsels to chew. One of those morsels is—Fang Chen-wu.

Who Is General Fang?

There are others, General Chen Ming-shu, for example, who is now hailed as the leader of a non-existent Chinese "social democracy"; but of them another time. Let us ask now: Who is Gen. Fang Chen-wu? Who is this "veteran revolutionist"? Why are honest workers supposed to believe that he is capable of leading a real struggle against imperialism in China?

Fang was a subordinate of Feng Yu-hsiang, the one time "Christian General" who in 1927 upset all the predictions and hopes of Stalin-Bucharin-Borodin and Co. by joining forces with Chiang Kai-shek to smash the revolutionary movement. When Fang joined Chiang at the end of June, 1927, Fang was an officer in his army. Did this "veteran revolutionist," like Chu Teh, Mao Tse-tung, Peng Teh-huai (and other courageous, if completely demoralized, veteran revolutionists) join the ranks of the revolution against those of the reaction?

Hansu Chan gingerly skirts this cardinal question and then casually informs us:

"When in 1928 the Nanking government, which was born out of counter-revolution, resumed its northern advance under reactionary leadership, the expedition had lost all revolutionary significance (1) and degenerated into another militarist civil war. However, the revolutionary and anti-imperialist tradition in Gen. Fang reassured itself when his army, which was the first to advance northward, came into contact with Japanese troops."

A Kuomintang General

So, Fang was in the van of this "reactionary leadership"! In 1928 he was under the command of Gen. Chiang Kai-shek, a general in the

army of Kuomintang reaction, a junior militarist in Chiang's militarist diadem, rewarded by Chiang for his services in 1927 with command of an army—a fitting place, indeed, for a "veteran revolutionist!"

Then follows an imaginative account (most of the article is pure fiction) of Fang fighting "the Japanese" at Tsinan in 1928 which is called "the first of a series of heroic events which have made Gen. Fang an outstanding champion of the anti-Japanese tradition in North China."

But the blood of the "heroic events" of only a few months back, blood which Fang Chen-wu helped to shed, was still warm! Of this Hansu Chan is treacherously silent. But this is not all.

In 1929, when black reaction under the Kuomintang was firmly in the saddle, when the workers groaned under the Kuomintang terror in the cities and the peasant armies under Chu Teh and the others fought back Kuomintang troops in the mountain fastnesses of Kiangsi and Hunan, in 1929, in March, the Kuomintang rewarded Fang Chen-wu for his "heroism" by electing him to its Central Executive Committee!

This is one of the facts Hansu Chan does not relate. Our "veteran revolutionist" established himself in the high council of the Kuomintang not in the period when the Stalinists were themselves calling that party "revolutionary" but at the time when even they had come to realize that it represented the party of the Chinese bourgeoisie, the party of black reaction, the party of terror. And at the height of this period, our "veteran revolutionist" joined its Central Executive Committee! Doesn't that qualify him to fight imperialism?

A Kuomintang Governor

But that is not yet all. Fang was so "heroic" and so "revolutionary" that three months later, in May, 1929, he was named governor of Anhwei province. Hansu Chan says casually that he "assumed the chairmanship." But under Fang,

workers' and peasants' blood flowed in Anhwei! Fang heroically justified the Kuomintang's faith in him by waging the terror with the best of Chiang's other underlings. But Fang was still faithful to Feng Yu-hsiang and when Feng and Chiang went to war in 1930 he decided to throw in his lot with Feng and therefore incurred Chiang's displeasure. According to Hansu Chan this meant a "refusal to be drawn into another militarist civil war!"

There can be no mystery about these facts to anyone who is willing to pick up a Chinese Who's Who and verify the dates. There can be no mistake about their significance. Fang Chen-wu is a "veteran revolutionist" in the tradition of Chiang Kai-shek and Feng Yu-hsiang. Like Chiang and Feng and the others he "embodies" the anti-imperialist tradition only by virtue of having batted off the shattered flesh of murdered workers and peasants and real anti-imperialist fighters. He feasted off the blood of the lamb with his superiors, the "veteran revolutionists" of yesterday (and who knows, of tomorrow?). This is what qualifies him in 1936 to "a great role in the remaking of China!"

Too Radical for Fang

Hansu Chan makes much of a supposed anti-Japanese movement in which Fang joined in 1933. What was it? It was an attempted revolt against Nanking by Feng Yu-hsiang, on a straight militarist-anti-imperialist basis. To do this, like every rival militarist today, Fang Yu-hsiang had to call himself anti-Japanese. To win popular sympathy he was even canny enough to close down the Kuomintang headquarters in his territory. Fang rejoined his old boss in that attempted revolt. We heard about "dissension" between Fang Chen-wu and Fang. Wasn't Fang "revolutionary" enough for his "revolutionary" lieutenant?

"General Fang . . ." we read, "is in favor of the restoration of the Chahar provincial Kuomintang headquarters which Marshal Feng sealed up after he took charge of

the situation last May. . . ." (China Press, July 29, 1933).

So in 1933 Fang was still the stalwart defender of the Kuomintang. He wasn't even as "daring" as Feng Yu-hsiang! And when the revolt failed? Like every other two-penny militarist, Fang bargained away his "ideals" for pieces of silver. "General Fang Chen-wu . . . has telegraphed . . . saying that he is willing to leave Chahar if the government provides him with \$30,000 to enable him to take a trip to foreign countries." (China Press, Sept. 18, 1933.) And presumably he got the 30,000 pieces of silver and they have kept him in cigarette money until the Stalinists lured him rightward in 1935 and caught up with—Fang Chen-wu.

The slogan of "soviets" is no more. It will go unused to a grave laden with the bodies of the new victims of Stalinist betrayal which it claimed. Over its ashes is rising a new foul phoenix, a "national defense government" for China, a new "national united front" with the Fang Chen-wus, the Chen Ming-shus and other second-class Chiang Kai-sheks.

It is with anger and loathing that every true revolutionist in China and elsewhere will meet this new attempt to betray any hopes that remain for China's revolutionary future in the present epoch.

It is with renewed determination and resolution that every Chinese revolutionist will struggle to build a new revolutionary party and the Fourth International.

Rubber War

(Continued from Page 1)

ers every time. Since the rubber industry has been in a growing state of decline along with industry in general under capitalism, it has been wracked by the price wars of increasing intensity in the past ten years.

That this war will continue in the future in even greater intensity is an indisputable fact as shown by the report from Detroit this week that DuPonts have ordered the United States Rubber Co. to break the temporary price agreement in an effort to take markets away from Goodyear, Goodrich and Firestone.

Facing these facts squarely and constantly explaining them to the rubber workers is an elementary duty of the United Rubber Workers officials for only as more workers realize that they can fight the companies best through the bonafide unions will the unions grow.

The ills of the rubber industry can be cured permanently only by removing the basic cause of them which is capitalist control for profit instead of workers' controlled industry for use.

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"progressive" bloc headed by John L. Lewis, it is, in the light of general developments, definitely a part of the conflict between the reactionary and the progressive tendencies.

How Support Lewis?

The trend that gravitates in the direction of a uniform progressive movement is now showing some unmistakable signs. It is equally clear that the Lewis bloc provides an important stimulus in this direction. This does not mean that this bloc should be accepted uncritically as the already established authentic leadership to which the progressive movement must be subordinated. A good example of how not to approach this question is the attitude of a blanket endorsement given to this bloc by the Stalinists, adding only the plea that Lewis go on record for a labor party. However, the political position of Lewis is already very clearly expressed in his proposal to the recent anthracite miners' convention to get "100 percent behind President Roosevelt and his policies."

Leaving all other considerations aside, it is, of course, impossible to accept the supporters of Roosevelt's policies as leaders of a real progressive movement in the trade unions. Much is yet to be done toward the building up of this movement. But the important thing is to utilize every opportunity. The first step should be for the militants to get into the stream that is now in motion in the direction of progressive organization.

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Under the Banner Of Lenin

By JAMES P. CANNON

OUR Lenin, who died eleven years ago this month, gave us the fundamental analysis of the social conditions of our time from which all revolutionary thought and action proceed. Our epoch, he said, is the epoch of wars and revolutions. In his own struggle and victory he demonstrated the correctness of this formula and the underlying unity of these two forms of social upheaval. Lenin and a numerically insignificant group of internationalists—a "sect" in the terminology of the opportunist wiseacres—raised the banner of revolutionary struggle against the imperialist war and made it, within three years, the banner of the first victorious workers' revolution. Lenin's banner was the banner of internationalism. His struggle against the war was a struggle for the Third International. None but internationalists



honor the memory of the real Lenin today.

In the blackest days of the war when the united parties of the Second International became the direct instruments of the imperialist war makers, when the faithless leaders of the social democracy invoked the name of Marx to bless the imperialist slaughter—as the traitors of today invoke the name of Lenin—he called for a revival of unfalsified Marxism, the doctrine of proletarian internationalism. So we today, on the eve of another world war for which the leaders of the Second and Third Internationals have already offered their services as lackeys of the imperialist masters, must fight for a revival of true Leninism, study his teachings and example, and fight under his banner. That means to counterpose the workers' revolution to the capitalist war and to work unceasingly and under all conditions for the realization of an international organization of the Leninists. That is the only way to fight war, because the only answer to war is revolution.

Lenin fought the betrayers who lured the socialist masses to the slaughter with the treacherous slogan of national defense. He proclaimed irreconcilable war against the social-patriots of all hues, the agents of imperialism in the labor movement. Against them he called for the regrouping of the proletarian vanguard and its unification in a new international organization on the program of revolutionary internationalism. It is well to remember that Lenin fought for this idea without compromise even when he stood in a very small minority. He taught that the split with the social-patriots was the prerequisite for the revolutionary unity of the workers. The development of events brilliantly vindicated his thesis. The Russian Revolution confirmed it in practice. On the foundation of the theory and the practice—the word and the deed—the Comintern arose as a great world movement, heralding the proletarian revolution in all countries.

All that Lenin taught us about the reformist social-democracy and the Second International remains true and applies with double force today. Only one amendment is needed to his analysis of the international movement: The Third International stands in the same dock with the Second, indicted for the same crimes. The frightful defeats suffered by the proletariat in Germany and Austria testify to the unregenerate treachery of the social democracy and the complicity of Stalinism. At this moment the two traitor internationals stand at the service of the capitalist League of Nations, backing "sanctions" and paralyzing the resistance of the workers to the impending war. Corrupt and treacherous to the core, the Second and Third Internationals are today the main bulwarks of the capitalist world system.

Reacting against the policies which led to disaster in Germany and Austria, an increasing number of the advanced (Continued on Page 4)

California Parole Board to Meet on Mini Case

Only Pressure of Workers' Organizations Can Prevent Unfavorable Action by Reactionary Forces

While Raymond W. Henderson, attorney for the National Sacramento Appeal Committee, continues his legal battle to break the appeal log-jam caused by the state's refusal to provide Norman Mini, prisoner 57606 in San Quentin, with a copy of the record of the trial proceedings, the State Parole Board is preparing to consider the question of setting sentences for Mini and the other Sacramento prisoners.

Having been denied the right to a copy of the trial record by the District Court in Sacramento, Henderson has sought a writ of habeas corpus in Marin County Court, on the grounds that Mini is being denied his constitutional right of appeal, since no brief can be drawn up without the trial proceedings. The I.L.D. attorney, Leo Gallagher, who represents some of the other Sacramento prisoners, has also gone into action following Henderson's move against the State. He is likewise seeking habeas corpus writs.

It is unlikely that these writs will be granted by the county

courts, and the fight for them will be carried further by Henderson, possibly to the Federal courts, and even to the U. S. Supreme Court. Until the question of the right of the prisoners to get copies of the trial record is settled, the appeal itself is tied up by the State.

Board Decision Important
Hence the State Parole Board, which is to meet early in February, becomes a doubly important factor in determining the fate of the prisoners as they cannot hope to get out through an appeal for some time at best.

Counting off good time, the minimum sentence of all the prisoners will be up on February 27. Their maximum sentence would be 14 years less several years for good time. The Parole Board has not yet sent any definite sentence; it has the power to do so at its meeting in February, and if it chose to, it could release all the Sacramento prisoners at the end of next month.

The fact that the Associated Farmers, Inc. and the Chamber of Commerce of California are contin-

(Continued on Page 4)

Conflict Looms on West Coast

Ohio Drivers Local Flourishes Under Rabid Boss Attacks

Youngstown Local 377 in Union Drive

YOUNGSTOWN, Ohio.—A little over two years ago the truck drivers here organized local union No. 377. For several months the local union made very little headway. About one year ago the local really started to grow as a force in the labor movement by the militant tactics it pursued. From about fifty members when it first started, it grew to over one thousand. In the very beginning few people ever paid any attention to the drivers' local union, taking into consideration the fact that many times efforts have been made to organize the drivers but they were not successful.

The drivers in the meantime learned quite a bit. They have taken a lesson from the workers in Cleveland, Toledo, Minneapolis and other cities throughout the country, and they were an inspiration to other crafts and local unions, such as the butchers, bakers and auto mechanics in the city of Youngstown.

Reviving the Labor Movement

They really helped to revive the United Labor Congress of Youngstown by bringing a new spirit of unionism into the stagnant reactionary swamp that has failed to learn anything in its over fifty years of existence in the city of Youngstown.

The labor movement here consists of about 19,000 organized workers. The basic industries of the city are unorganized, but with the efforts of the truck drivers, interest in unionism became general among the workers. The bosses, in their efforts to stop the awakening spirit of trade-unionism among the workers, figured that this was a time to smash the spearhead of trade-unionism in Youngstown, that is the local union of drivers 377.

Attack by Bosses
Several weeks ago the bosses organized what is known as the Citizens' Association, in order to prepare public opinion for a drive (Continued on Page 4)

Packing House Workers Plan Union Merger

MASON CITY, Iowa, Jan. 11.—Deciding that definite steps should be taken to organize an industrial union for all packing house workers throughout the packing industry, delegates from plants in Cedar Rapids, Austin, Albert Lea, South St. Paul, Faribault and Mason City met in a two day session over the week-end here. This conference was called by the Independent Union of All Workers of Austin, Minn., and the Midwest Union of Packing House Workers of Cedar Rapids, Ia.

A committee of ten was set up to give full power to take steps towards the ultimate goal of one union for the packing house workers. The conference cited the division that has been created in the ranks of the packing workers by craft unions and the further redlining under the guise of racial prejudice. The conference repudiated this as the program of the bosses. The conference stands for one industrial union, regardless of color or creed. One Negro delegate to the conference told of cases when workers of his race had been used to break strikes, placing further emphasis on the need for one solid union.

Defense Plans New Federal Appeal in Scottsboro Case

A defense motion to transfer the Scottsboro cases to the Federal courts was denied by Judge W. W. Callahan in Decatur, Ala., on Jan. 8. At the same time the trial dates for Haywood Patterson and Clarence Norris were set for Jan. 20 and 23 respectively. A jury panel, reported to include 20 Negroes, was immediately drawn. It has been pointed out, however, that any or all of the Negroes summoned may be stricken by the prosecution before actual jury service.

After Judge Callahan overruled the motion to have the case trans-

(Continued on Page 4)

Tampa Aid Group Balks Whitewash

Florida Victims to Hold N.Y. Mass Meeting January 22.

J. C. Poulnot and S. J. Rogers, workers of Tampa, Florida, who were kidnapped, tarred, feathered and beaten by the same gang of police and Klansmen who murdered Joseph Shoemaker several weeks ago, will be the featured speakers at a mass meeting to be held in New York City January 22 under the auspices of the Committee to Aid the Defense of Civil Rights in Tampa.

Poulnot and Rogers escaped with their lives, but Shoemaker paid the penalty of death assigned by the Tampa bosses and the corrupt city administration to all who try to organize workers to fight for their economic needs or who oppose the corrupt political ring in the courthouse. The two workers are members of the Modern Democrats, an insurgent Tampa political group with a liberal program. They have also been organizing for the Workers Alliance.

Speakers at Protest Meeting

Among the other speakers at the mass meeting, which will be held at the Hotel Delano, 43rd Street, near Sixth Avenue, at 8 P.M., will be Norman Thomas of the I.L.D., David Lasser of the Workers Alliance, Herbert Solow of the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, and Sam Wiener of the General Defense Committee. Julius Hochman of the Joint Board of Dressmakers will preside. Admission will be 25 cents. Unemployed admitted free.

As a result of the campaign of protest organized by the Committee, of which the N.E.L.D. is a constituent, the Tampa authorities have felt compelled to go through the motions of a prosecution. Six Klansmen and three police have been arrested, charged with kidnapping and with second-degree murder. The county prosecutor is stalling because the defense is backed by the wealthy cigar manufacturers who support the Klan terror against all workers. The joint committee is conducting an independent investigation of the crime in order to compel the prosecution to abandon its whitewash plan.

Threat to Remove A.F.L. Convention
Efforts will be made to get the (Continued on Page 4)

Maritime Federation Is Threatened with General Lockout

Strike Ties Up West Coast Shipbuilding

SAN FRANCISCO, Jan. 13.—The Industrial Union of Shipyard Workers (Independent) of San Francisco and Oakland walked out on strike over a week ago. The San Pedro (Los Angeles) local of the same union walked out this morning, making the strike general on the west coast, excepting Seattle. Over a thousand men are out under the leadership of the Industrial Union in the Bay Area of San Francisco and Oakland.

The entire shipbuilding industry of these three points is paralyzed as the workers, practically to a man, refuse to go back to their jobs unless their demands are granted. The demands are for the Seattle scale of wages, which would amount to a raise of between 15c and 35c an hour, and for recognition of their union and hiring through the union hall.

Acting in Solidarity

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The strike began on January 2 when the Machinists presented demands to the employers. The Industrial Union joined their walk-out, at first as an act of solidarity, and later on presenting their demands to the companies, too. The Machinists and Industrial Union have pledged each other solidarity, and have given assurances that one will not go back to work unless the employers settle with the others.

An international official of the Machinists attempted to instruct the machinists of San Francisco to have nothing to do with the Industrial Union. The machinist rank and file quickly and emphatically informed this international official first, that they, the rank and file, were running the strike, and second, that they were not going to walk (Continued on Page 4)

New Struggle Finds Workers Prepared

By C. CURTISS
SAN FRANCISCO.—The year 1936 is ushered in with the west coast waterfront daily becoming more tense. A storm is brewing that will, when it breaks, make the strike of 1934 seem like a gentle breeze.

A few of the salient facts: Fifty-nine steam schooners are tied up, as the men refuse to work more than six hours per day. The bosses have retaliated with a lock-out. These ships ply coastwise between the northern lumber regions and San Francisco. The Seamen's Union of San Francisco, differently than the so-called "left" as well as conservative labor leaders, is supporting the seamen of these steam schooners.

The Pennsylvania, a superluxurious liner, was tied up for several days as the east coast seamen refused to man her, unless they received the same rate of pay as is drawn by the sailors sailing out of west coast ports. The Panama Pacific Line which owns the Pennsylvania, has signed an agreement with the Sailors Union of the Atlantic, which has a lower wage rate than the Pacific. Of course, this agreement was signed without the men being consulted.

Furnishing Seals Union Cards

After being tied up for quite a number of days, a skeleton crew of unlicensed seabs was secured. It is said that the local appointee of Fureuth, the Grand Old Man of the Shipowners who is president of the International Seamen's Union, gave these seabs union cards. It is said to say, but the fact must be told: union men worked alongside of these seabs.

Four Luckenbach freighters which had been tied up by job-action of the seamen, sailed on Saturday, Jan. 11, after the men had accepted the company offer of an increased basic rate, equalling the west coast scale.

Urges East Coast Action

The Sailor's Union of San Francisco, at its last meeting went on (Continued on Page 4)

PLOWING UNDER THE AAA

By GEORGE MARSHALL

One by one the measures of the New Deal go to the guillotine. First the NRA; then the Railroad Retirement Act; and now the AAA have been beheaded by the Lord High Executioner of American Capital, the Supreme Court.

What does the massacre mean? It means that "The Roosevelt Revolution" is dead and needs only to be buried. The real purpose of the New Deal—to revive American capitalism and restore its profit-making basis—has been accomplished. American capitalism, as administration spokesmen so proudly proclaim, has recovered from the crisis. The steady rise in production indices, the ten-months old stock-market boom, the doubling and tripling of corporate profits testify that Dr. Roosevelt has succeeded in nursing his patient back to health. American capital feels the strength of yore returning to its fever-ridden frame.

Upon this rising tide of economic recovery a wave of reaction in the upper circles of monopoly capital has set in. The emergency measures of the New Deal were rungs in the ladder by which finance capital emerged from the pit of the depression. Today they have no further use for such measures. They simply encumber their free activity and need to be discarded and destroyed.

"The Roosevelt Revolution" is therefore giving way to a period of counter-reforms. American finance capital is not yet ready to submit to the confining embraces of state capitalism, which had its first flowering under Roosevelt and which can find its finished expression in the national economic strait-jacket

of Fascism. They want to get rid of the New Deal and all it represents in the way of state capitalism and revert to the good old days of the Coolidge-Hoover regime, when the government rarely interfered with their business, and then only at their own behest.

Above all, the bankers and industrialists, encouraged by every rise in the stock-market, emboldened by each new victory, and feeling solid

Who Benefited and who Suffered from the AAA?

What was the AAA? The AAA was designed to raise the prices of farm commodities on the domestic market by restricting production on the one hand and taxing the consumer on the other. Capitalism knows no other way of emerging from the crisis caused by the colossal forces of production at its command than by destroying and restricting these productive forces and shifting the cost of this enforced scarcity onto the masses.

The AAA was a classic example of this procedure. On the producing end, it limited acreage; plowed under every third row of cotton; wantonly and wastefully slaughtered millions of pigs and cattle; stored away wheat and cotton bought at prices above the world market in government bins and warehouses. With the unexpected aid of such uncontrollable natural forces of destruction as drought and dust-storms, the government has achieved its purpose of raising the prices of the basic farm commodities.

Who benefited from this deliber-

ground under their feet again, are demanding the retraction of the few minor concessions they were forced to grant their upper middle class allies, the farmers, in order to extricate themselves from the crisis. Thanks to the Supreme Court, the last stronghold of entrenched capital, they are getting what they want. Such is the significance of the plowing under of the AAA.

But the consuming masses were not the only ones who suffered from the AAA. The crop restriction program ground the faces of the southern share-croppers and tenant farmers even deeper into the dust; turning them into wage-laborers, earning even less for their labor than before; and drove hundreds of thousands off the land. The plantation-owners, the cotton corporations, and the banks alone prospered under the AAA. The agricultural workers got no more from the AAA than their industrial brothers got from the NRA. The Ohio union-workers, the New Jersey fruit-pickers improved their conditions of labor only when they fought their bosses by organizing and striking.

All the operations of the AAA were carried out at the expense of exploited agricultural workers, share-croppers, and tenant-farmers and the consuming masses for the benefit of the rich farmers and a handful of grasping capitalists. The oppressed masses of the American people have no reason whatsoever for mourning the death of the AAA. It gave them nothing but higher prices for the necessities of life and another demonstration of the inability of the present economic system to distribute the abundance at its disposal.

Who Are the Usurers?
Last Saturday the Daily Worker carried on its front page a call from the Central Committee of the Communist Party, U.S.A., signed by

since 1933, which still continues to

skyrocket, and which has provoked meat strikes from desperate housewives in city after city.

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Toledo MESA Local Wins Real Victory In Ten-week Battle

TOLEDO, O., Jan. 14.—After 72 days of striking and two days of solid mass picket lines, the workers of the Mather Spring Co. have come out of the battle with a real victory for their union, the Toledo local of the M.E.S.A.

After days of jockeying back and forth between the two negotiating committees with the Toledo Peace Board acting as messenger boy, an offer was made by the management and presented to the Mather strikers at their meeting on Sunday, Jan. 12. The proposals were read and explained to the men by the chairman, George Becker, president of local 4, of the M.E.S.A. Following the chairman's remarks, the men were addressed by Matthew Smith, national secretary of the M.E.S.A. and Burke Cochran, vice-president of the Toledo local. Both speakers pointed out that the union had won substantial victories, as the men were guaranteed union recognition, occupational seniority, time and a half for overtime, readjustments and many other minor concessions, and urged the men to accept the settlement.

The Mather Spring Co. men, voting by secret ballot, accepted the settlement by an overwhelming majority and then as the tension of the 72-day battle was for the first time relieved, the meeting broke into wild cheering and singing of the song they had learned during the strike: "On the Line."

The prestige of the local union has increased considerably, because of its conduct of this ten week battle. Shortly a special issue of its new paper, the "Industrial Unionist," will be published as the first shot in a campaign to organize the unorganized auto-parts workers.

Program of Cleveland Congress Reeks With Pacifism; Class Struggle Omitted

The following is the second installment of comrade Stryker's article on the recent League Against War and Fascism Congress held at Cleveland—Ed.

By PHILLIP STRYKER

General Smedley Butler's speech for neutrality legislation and defensive armaments; General Fang Chen Wu's plea for America not to show weakness toward Japan but to enforce the treaties; Mayor Burton of Cleveland's welcoming speech with its declaration of faith in God and America; the innumerable speeches of the preachers; the deliberate arrangements preventing any discussion of program and resolutions—all this was described in our first report of the "U.S. Congress Against War and Fascism," held in Cleveland, January 3-5.

The ten-point program of the American League Against War and Fascism, and the resolutions, were brought in on the last day, and with the rules forbidding any amendments or resolutions from the floor, were voted through in scarcely more time than rapid reading of the material required. What, then, was the ideological ill brought in by the Stalinist-controlled leadership?

Lenin declared, and the first congresses of the Communist International embodied, the conception that the struggle against imperialism war can only be the revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of capitalism. The only way to prepare the struggle against war, apart from the building of the revolutionary party and the propagandizing of the only way to fight war, said Lenin, is to intensify the class struggle day by day. The various forms of pacifism are not only preliminary steps toward the struggle against war, but are rather ideological enemies of the struggle against war and must be driven out of the labor movement. This is the program of Lenin and is our program.

Stalinist-Pacifist Chop-Suey

The Stalinist program for the American League bears not the faintest resemblance to Lenin's program. Our first article showed how the Stalinists did not make a single criticism of the pacifist chop-suey which pervaded the Congress. The reason why they did not do so is embodied in their program, which is pacifist from beginning to end.

But this is not all! Even the most elementary conception of class struggle tactics is absent from the Stalinist documents of the Congress!

In order to obscure the stark anti-working class nature of this Stalinist version of the united front, the Stalinists have evolved a most astonishing formula. In his keynote speech, Chairman Harry F. Ward, declared that the American League "is anti-capitalist; but beyond that point, where it comes to what is to be done with the profit system, how it is to be done, what is to take its place, that is the political task of the parties, and has nothing to do with the League."

This was put even more crudely, in the League organ's November issue, by Paul Reid, its executive secretary.

"The exact character of the new social and economic order and the method of achieving it—through class war, non-violent revolution, class collaboration, etc.—are not the concern nor the program of the American League."

This has a radical sound for a moment, but contrast it with the program of one of the older mass organizations. The International Labor Defense program covers far less grandiose tasks than the American League. It requires no one to believe in the ending of capitalism, and certainly not in its revolutionary overthrow. But it does require

Neutrality, Major Plank of Platform, Guarantees Support to U.S. Government

its members to accept a class struggle line in defense of democratic rights.

The American League's program turns the original conception of the united front on its head. You must believe in the ending of capitalism (this of course in the abstract can be agreed to not only by generals and bishops, Utopians, Epics and Farmer-Laborites, but even by Fascists) but you don't have to accept the class struggle! You can be an avowed class-collaboratorist but fight against war and Fascism! Is there another comparable doctrine to be found in the museum of "anti-capitalist" curiosities? Stalinist mountebanks, is there no limit to the fall?

Yet this fantastic doctrine is absolutely necessary to the American League. On what other doctrine could one gather together these generals and preachers, professional pacifists and trade union bureaucrats and middle-class panacea mongers? Stalinism itself must carry along the old lumber of class struggle phrases, in order to trade on the heroic epoch of the Communist which is its chief stock in trade in deceiving the workers. But to secure its allies for its nefarious work, it must drop old pretenses altogether.

The Illusion of Neutrality

The main planks of the "anti-war" program are:

1. Neutrality legislation to be passed by Congress. Since America is not in the League of Nations (not a word was said against the League of Nations during the congress, of course, since Stalinism now hails it as a "force for peace"), governmental sanctions of the European variety finds its equivalent here in government neutrality legislation. Every rotten reformist and pacifist organization in America supports such "mandatory" neutrality legislation. We have said enough about this vicious proposal in our press and pamphlets recently. But it is worth recapitulating the main argument. The "demand" for neutrality legislation combines (a) illusions of ordinary pacifism with the (b) war-making function of sanctions.

(a) Neutrality legislation ignores the fundamental Marxist doctrine that capitalism is in every country linked up economically, socially and politically with the rest of the world and that war is as "natural" to capitalism as is peace. It implies the possibility of isolating an imperialist power like the United States from the rest of the world to which its tentacles reach. It declares it possible for imperialist America to cut itself off from its foreign trade and investment of capital abroad—the very life lines of imperialism! It declares it possible for the American government, the executive committee of the capitalist class no matter who sits in Washington, to take over the task of maintaining peace. Thus it aids the government in preparing for war, for as Hearst and Roosevelt have consistently declared—and General Butler told the cheering multitudes!—for a "strong neutrality and peace policy" the U. S. requires a strong "national defense." Neutrality legislation is precisely the myth of isolationism which Wilson employed to prepare for the last war.

(b) But neutrality legislation has an even more direct war-making function. In the same way that governmental sanctions would only seriously be enforced by an imperialist power when it meant to crush the economic power of another country as a preparation to crushing it by military means ("war is the continuation of politics by forcible means"), so, too, American imperialism could under the cloak of "neutrality legislation" apply financial and economic restrictions, boycotts, etc. against another country only as a step to open warfare. As the British and French reformist-Stalinist support of governmental sanctions has already demonstrated, those who support such restrictions against another country will inevitably also support the military measures which must follow. Those who try to draw (as American Socialists attempt) a distinction between European sanctions and American neutrality legislation draw a distinction where none exists. Neutrality legislation

leads to war as surely as sanctions do.

The American League's "demand" for neutrality legislation is merely the form in which Stalinism guarantees its aid to American imperialism if American imperialism becomes an "ally" of the Soviet Union. But not only will such an alliance not whitewash the imperialist and reactionary character of any war conducted by the American government. If America chooses to fight against the Soviet Union, the Stalinists will have bred the illusions necessary to line up the masses to go to war!

The Disarmament Illusion

2. The second major plank in this "anti-war" program is "total and universal disarmament as advocated by the Soviet Union." Whatever the uses to the Soviet state in its international diplomacy of this slogan, dropped by Litvinov into the League of Nations discussion, it is so utterly unreal that even such a bourgeois-pacifist organization as the War Resisters League denounces it. Yet here it is, this moth-eaten panacea of pre-war idealism, resurrected by Stalinism. What does it mean to "fight" for American imperialism to disarm? A correct policy can only be based on fighting for things which are possible. Can American imperialism disarm? One can assert such a possibility only by throwing overboard the Marxist doctrine that war is inevitable under capitalism and a natural, integrated part of the capitalist process. But even then, disarmament would be theoretically impossible. For armed forces also are needed for the internal war against the masses. During 1935 troops were used twenty-two times against workers and farmers. Can capitalism dispense with this too? The theory of "total and universal disarmament" is based on class-collaborationism and pacifism of the most openly anti-working class character.

These two main planks on war are supplemented by others of equal calibre. The Stalinist distinction between good and bad capitalist powers is smuggled in by a plank "to demonstrate constantly the relation between war and fascism"—as if the democratic capitalist powers were not equally war-mongers! This was supplemented by constant references in the many speeches to Germany and Japan as the most dangerous war-makers. There are references to strikes against transport of munitions, exposing American war preparations, and resisting increasing militarization; but the bourgeois-pacifist planks characterize the program.

In concluding the description of the Congress two facts are worth reiterating with emphasis.

A Gaseous Attack on War

The program itself was discussed only in one of the commissions, and not at all in the congress, which adopted it as soon as read. Likewise the scores of resolutions (mainly dealing with defense cases and democratic rights) were adopted without discussion. To think of the congress as a form of discussion, therefore, would be to dignify it, it was a mass meeting where the "delegates" were simply subjected to a barrage of gaseous talk abstractly against war and fascism. Furthermore, not to speak of the validity of most of the "delegates" present—J. L. D., I. W. O., I. C. O. R., C. P., "workers clubs," unemployed councils, Friends of the Soviet Union, etc., these actually were the bulk of the delegates—organizations sending delegates who presumably were molding the future life of the American League did not thereby affiliate to the American League. Thus it was a masquerade claiming to represent two millions, which both ideologically and organizationally dissolved the morning after but leaving the vicious illusion in the minds of many that something had been accomplished for fighting war and fascism.

The masquerade, however, had an additional function beside sowing illusions. It had, very deliberately, the function of propagandizing for the Stalinist coalition with the bourgeois, the Peoples Front. Every important speaker, including the "non-political" Harry F. Ward and Roger Baldwin, etc., sang praises of praise for the Peoples Front of France—that horrible hope of mass struggle the chief activity of which is pushing the French government into pressing conditions against Italy.

The Ambulance Chasers Speak Up

The Lovettists, of course, have been assiduously propagandizing for such a broadening of the movement represented by the League. Their only complaint against it is that it is C. P.-controlled. Ignoring completely the role of the social-chauvinism of the Stalinists in the League, the Lovettists have only begged the Stalinists to open the doors wide. Apparently this Lovett propaganda was a factor in the action taken by the Socialist Party, in proposing that the League adopt a resolution making possible a broader organization.

stonettes glowed as if they had forced the C. P. to do something it did not wish. Actually, of course, the Stalinists grabbed the opportunity with both hands to declare that the League would dissolve into a broader organization if the trade unions took the initiative in calling a convention for that purpose. For that is what the Stalinists want: they know that the broader the movement, the wider its support among the trade union bureaucracy, the more they can spread their poisonous pacifism as a cloak for their social-chauvinism. Above all, they are desperately striving to drown the revolutionary voices in the Socialist Party, and the correct position against sanctions taken by the Socialist Party, in such a broad, amorphous movement. The Lovettists did them yeoman service in this task, and the public rebuke of Ben Gold's attack on Zimmerman and Browder followed each other on the speakers' platform in support of the resolution for broadening the movement, was the least Browder could give Zimmerman for his useful services.

The Cat and the Canary

Paul Porter, an official observer for the Socialist Party, in proposing that the League go on record for dissolving into a broader organization, declared himself to be in "full sympathy for the aims and purposes of the League" and termed it "the most realistic of all peace organizations in the country." Apparently his whole criticism of the League is limited to its narrow base! Its bourgeois-pacifism, its role in sowing anti-working class illusions about war, seems to escape him entirely. Porter went around the Congress, after having "pushed" the Stalinists into endorsing a "truly all-embracing Federation," as if he were the cat who swallowed the canary. The truth is in the other direction entirely! The declaration of Porter gave the Stalinists a happy opportunity to begin the liquidation of the sectarian form of organization of the League. The Daily Worker's joyous greeting of Porter's declaration was not only sincere, it was deliciously happy.

The studied silence of the Congress on the question of sanctions was simply bait to pull the Socialists in. The Stalinists are more consistent than the Socialists: they are for sanctions, for neutrality legislation, for the Peoples Front, for "peace-loving" nations like France, etc. It is the Socialists who are inconsistent, in correctly opposing sanctions, but at the same time supporting neutrality legislation, and failing to criticize the concept of the Peoples Front. The Stalinists may well say: "Let the Socialists stay on record against sanctions. All we need is for them to support neutrality legislation, the Peoples Front, and join in a 'truly all-embracing Federation,' and we will drown out and destroy their position against sanctions."

A broad movement against reaction and involving the trade unions is possible and desirable, and the revolutionists will gladly work for it. Such a movement will be keyed to the present situation in America where the struggle for democratic rights has before it the task of strengthening the trade unions and defending political prisoners, the foreign-born, fighting police terror, martial law, etc. In large part, such a movement will, though not in a formal sense, but in actual fact, be aiding the struggle against war; for so far as it is possible to have a united front in the struggle against war, that is possible on the level of the day-by-day struggle against capitalist oppression, which is a necessary pre-condition of the struggle against imperialism. We have advocated and aided in the first steps of building such a progressive movement in the trade unions, and such a broad labor defense movement.

But to confuse the struggle against capitalist oppression, on which a united front is possible and desirable, with the question of the revolutionary struggle against war—and there is only one way to fight war, the way of the revolution, of the overthrow of capitalism—such a confusion can serve only the war-makers and their allies the social-chauvinists. Stalinism wants this confusion; it depends on it to drown out revolutionary voices, it depends on it to befog the atmosphere and prevent the workers of Russia's imperialist allies from preparing the struggle. But what are the Socialists falling into the trap for? They have taken a real step forward, by opposing sanctions. They must not take a hundred steps backward by joining with the social-chauvinists in a "broader" "truly all-embracing Federation."

Fortunately, many intervening steps lie between the present and the possible formation of such a "broad" federation. Revolutionary Socialists must seriously analyze the logic of their own position; the contradiction between their progressive position on sanctions, and their reactionary position on neutrality legislation; the fundamental distinction between the correct united front on issues of capitalist oppression on the one hand, and on the other the question of the revolutionary struggle against war. We have seen, comrades of the Socialist party, where Stalinism is leading in France and her satellites. Is this the road you want to travel? Zimmerman and the other Lov-

MARCH OF EVENTS

By JACK WEBER

NEUTRALITY FOR SANCTIONS.

Election year is here and the season is open for the creation of fake issues between capitalist politicians. More especially is this the case over the issue of war or peace. In this respect the present campaign bears certain resemblances with that of 1916 when Wilson was re-elected for having "kept America out of war." Then too the "education" of the masses was accomplished by maintaining a fictitious appearance of neutrality in the first world war. How fictitious this issue was is clearly enough revealed in the memoirs of Secretary of State Lansing, despite the pose of "high moral tone" attempted by the careful selection of documents. Lansing replaced Bryan in order to steer the United States into the war on the side of the Allies. The fundamental reasons for aiding the allied imperialists were the financial interests of the American capitalists, particularly those of the big bankers. The most backward person knows this today so that there is absolutely nothing new being revealed by the Congressional investigation of the relation between the Morgan loans and the entry of America except for the filling out of a few concrete details. It was easy for the bankers to create the appearance of a financial crisis with the possibility of panic in order to achieve their aims of complete support of England and France. Diplomacy had the usual task of covering up these material interests with the more palatable veneer of "humanity and democracy." Thus the immediate causes of war were made the submarine issue and the "freedom of the seas." Lansing is careful in his memoirs to delete all documents which would reveal the direct influence of the Morgans in shaping American policy. Thus the letter of Lansing to Wilson in which the Secretary becomes the obvious mouthpiece of the financiers in securing direct government backing of the floating of enormous loans to the Allies, is omitted.

NEUTRALITY TODAY.

The British Tories found it to their advantage to screen their war preparations under the disguise of sanctions. The pose of international capitalist action against Italian imperialism made an appeal to English workers. Similarly the "liberal" and "progressive" henchmen of capitalism here wish to exploit the desire for peace of the masses by waging a fake battle over neutrality. To do this however they must make it appear that it was the nefarious work of the big bourgeoisie that caused the giving up of neutrality in the last war. It was the careful preparations and maneuvering of Morgan and Lamont behind the scenes that overthrew "neutrality". And of course Nye and Borah intend to see to it that this does not happen again! As a matter of fact neutrality at this time is the method by which the American imperialists are accomplishing their aims with least

expense. American capitalism dominates the world and its wishes must be carefully consulted by the other imperialists. Thus America influences all decisions without appearing to have any finger in the pie at all. This leaves the big bourgeoisie free to maneuver and to remain aloof until the proper moment arrives to intervene and exert their utmost power—when the rival imperialists are in no position to oppose the will of America. Just as Wilson proceeded during "neutrality" to construct the biggest navy afloat, so Roosevelt in the lull that precedes the next great conflict, is hastening the building of the strongest navy on the seas. Neutrality does not stop for one moment the complete militarizing of the Pacific in order to be ready for the need of neutrality at the opening of war with Japan. Neutrality here plays the same role that sanctions played and play in England.

VIGILANTES IN SEATTLE.

The elements and methods of fascism are always present in capitalist society in embryo. It is when these sectional elements begin to recur, when they begin to coalesce and take on national character that fascism becomes immediately menacing to the working class. To gauge the progress of reaction so as to see ahead and organize the working class for defense against the rule of knife and club, it is necessary to pay close attention to every sectional struggle. The Pacific Coast has witnessed tremendous battles in the class struggle in the past few years. The general strike in Frisco stands out as a monument to solidarity. At the present time the indications are that the marine workers in whose cause the workers fought this major battle, may again strike against the big shipping interests. The bosses on their side are prepared to put down such a strike with the violence and brutality characteristic of major strike movements. A minor but important indication of ruling class preparedness is seen in the vigilante movement all along the Coast. Only a few days ago the vigilantes of Seattle raided a Communist school that had just been opened and attacked in vicious fashion students and teachers. The latter were chased for blocks and beaten with clubs. Here as everywhere in the capitalist world when gangster tactics are used against the working class movement, the thugs were aided by the police. Before the arrival of the vigilantes several members of the teaching staff and student body had been arrested by the police under orders from the Mayor. Following the arrests the terror was loosed on the remaining individuals. This is but a symptom of what may be expected on a growing scale in the event of big strikes. It is necessary for the workers to make aware of the situation in advance and to organize their forces accordingly for the defense of their meetings against the vigilantes.

Statement of Bill Reich

In view of the use of my name by Louis F. Budenz from platforms of the Communist Party for the purpose of undermining and disrupting the Workers Party I wish to make entirely clear my own position.

I am absolutely opposed to the action of Budenz in capitulating to the Stalinist party and despite my former association with him in the labor movement, I cannot but condemn his actions and writings since he joined the C.P., all of which has been calculated to instill a false and reactionary policy into the ranks of the American working class. Particularly contemptible are Budenz's vicious attacks on the so-called "Trotskyists," namely, those revolutionists in the Soviet Union and elsewhere who have remained loyal to the principles of Marxian internationalism in the face of the greatest difficulties, cunning and persecutions.

My condemnation of Budenz, far from being a personal matter, is rather condemnation of his political program and conduct, that is, the program and line of conduct of the Communist Party. Events in the last year in particular have confirmed with tenfold emphasis the analysis of the reactionary and nationalistic nature of the C. P.'s degeneration, above all in the face of the crucial question of the imperialist war, on which the C. P. and the Third International have taken a position which is essentially indistinguishable from that of the Second International during the war. In contrast to it the revolutionary Marxian position of the Workers Party on this and other fundamental questions stands out all the more plainly as conforming to the basic and immediate interests of the working class.

The bureaucratic regime inside the C. P., which is merely a reflection of the same regime in the 3rd International, makes it all the more impossible for this organization to contribute to the advancement of the working class, but rather to its defeat and demoralization. The practical results of the activities of the C. P. have been most plainly shown in the mass organizations, especially in the unemployed

field, in which most of my activities have been centered. The line of the C. P. in the P. U. L. and the Lehigh County U. L. has been (as it could not but be) disruptive and insupportable, unworthy of the support of any thinking worker.

—BILL REICH.

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Editor New Internationalist

MANNY GARRETT

Editor Young Spartacus

Ausp: Philadelphia Branch, W.P.

New Haven, Conn.

JOHN WEST

will speak on

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Friday, Jan. 24th, 8 P.M.

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Max Shachtman, editor of the New Internationalist, will lecture Friday evening, Jan. 24, at our new headquarters, 18 Stuart Street, Boston. Subject: "The People's Front, Can It Stop War and Fascism?" Admission 15c, unemployed free.

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THE MANAGER'S CORNER

Since our last report 98 new subscribers have been added to our mailing list. This brings us to a total of 320 new subscriptions since our present drive began. Meanwhile renewals on expired subscriptions are coming in well. These, of course, are not listed here. We list only new subscriptions.

The comrades in New York City are doing the best work by far in this drive. Branch 8 has exceeded its quota and Branch 1 and 3 are making headway and having the biggest number of subscriptions to their credit. But branch 7 is lagging terribly.

The list following below shows that responses have come in from quite a few cities and some of the responses are rather good; but from the comrades in a number of cities we have not heard at all. True, we have heard from several of them saying that they are on the job, that plans have been made and they expect to turn in new subscriptions. What really counts, however, is the actual results and we will count on these comrades only when we have these results. Meanwhile we are taking it up with them directly also.

Extension of our party press is an ever pressing duty for every comrade. Sympathizers are, of course, invited to participate as well. We suggest that the comrades in every instance check the list below carefully and make the necessary comparison. Where no results are shown as yet, or where the results are small, the next thing to do is to take the question up in the branch and see to it that action follows.

Since our last report the new subscriptions received together with the quotas of the various cities stand as follows:

City	Quota	Turned in
Akron, Ohio.....	20	9
Albert Lea, Minn.....	10	—
Allentown, Pa.....	30	—
Austin, Minn.....	10	4
Berkley, Cal.....	10	2
Boston, Mass.....	25	3
Charleston, W. Va.....	5	—
Chicago, Ill.....	50	16
Cleveland, Ohio.....	25	8
Columbus, Ohio.....	10	—
Detroit, Mich.....	25	2
Dickson City, Pa.....	5	—
Fargo, S. Dakota.....	10	—
High Point, N. C.....	5	—
Kansas City, Mo.....	10	—
Los Angeles, Cal.....	25	11
Minneapolis, Minn.....	75	7
Mount Carmel, Va.....	5	—
Newark, N. J.....	20	4
New Castle, Pa.....	10	—
New Haven, Conn.....	10	—
New York City.....	400	186
(Branch 1)	90	71
(Branch 2)	40	10

(Branch 3)	75	36
(Branch 4)	30	9
(Branch 5)	20	13
(Branch 6)	16	8
(Branch 7)	16	2
(Branch 8)	10	12
(District)	100	28
Philadelphia, Pa.....	20	11
Pittsburgh, Pa.....	25	—
Plentywood, Mont.....	10	—
St. Louis, Mo.....	10	—
Salt Lake City.....	10	6
San Francisco, Cal.....	20	2
San Diego, Cal.....	10	4
Springfield, Ill.....	5	—
Toledo, Ohio.....	25	2
Utica, N. Y.....	5	—
Washington, D. C.....	10	3
Youngstown, Ohio.....	10	—
Cities not listed.....	45	39
Total	1,000	320

The issues of the NEW MILITANT for the year 1935 are now ready to be made up into bound volumes. The price for the complete set, in durable binding, will be \$1.50 postpaid. But the actual binding we will do only as the orders come in. Those who desire to obtain a bound volume should, therefore, forward their orders right away.

Preparations are also under way to make up the complete file of the NEW INTERNATIONAL, all issues published to date, in bound volumes. They will contain both volumes 1 and 2, beginning with the first issue, July 1934, up to and including the December, 1935 issue. Several of the issues of this period are now not available except the copies set aside for binding. The price per bound volume of the NEW INTERNATIONAL will be \$3.00 postpaid.

Send all orders to the NEW MILITANT, 55 East 11th Street, New York, N. Y.

Several thousand copies of the pamphlet "War and the Workers," by John West, have already been disposed of. More are still on hand. We did print a large supply, sufficient to meet all orders for the most immediate period.

Numerous comments have been received praising this pamphlet for its popular presentation and yet thoroughly fundamental analysis of the causes of war, the imperialist conflicts of the present epoch and the role of the various forms of pacifism and social-pacifism. To the serious student of Marxism, to the militant worker as well as to the active trade unionist this 45-page pamphlet is indispensable. The price is 10c in copy, 7c in lots of ten or more and it can also be obtained from the NEW MILITANT office.

The Supreme Court, the New Deal and the Class Struggle

By JOHN WEST

The recent decision of the Supreme Court, invalidating the AAA, when taken against the background of the Schechter Case decision last Spring and the probability of further decisions against the New Deal in the near future, brings into sharp focus many basic problems concerning the meaning and nature of the complex institutional structure of the American state. It is wholly impossible to understand these problems except in the light of the illuminating light of Marxian theory. Any other approach condemns us to wander in the fog and mists of legal "fictions"—as the English political philosopher, Jeremy Bentham, so accurately called them—and to spend our time, like Don Quixote, arguing about dreams and fighting against windmills.

The need for the light of uncompromising Marxian theory could not be more urgently shown than by a study of the press of the Communist party and the Socialist party during the week following the AAA decision. The first editorial of the Daily Worker demanded to know whether Americans were going to continue to allow nine old men to overthrow "the decisions of the people's representatives." During succeeding issues, the Daily Worker has carried to ever-increasing heights its campaign against the "autocratic oligarchy" of the Supreme Court. "The King of England," the editor says in bold-faced type, "cannot nullify acts of Parliament, but the Supreme Court can invalidate acts of Congress. It is not only a monarch, but an UNLIMITED monarch to boot." And "the astonishing part of it"—and the indignation of the Daily Worker is here exceeded only by its surprise—"is that this power... is absolutely UNCONSTITUTIONAL." The Daily Worker should really return the American Liberty League to bring suit against this outrage; it too is a stalwart defender of the Constitution.

Daily Worker Finds the Issue

The big issue before the American people, then, according to the Daily Worker, is given in a front page box: "Unite for action to demand that Congress and the President: 1. Repudiate the right of the Supreme Court to declare laws unconstitutional. 2. Impeach judges who usurp the democratic rights of the people. 3. Amend the Constitution to prohibit the Supreme Court from declaring laws unconstitutional."

We are reminded that, in France, the Communist party not dissimilarly demands that Laval and the Chamber of Deputies disarm the Fascist Leagues and oust the Fascist officers from the army. And the C. P. of France is similarly "astonished" that the "representatives of the people" continue to allow such subversive activities against the Republic.

The Socialist Call, in less gross form, takes what is essentially the same point of view. Norman Thomas writes: "Now six old men on the Supreme Court of the U. S. against 3 of their colleagues hand down a decision which practically destroys the constructive program which has been set up. . . . You have a complete picture of judicial oligarchy. . . . I join with my comrades in demanding immediate and drastic action to end this judicial oligarchy. . . . Real change depends upon an end of this judicial oligarchy, this government by the dead hand of a Constitution, which is given living power by the particular political and economic doctrines of the old men on the Supreme Court bench. . . . It becomes the most important single immediate task of the Party and the entire labor movement to push the Workers Rights Amendment."

Better in N. Y. Post

Such analyses and such proposals have, of course, nothing in common with Marxism. They are reformist, not Marxist in character. This is sufficiently indicated by the fact that the liberal New York Evening Post, the shrill New Deal defender, has taken exactly this same approach to the Supreme Court in its editorials following the AAA decision, except that its words have been more challenging and more vigorously written; and it has proposed the same reform measures.

What, then, is wrong with this approach? Where does it differ from Marxism?

What is wrong with it is that, instead of clarifying, it obscures and glosses over the fundamental class issues which are the source and root of historical development, and, instead of exposing, it veils and softens the role of the state.

Marxism and the State

Marxism is primarily distinguished by analyzing every social and political problem from a class point of view. In contemporary imperialist society, this means that Marxism always explains and interprets events only in the light of the fundamental conflict whose course determines the direction of historical development: the conflict between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. In terms of this conflict, Marxism interprets the role of the state as the political executive of the bourgeoisie, whose

historical function is to maintain the social power of the bourgeoisie and to uphold the system of property relations upon which that social power is based.

The state, however, is not an "abstraction." It is actualized in a whole involved maze of concrete historical forms. In the United States these include the Federal executive (the President and his subordinates and administrative departments), the Federal legislature (Congress and the departments and commissions it creates), the Federal judiciary (from the Supreme Court down), the Federal army, navy, prisons; together with all the branches (executive, legislative, judicial, military, police) of the state, county, and municipal governments. These are all in a great variety of ways, part of the state apparatus. Their central and primary historical function is to assure the maintenance of capitalist property relations; that is, to uphold the class rule of the bourgeoisie.

It is only from an understanding of this basic function that a correct analysis can be made of the various actions and activities of the different subdivisions of the state apparatus.

The Reformist Approach

The approach of the Daily Worker and the Socialist Call, however, instead of proceeding from the basic analysis of the class struggle and the class role of the state, and thence going on to a detailed analysis of the particular acts in question (here the AAA decision), does just the opposite. They take the conflict between two subdivisions of the state apparatus (the Supreme Court on the one side, Roosevelt and Congress on the other) as primary; and consequently they totally obscure the basic class role which these two subdivisions share in common, and thus also obscure the fundamental class conflict of modern society.

In terms of their approach, the

Supreme Court Integral Part of the Capitalist State

Supreme Court is the representative of "Wall Street," of the "financial oligarchy," the "Trusts." Congress, in conflict with the Supreme Court, is "the people's representative" (this is the Daily Worker's own phrase). We are, then, called on to support Congress against the Supreme Court, in order to make our will felt and to secure our "rights."

Denial of the Class Struggle

What follows? What follows is the denial of the revolutionary class struggle for workers' power, which is and must be the struggle not to win "control" over the existing state machinery, but a struggle against the existing state, a struggle to smash the present state—which is the instrument of bourgeois rule—and to erect in its place the revolutionary workers' state. What follows is social-democratic parliamentarism, gradualism, Kautskyism, all over again. In this manner does history take its revenge on the corruption of theory. The approach of the Communist party and the Socialist party to this problem—which is naturally not an isolated example—is part of the propagation of an anti-revolutionary ideology. In the case of the Communist party it must be understood as one item in the preparation for the possibility of supporting Roosevelt in November—a possibility which will be realized if the Far Eastern crisis sufficiently deepens. Indeed, the current analyses and phrases of the C. P. can hardly be distinguished from those of the President.

Now Marxists do not believe that Congress is "the people's representative." They believe that Congress, like the Supreme Court, is part of the apparatus of bourgeois

state rule. They do not deny that genuine and bitter conflict can arise between Congress and the Supreme Court, or between any other subdivisions of the state apparatus, nor do they deny the necessity for interpreting and analyzing these conflicts, and attempting to use them where possible to the workers. But such conflicts, they point out, are never struggles between representatives of the working class or of "the people" on the one side, and representatives of the bourgeoisie on the other. There are always conflicts between different sections or groups within the bourgeoisie, sections which on the given issue have opposing needs and opposing ideas of how best to advance the basic bourgeois interests. In all cases, therefore, such conflicts are subordinate to the underlying class conflict, which cannot express itself directly within the bourgeois state apparatus.

How the "Founders" Reasoned

It was in this way that the "founders of our country," who reasoned more clearly about these matters than our present Stalwarts, reformists and centrists, understood the complicated governmental forms which they established under the Constitution—that magically powerful document which they designed to legalize the power of property. The intricate "checks and balances" between the three branches of the Federal government and between the Federal government and the States, with the probability of frequent conflict which these contained, were meant by them not at all to "guarantee" democracy, but to make sure that what democracy there was would not get out of bounds. "Every institution," wrote

Hamilton, "calculated to restrain the excess of law-making and to keep things in the same state in which they happen to be at any given period was more likely to do good than harm."

Nor have the masters of American destiny ever been too much disturbed over legal fictions. They have understood that the central question is the question of class power, not institutional form, and they have consistently approached the Constitution, the Supreme Court, and the other branches of government in the light of that understanding. During the administrations of Washington and John Adams, for example, the Supreme Court played a minor role. The question of its "right" to invalidate acts of Congress or of States as unconstitutional, left ambiguous in the Constitution itself, was not openly raised. The Federalist party, representing the commercial, banking and industrial interests—that is, the progressive class at that historical stage—held control over the executive and legislative branches, and could keep the courts in the background.

The Jeffersonian Reaction

But the Jeffersonian reaction, swept on by the agrarian and planting interests, ousted the Federalists from the Presidency and Congress. The Federalists, consequently, defeated on one front, kept their grip on the Judiciary, and used the Supreme Court to continue the advance of their basic program. Through their Chief Justice, Marshall, they immediately proclaimed the power of the Supreme Court to pass on the constitutionality of laws (the case of Marbury vs. Madison). In a long series of bril-

liant decisions, Marshall maintained their position. But, it should be noticed, the Federalists used the Supreme Court not to restrict the power of the Federal government, but to extend it, to enlarge its sphere of operation, and to establish its clear sovereignty over the States. The aims of the bourgeoisie could not be served without a strong national government.

But deaths on the Supreme Court bench and the Jacksonian movement altered the relationship of forces. By 1857 the Democrats, now openly and almost exclusively the party of the slave-holders, were in control of the Supreme Court, with Taney at its head. So, in the Dred Scott decision, the Supreme Court reversed the tradition of Marshall, and declared for "states' rights" against the Federal government. In actuality, of course, the decision was not for the legal fiction, "states' rights," but for the slave-holders; by its terms, the Court declared that Congress had no power to legislate concerning slavery. The Philistines of those days thought that then the battle was over, and that the Northern industrialists had lost. Or, at most, they inveighed against the autocratic usurpation by the Supreme Court.

Judiciary and Class War

But the bourgeois was not going to let legal fictions block its historic road. Organized, in temporary alliance with the free Western farmers, into the new Republican party, it accepted the challenge: and fought out the issue of control of the state not in the judicial chambers, but on the field of battle. Neither the acts of Congress nor the decisions of the Court, but the Northern armies decided the basic class question—the question of which class, the bourgeoisie or the plantation owners, was to hold power. And this is the manner in which every class which means historic business settles the basic question.

The struggle which the working class faces at the present time, the struggle for power and for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and its state, is not expressed in any direct way in the conflict between the New Deal (upheld by the President and Congress) and the Supreme Court. The struggle of the working class, in its political aspect, is a struggle against every branch and division of the state.

The conflict between the Supreme Court and Congress represents in part a conflict between different sections of the bourgeoisie, in part a bureaucratic contest for control of the immense and highly lucrative governmental apparatus. The AAA decision is perhaps chiefly important for re-emphasizing the fact that the New Deal was merely a series of temporary devices to tide capitalism over a dangerous spot; and that, with profits now mounting, it has outlived its usefulness. The Supreme Court, by a reasonable division of labor, is given the job of undertaker. For Roosevelt, the New Deal remains now as pure demagoguery—as a series of agitation phrases wholly divorced from social reality, with the help of which he hopes to retain enough of middle-class and labor sentiment to enable him to secure re-election.

Playing Reaction's Game

To build up and emphasize, as the Communist party and the Socialist party are doing, a large scale campaign to curb the Supreme Court plays into the hands of reaction. It is not that the demand to curb the court is in itself wrong. Indeed, it would be on the whole a

gain if it were accomplished. The Court is an additional barrier against even partial demands of the masses—as the Schechter and AAA decisions in their "restrictive" interpretations of the "general welfare" and "public works" clauses, interpretations which can be applied directly against any social security or public works acts—serve to bring out.

Nevertheless, such a parliamentary demand as the curbing of the Supreme Court should have only a minor and secondary place in the agitation and practical program of a revolutionary working-class party. Otherwise it serves to disorient and deceive the masses, and to turn them aside from more important tasks. It is the business of the revolutionary party not to foster but to smash parliamentary illusions; not to suggest the possibility of reforming the bourgeois state, but to make clear, in the living experience of the masses, the necessity for destroying that state and of setting up in its place a new state, the workers' state. The prime reason why a revolutionary party enters into parliamentary campaigns is to bring its own full revolutionary program openly before the masses. Its parliamentary representatives sit not to win "victories" for the workers in Congress or the Courts—which, even on the smallest scale, is increasingly illusory in the decline of capitalism—but to expose the inner workings of the bourgeois state machinery before the eyes of the masses. Revolutionists utilize bourgeois parliamentarism as one means for destroying bourgeois parliamentarism.

Parliamentary Activity Supplementary

Parliamentary activity of all kinds must remain only supplementary to the basic work of promoting and strengthening the basic organizations of the masses. The poor farmers must look first not to Congress and the Supreme Court but to their unions, cooperatives, leagues, and demonstrations, for benefits and relief. The workers will have the "right" to organize when they take that right through the independent strength of their trade unions, and cease expecting it to be handed down from on high by "favorable decisions." The one effective "curb" of the Supreme Court is, precisely—the organized strength of the masses.

The real business of the revolutionary party is the organization of the working class and its allies for the conquest of power. Every immediate demand, every particular campaign, is correct, is justified, only so far as, in its historical implications, it aids in this central task; and is on every occasion to be condemned insofar as it turns the class aside from the road to power.

NEW MILITANT

with which is merged
THE MILITANT

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PLOWING UNDER THE AAA

(Continued from Page 1)

William Z. Foster and Earl Browder. It was headed: "Sweep Away the Autocratic Power of the Supreme Court."

This manifesto has created a furor among those few Stalinists who retain remnants of Marx and Lenin's teachings and still recall the Stalinist arguments of yesterday. Well it might! Such a wholesale burial of its professed principles by a working class party without so much as a funeral oration, such an open dumping overboard of all its traditions has never before been seen in the political history of the labor movement. In this declaration, the American Communist party completely breaks with its past and goes over without concealment or equivocation to the worm-eaten platform of liberal reformism.

This is indicated at the very beginning of the manifesto, which acknowledges that "the Communist party criticized the AAA because of its prodigious destruction program, because it helped to raise the cost of living, because it helped mainly the rich." This is by no means the whole reactionary essence of the AAA but it will do so far as it goes. What follows? Does the C. P. still condemn the AAA and the Roosevelt administration that put it through? Quite the contrary.

They concentrate their attack, not upon the AAA and its authors, but upon the Supreme Court which killed it. What reasons do they give for thus reversing their position? Listen, O ye faithful! "The Communist party now fights the Supreme Court decision because it deprives the farmers of the little aid they received from the AAA, because the Supreme Court decision outlaws any attempt on the part of the people to fight Wall Street, because this decision would still further help the rich at the expense of the poor."

What is the substance of such arguments? First, the rich farmers, together with the banks, insurance companies, and corporations are now deprived of their subsidies from the AAA, paid for with the blood of the masses. They must, therefore, be continued. Second, the enemy of the working class is not capitalism and all its institutions, but only the Wall Street financiers and their judicial stronghold. Third, although the AAA is one of the most cunning and efficient instruments of destruction and extortion devised by the Democratic agents of the ruling class, it must be defended because the ultra-reactionary Liberty Leaguers who oppose it may invent a worse one. This is "the policy of the lesser evil" with a vengeance. On this ground every action of the Roosevelt regime can be justified—and probably soon will be, if we read the signs aright.

Once the first step is taken, the

descent to the Avernus of utter opportunism is easy. Having become the supporters of the Roosevelt farm program against the ultra-reactionaries, the Stalinists go further. They call upon Roosevelt himself to make good his speeches, and, as father of the AAA, to protect his offspring against "the autocracy of the Supreme Court" and to take up the struggle against "entrenched greed." "Mr. President," they shout, "repudiate the ruling."

What is the most elementary principle of Marxism? The state is the executive committee of the ruling class. The head of the state acts as chairman of that committee. To ask or to expect that any officer of the bourgeois state will carry on a real struggle against his masters and their institutions is to put one's faith in miracles. This is the simplest A.B.C. of revolutionary doctrine. And the Stalinists today flout it without a word of explanation or apology. Could betrayal be more absolute?

Anyone who knows anything about the history of American politics is aware that the tripartite division of the governmental apparatus into the parliamentary, presidential, and judicial arms was expressly designed by the ruling classes to strangle the expression of the popular will

Rewriting American History

Every one of the examples they cite are false and misleading. "Lincoln did not recognize the Dred Scott decision." The truth is that he criticized it before becoming President and obeyed it until the Civil War broke out. "He led the people into the Civil War to wipe out slavery." What an idealization and falsification of history. Lincoln led the people into the Civil War to wipe out the power of the slaveholders and conquer power for the bourgeoisie—and was finally, after much hesitation, forced to emancipate the slaves to accomplish these ends. "President Jackson, the great Democrat," they continue in the vein of a speech by Postmaster Farley, "refused to recognize Supreme Court decisions." Jackson was a slaveholder and a servant of slaveholders, just as Roosevelt is a political servant of the wage slave-holders of capitalism. He did ignore a Supreme Court decision—when the court attempted to protect the lands of the Cherokee Indians against their seizure by the Georgia slaveholders! "President Grant increased the membership of the court to change a Supreme Court decision."—He did so to validate the paper money issued during the Civil War and held by the financial aristocracy!

These people, who now vie with the Liberty League and Hearst in posing as defenders of the Constitution, echo the old cry of the petty-bourgeois liberals: "The Constitution does not give the Supreme Court the right to declare laws passed by Congress unconstitutional." But this cry has no historical foundation. Although the powers

and to safeguard the property and privileges of the rulers of the Republic. The executive and the judicial branches, as checks upon the larger and more representative Congress (capitalist control over which is somewhat more difficult), divide the labor of carrying out the orders of the ruling class. The Supreme Court's power to declare laws unconstitutional is simply a modification and magnification of the President's veto power. However loudly they bellowed, no President and no bourgeois politician has ever dared to fight anything but sham battles with the Supreme Court, the principal legal pillar of the existing order and the Holy of Holies of American bourgeois democracy.

But, having called upon to lead the masses in a crusade for "the restoration of popular government," the Stalinists find it necessary to prove that previous presidents have successfully fought the autocracy of the Supreme Court and that popular government once existed in the United States. They proceed to rewrite American history as follows: "The history of our country shows that Presidents who really meant to fight autocracy (!) repudiated reactionary decisions of the supreme autocrats of the country."

of the Supreme Court are only vaguely defined, judicial supremacy is in no respect precluded, and the records of the Constitutional Convention, as Charles A. Beard has proven, show the court was to have such power. The Supreme Court has exercised this right without restriction since the days of John Marshall, and will continue to exercise it so long as bourgeois democracy survives in this country. These pitiful wretches complain: "The Supreme Court has usurped its powers." But the Supreme Court is not alone in that. So has the President, and even more, so has the entire power of the state been usurped by the capitalist class from the masses of the people. The Supreme Court is one of their agencies of domination; the Presidency is another. Revolutionists will get rid of these usurpers by overthrowing them altogether.

But how do these people propose to uproot the reactionary power of the Supreme Court? By constitutional amendment, no less. A noble enterprise, indeed! Let us pull out the teeth of the capitalist tiger with a pair of sugar-tongs.

If Roosevelt won't turn the trick (and it is apparent that they either half-hope he will, or at least wish their duped following to believe he could so) then a Farmer-Labor government will. The Farmer-Labor government will presumably abolish all the evils of capitalism, if not capitalism itself. Among the other things it would do, according to this manifesto, is to "use the army and National Guard to protect the workers against the violent strike-breaking activities of the scabs and

thugs of the manufacturers; and not to shoot down workers striking for a living wage." In Minneapolis there is a Farmer-Labor mayor named Latimer. Recently his police killed two strikers at the Stratwear plant and wounded over 20 more. But the Stalinists forget this little experience along with the whole history of the strikebreaking role of reformist governments.

The Stalinist manifesto concludes with the following appeal. "All progressive, liberal, and radical forces in the country must unite in a common front against the common enemy—Wall Street." Here the erasing of all class lines is as plain as the nose on one's face. The main enemy is no longer capitalism, but its incarnation, the devil of Wall Street. Throughout the whole manifesto there is not the least hint that there exists an economic system of slavery called capitalism that is responsible for the evils under which we suffer. Nothing there that has not been said, and said better, in the past century by hundreds of liberal and petty-bourgeois politicians!

One stands aghast before this spectacle of complete capitulation to the most vulgar petty bourgeois reformism. Every trace of class consciousness has been expunged from this Stalinist document. Not a phrase that any infuriated petty bourgeois could not subscribe to with both hands, or that will not be uttered time and again by political demagogues of the Democratic party. The Stalinists are not inconsistent in demanding that Roosevelt lead them in a struggle against the reactionaries. Nor will it be inconsistent with their present policy if they support Roosevelt in the coming elections. For the position represented in this official document alone is indistinguishable from that of the left wing of the Democratic party, which is still, we hope they will admit, a capitalist party.

What do those honest workers and revolutionists who still remain in the ranks of the Stalinist party think of such a line? Surely there are still some among them who are class-conscious enough to recognize this surrender of the first principles of Marxism and draw a few conclusions from it.

The leaders of the party who have issued this document, and who slavishly repeat today the threadbare phrases of petty bourgeois radicalism, condemning the Supreme Court for its usurpation of power, are themselves the greatest of usurpers. They have usurped the title of Communists, the name of revolutionist, the traditions of Marx and Lenin. Workers, learn to distrust such charlatans! who masquerade in the borrowed costumes of Communism. They are your greatest enemies. They cannot and will not defend your interests. They will inevitably betray you as lightly as they have here betrayed the principles of Communism.

Liebknecht-Luxemburg Anniversary
LECTURE AND DANCE
8:30 P.M.—Speech by NATHAN GOULD, National Secretary S.Y.L., on "The Life and Work of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg." Short musical program.
9:30 P.M.—Dancing, refreshments. Good band.
SATURDAY EVENING, JANUARY 25, 1936
220 East 14th Street, N. Y. C. Hat check 25c
Auspices: Spartacus Youth League, N. Y. District

Luncheon Symposium
celebrating
THE FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF
BROOK WOOD
Labor's Own School
Speakers:
THOMAS KENNEDY FRANCIS J. GORMAN
TUCKER P. SMITH
Fraternal greetings from George Meany, David Dubinsky, Joseph Schlossberg, Frank Grosswirth, Spencer Miller, Jr., Hilda W. Smith, George Rhodes
SATURDAY, JANUARY 18, AT 1 P.M.
Frank's Hofbrau, 1680 Broadway (near 52nd St.), N.Y.C.

To Hear Mini Case

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ing their anti-union drive, however, makes it almost certain that the board will take no such action.

When the board met several months ago at Tehachapi to consider the cases of Caroline Decker and Nora Conklin, two of the Sacramento class-war victims, it refused to set definite sentences. The attempts to deport Jack Warnick, one of the acquitted Sacramento unionists, make it clear that powerful forces are determined to squeeze the last ounce of vengeance out of the Sacramento prisoners for their crime of organizing unions and leading strikes.

N.S.A.C. Asks Protests

The National Sacramento Appeal Committee, in an effort to meet the situation which will exist when the Parole Board meets, is launching a drive to get unions and other organizations, as well as individuals, to send protests to Governor Merriam and Attorney-General Webb of California against the continued imprisonment of the framed-up Sacramento unionists. Protests should be sent to these officials at Sacramento, the state capital.

That there will be plenty of difficulty in getting the board to act at this time is made clear by the character of the men who compose it.

The chairman Frank C. Sykes of San Francisco, in addition to getting \$5,000 annually for his "work" on the board, is a building contractor. He is in close touch with the Industrial Association, open-shop general staff of the San Francisco employers.

Board Members Reactionary

Joseph H. Stephens, second member of the board, was one of the reactionaries who helped the Sacramento Bee stir up agitation against the prisoners during the trial last year. On Jan. 10, 1934, the Bee carried a statement by Stephens advocating the conviction of the union organizers "regardless of the costs." He gets \$10,000 annually as president of the Sacramento Merchants National Bank, besides his \$5,000 from the state. He was a supporter of Governor Rolph, Mooney's great enemy.

David P. Bush, the third member, is an attorney of Oakland, and a prominent Legionnaire. His organization is behind the drive to deport Jack Warnick on evidence which won his acquittal in Sacramento. He was a mouthpiece of the organized employers in the State Senate in 1933. In 1933 the California State Grange, farmers' organization, blocked his candidacy for a judgeship because of his tie-up with the Pacific Gas and Electric Co., keystone of the reactionary crowd.

In addition to sending letters to the Governor and Attorney General, letters should be sent to the State Board of Parole, Sacramento, and to the individual members of the board. Such letters should stress the fact that no overt acts were proven against any of the prisoners, that their sole "crime" has been the organization of unions, and that one of the convicting jurors has already declared that in his opinion there was absolutely no evidence against Norman Mini or Caroline Decker and that the whole verdict was a horse-trade.

Address these letters as follows: Mr. Frank C. Sykes, Kohl Building, San Francisco, Cal.; Mr. Joseph H. Stephens, Merchants National Bank, Sacramento, Cal.; Mr. David P. Bush, Oakland, Cal.

Pressure Can Help

While it can hardly be hoped that the board will set the minimum sentence for any of the prisoners, a real expression of protest by powerful workers' organizations would not be without its effect. It might compel the board at least to set sentence so that the prisoners will know where they stand, and to set it at something close to the minimum.

During recent years criminal syndicalism prisoners have generally served between two and three years. If the board is to be prevented from setting a higher sentence, there will have to be a serious movement of protest.

The effect of the nation-wide protest in the Herndon case, where the judge was driven to free Herndon in order to avoid the political effects of holding him any longer, is well-known. The same could be done in the Sacramento case, where there is no more "evidence" against the prisoners than there was against Herndon.

The efforts of the National Sacramento Appeal Committee to organize a nation-wide movement on behalf of the eight Sacramento unionists, have had no cooperation from the Communist party, the International Labor Defense or their sympathizers.

Although the I.L.D. represents the prisoners, except for Norman Mini, they are passive in the fight. They did not begin legal moves on the question of the transcript of trial proceedings until after the N.S.A.C. got into action. The Daily Worker carries nothing about the Sacramento case. Henderson's legal moves are ignored by the Communist party, which strives to isolate his fight from mass support.

C. P. Breaks Unity

Although the N.S.A.C. includes the Non-Partisan Labor Defense,

the General Defense Committee and the League for Industrial Democracy, as well as the Socialist and Workers parties and other organizations which belong to or support the united defense committees in the Herndon case, the I.L.D. has persistently refused to join the N.S.A.C. or to take any serious steps toward organizing a real campaign of protest throughout the country.

Questions recently addressed to leading members of the Communist party and the I.L.D., as well as to officials of the "California Conference for the Repeal of the Criminal Syndicalism Law"—a "united front" organized by the C. P. and its auxiliaries, as to why they will not cooperate with the N.S.A.C. or launch a serious fight, have remained unanswered.

The Workers Party urges all members and friends to respond immediately to the call of the N.S.A.C. for protest letters and resolutions. Moreover, financial support is needed by the N.S.A.C. because of the new legal complications in the appeal fight. Funds should be sent to Dr. Harry W. Laidler, chairman, Room 707, 41 Union Square, New York City.

Youngstown Union Drive

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against organized labor. The new city administration that was elected to take office January 1 was prepared by the bosses to start such a drive. Attorney W. O. R. Johnson was hired to import scabs to break strikes of the drivers' union.

Mayor L. Evan's first act on assuming office was to arrest Sam Orr, a member of the Teamsters' Union 877, and President Hubbard of the United Labor Congress on Jan. 2, for creating disturbances when they made an effort to settle the dispute at the grocery and meat market owned by George Oles, who was given the mandate to begin the open shop drive against labor. They also, in combination with the newspapers, began to hurl charges of gangsterism and racketeering at the local union through the newspapers, mass meetings, pulpits and other agencies. The newspapers, and especially the Youngstown Telegram which is part of the Scripps-Howard chain, carried on a frenzied campaign of agitation against the Truck Drivers' Union, accusing it of the most dastardly crimes.

For quite a while this went on until it culminated in a scab being taken out, beat up, and thrown out without any trousers into the square of Youngstown. This act was not committed by the Drivers' Union as the newspapers and the city administration would have the people of Youngstown believe. There is a suspicion that this scab, Eichenlaub, was paid by the bosses to take the rap of having his pants taken off for a run in the city of Youngstown in order to stir up a lynch sentiment against the union.

Mike Hornyak, a young militant of the union, and Sam Orr were arrested on frame-up charges of kidnapping and torture. Mike Hornyak is at this time under a \$3,000 bond out of jail. Sam Orr is awaiting a \$6,000 bond in jail.

Local Issues Paper

The Truck Drivers' Union responded militantly against this furious attack of the bosses and open shop interests. It immediately issued an open letter on the charge of gangsterism to the people of Youngstown, demanding an investigation. It also issued a statement to the newspapers, January 10, pledging full confidence to Mike Hornyak and Sam Orr, and a fight for their vindication on the framed-up charge of kidnapping and torture.

It has also countered with the move of issuing a newspaper edited by the executive board of the Truck Drivers' Union called the "Union Guide." This paper met with tremendous response, 700 copies being sold on the first day. The union is mobilizing its forces. The president of local 377 stated:

"Make Youngstown a Union Town!" "We are digging in and are determined to carry on our struggle for decent wages, and to organize the unorganized drivers at no matter what cost."

The union has a good chance of defeating the open shoppers, and at the same time of assisting the unorganized workers in the building of a real fighting union movement. The whole trade union movement is quite stirred up over the slogan of "Make Youngstown a Union Town." This struggle may mean the beginning of a real drive among the steel workers for organization.

LUMEN CLUB hike to Palisado

Sunday, Jan. 19. Meet at 242nd Street and Van Cortlandt Park 11 A.M. Sympathizers and friends are invited to come along.

CLEVELAND FORUM

Every Sunday Night at Eight Admission Free Stadium Hotel West 6th St. and St. Clair (second floor)

Sunday, Jan. 26: "Which Party for the American Workers?" Speaker: JOSEPH KNIGHT.

Sunday, Feb. 2: "The Decline of the Third International." Speaker: HENRY THURMAN

Audience: Workers Party

Maritime War Looms

(Continued from Page 1)

record recommending that the east coast sailors attempt to get at least the west coast rate of pay by job action, preferably on the east coast, and pledging support to all job action taken there, or here.

The Waterfront Machinists and the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers are on strike.

Lockout talk is common on the waterfront. The growing strength of the unions, and resultant higher wages and shorter hours, eats into the income of the famished-for-profits capitalist class. The latter is going to attempt to smash the sole obstacle in their path to the garnering of huge dividends out of the only possible source, the backs of the workers. That obstacle is the union.

Follow Class Struggle Relief

The oncoming lockout or strike of the waterfront workers can and must be won. The workers are incomparably better situated than they were in 1934. Their organization is stronger. They have learned many lessons. The only thing standing between the workers and victory is treachery or incorrect leadership. The right wing class-collaborationists and the Stalinists are the specific dangers referred to. If, in spite of these, a class struggle policy will be instituted on the waterfront, victory is certain.

Let us see the attitude of the old guard of the labor fakers. Scharrenburg, erstwhile member of the Seamen's Union, thrown out of there by the membership, and present secretary of the California Federation of Labor:

Scharrenburg's Attack

"The Sailor's Union has deliberately and flagrantly violated every agreement signed with the shipowners since last year's strike and has repeatedly expressed bitter resentment when urged to respect such agreements."

"Only by a prompt declaration of war on the wrecking crew can we hope to re-establish the reputation of our international union as a responsible organization."

"One or more charters must be revoked. . . I have weighed all objections and realize fully that Bridges' maritime federation will doubtless go to bat for the union or unions that have their charter revoked."

One thing becomes clear here: due to the militancy of the seamen and their vigorous defense of their living standards, they are under attack, not only of the employers, but also of the labor "leaders." The convention of the International Seamen's Union, in session at the time of this writing, will be the scene of an attempt of the reactionaries to either emasculate or expel these militant locals.

The Maritime Federation, founded in struggle, and much more amenable to mass pressure than the robot-like unions that once existed on the waterfront, is a constant threat to Scharrenburg and his ilk.

Again we repeat what we stated a few weeks ago: The struggle of the seamen can be won, if properly supported by the Maritime Federation! Unqualified support to the seamen, without any "ifs," "buts," or "insofar as!"

Tampa Defense to Hold N. Y. Meet

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Miami meeting of the A. F. of L. Executive Board to crack down on the Tampa vigilantes by threatening to remove the next A. F. of L. convention from Tampa unless workers' rights are protected and the Ku Klux murder gang brought to book. President Green of the A. F. of L., due to the intervention of the joint committee, has already issued such a threat, and many local and international unions are known to be in favor of enforcing it.

President Heston of the Florida Federation of Labor, a political job-holder under the Democratic party, is trying to sew up the convention from Tampa. Efforts will be made to get the Industrial Union group in the Executive Council to take a firm stand against Tampa. It is expected that Norman Thomas, who is chairman of the joint committee, will have an opportunity to address the Council on the subject.

The joint committee now has a pamphlet in the press relating the story of the Tampa crime against working class organizers. It will sell for 2 cents per copy and may be ordered in bundles at low rates from the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, 22 East 17th Street, New York City.

The Political Committee of the Workers Party calls on all members to push the sale of the Tampa pamphlet, to get their unions and other organizations to go on record in support of the workers of Tampa. All New York members should do their utmost to build the Hotel Delano meeting so that the reactionaries of Tampa may know of our solidarity with the workers of that city.

Under the Banner of Lenin

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workers are seeking a new path. The imminence of war is arousing a still wider circle. A revolutionary impulse to oppose the war and the treacherous policy of supporting "sanctions" is particularly noticeable in the ranks of the Socialist workers and the Socialist youth. But a revolutionary policy cannot be confined to national grounds. The fight against war is inconceivable except as an international struggle. And this struggle in turn requires an international organization.

Will a revolutionary struggle against war be conducted by the Second International? Or Stalin's Comintern? Or the two "organically united"? Whoever preaches any of these ideas deceives and misleads the workers. A serious and consistent attitude toward the question of war is possible only for those who visualize an international struggle and an organization capable of conducting it. The question of the international is not something superfluous to be taken up later at leisure; it is the heart of revolutionary policy. In 1914, after the betrayal of the social democracy, Lenin began his struggle against the war with the call for a new international! The revolutionists of the present time must do likewise.

The reaction against Leninism, which has been synonymous with the reaction against the October revolution and the idea of an international revolution, has brought great defeats to the working class of the whole world and a frightful disintegration of the workers' organizations, including the organizations of the vanguard. The struggle for a revival of the Leninist, that is the revolutionary, movement is a struggle against confusion and demoralization. Made-to-order substitutes for the revolutionary strategy of Lenin appear on every side. The renunciation of Leninism has become a fashion. Stalinism not only confuses and demoralizes those who remain under its direct sway, but also many of those whom it repels. Herbert Zam, like numerous others, who long mistook Stalinism for Leninism, in reacting against certain aspects of the former has discarded the cardinal teachings of the latter. The formula for this back-sliding in the most fundamental question of our epoch—the question of the international organization of the vanguard—is the spurious, soul-saving formula of "unity."

In his recent polemics against "Trotskyism" Zam develops his conception of unity as a fetish. From all the vast and rich experiences of the past 21 years, which include the betrayal of the workers in the world war, the consequent split in the international labor movement, the Russian Revolution, the formation and later downfall of the Comintern, the terrible defeats of the later period—from all this vast experience Zam arrives at one basic conclusion: The Second International, splintered with crimes and betrayals and firmly controlled by incorrigible reformists who are "organically" united with their respective national capitalists, is the only possible International. The failure of the "Trotskyites" to appreciate this, their insistence on the necessity of a new international, condemns them to the futile existence of an isolated "sect," says Zam who has appropriated for himself the masses in the Second International. In the Socialist Call, Jan. 4, he writes:

"The central fallacy of the Trotskyite position (aside from all other considerations) is that it ignores the instinctive desire of the working class for unity, a desire which followed a series of defeats to which disunity was a strong contributing factor. The Trotskyite remedy for the present situation is the formation of new parties and a new International—that is, new splits on a national and international scale. But this formula flies in the face of the desires and the interests of the workers, including the advanced workers in the Socialist and Communist parties."

If we may be allowed to say so, the central fallacy in Zam's position is that it ignores historic facts as well as the "interests of the workers." We cite a few: The labor movement of Europe was united in the Second International on August 4, 1914. The united organizations of the social democracy only served to paralyze the masses and plunge them into the imperialist slaughter. On the other hand, the Bolsheviks who had SPLIT with the social-patriots, stopped Russia's participation in the war and made a successful revolution! The revolutionary advances of the European workers in the post-war period coincided with deep splits between the revolutionists and reformist agents of the capitalists, the formation of new parties and the rise of the Comintern. One of the few countries—Austria—which retained its "unity" almost 100 percent on a social democratic basis, succumbed to ignominious defeat despite the heroic resistance of the Socialist workers at the last moment.

Zam implies that Lenin was wrong in 1914 when he called for a rupture with the social-patriots of all countries and doubly wrong when he formed the Comintern in 1919. We do not think so. It is false to put the question of "unity" as an

Plan Appeal in Scottsboro Case

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ferred to the Federal courts, Osmond K. Fraenkel of New York and Clarence Watts of Huntsville, Ala., defense counsel, said they would seek a change of venue. Hearing on this motion was set for Jan. 16. At the same time it was learned that the defense contemplates a direct appeal to the Federal courts to take jurisdiction from the state courts if the motion for a change of venue is denied.

The first action by defense counsel in the Scottsboro case was taken Monday in a motion demanding a transfer of the trial from the Alabama to the Federal Court on the ground that the state statute forbidding more than one change of venue prevents the defendants from obtaining a fair trial. The motion was filed by attorney Watts of Huntsville, a member of the state legislature, who has been retained as co-counsel by Samuel Liebowitz. Liebowitz holds retainers from all the Scottsboro boys and now has complete charge of the case. The I.L.D. is out in the cold.

abstraction, as a fetish or sentimental ideal. The unity of the proletariat is undoubtedly necessary for the victory over capitalism. But that is not achieved at one step. For the workers to become united FOR THEIR OWN INTERESTS they must break with the bourgeoisie and take the road of the class struggle. That means they must break away from the influence of the capitalist AGENTS in the labor movement, the social-patriots. Only then can the workers be united in the struggle for socialism. This is the way Lenin put the question of unity and split. The experience of the working class has completely confirmed the correctness of his position.

The unification of the working class for the revolutionary struggle on an international scale is a complicated process. The class is not homogeneous. It has different strata in different stages of enlightenment and development. It has an "aristocracy" which has special immediate interests of its own and advances them at the expense of the whole class. The labor movement has a bureaucracy which, for the greater part, is tied to the capitalists and represents their interests in the ranks of the workers. Then there is the section of class-conscious workers, the vanguard, who understand and represent the general historic interests of the workers as a class. Unification has to begin with them.

The problem of the hour is the unification of the vanguard on the basis of a revolutionary program. That can only be an international program—no other is or can be revolutionary in this epoch—and the organization can only be an international one. So Lenin posed the problem in 1914 when the collapse of the old International became manifest. So we, following Lenin and faithful to his precept and example, pose the question today.

The Third International in its first four congresses under Lenin compressed the fundamental strategy of the proletariat into a number of documents, theses and resolutions which, in all the essential parts, still retain their validity. In the October revolution of the Bolsheviks this strategy was illustrated in practice and fully vindicated. It is the mission of the Fourth International, which as yet is only a program and project of a section of the vanguard, to carry the same revolutionary struggle through to the final victory.

The work for the Fourth International is work in the spirit of Lenin. The unceasing struggle for the regroupment of the vanguard under the banner of the Fourth International, on the way to the unification of the working class for the revolutionary assault against the capitalist order, is the sign that Lenin is alive in the work of his disciples. To take part in that work is the way to commemorate his name.

West Coast Ship Tie-up

(Continued from Page 1)

through the picket lines of any union, and above all, not the Industrial Union which has acted as unionists should by walking out in solidarity.

The Industrial Union's Record

The Industrial Union is comparatively new, not much over a year old. In Camden, N. J., the union carried on a hard, brave battle last year. It was denied admittance into the A. F. of L. because of the craft unions' stand. (Over twenty craft unions claim jurisdiction over work in repairing and constructing ships.)

On the west coast the union is not in the Maritime Federation. It has consistently attempted to join the federation but the influence of the craft union affiliates of the Maritime Federation (Machinists, Seafarers) has kept them out. Bridges, who is under Stalinist influence, proposes that the Industrial Union give up jurisdiction over certain key crafts (caulkers, machinists and boilermakers) and the depleted remnants would then be taken into the Maritime Federation. The union stands solid for its industrial form, however, as the only organizational setup able to cope with the present day shipbuilding industry and protect the interests of the employees.

Although outside the A. F. of L. and the Maritime Federation, the union has won the admiration of all unionists, by its class conscious attitude as well as its advanced organizational form. It has scrupulously observed all union picket lines. It has joined in acts of solidarity, of which their actions of support of the Machinists is the latest. It joined the one day memorial strike and parade on July 5, in commemoration of two strikers who had been killed by the police in the strike of 1934. It downed tools in the half hour general strike of last month which succeeded in winning freedom for the four union seamen on trial for their lives.

Dangers to the Strike

There are a number of dangers facing the strike:

First, the strike was called at a time when the majority of the men have been long unemployed. They may be starved back to work. They must get the help of the entire labor movement of the west coast so as to be able to feed themselves and their families. This help must be forthcoming regardless of the fact that the Industrial Union (against its wishes) is outside the A. F. of L. As a matter of fact, the ship-

yard workers are pioneers in forming a true industrial union, and because of this reason must be supported to the utmost, for a defeat for the Industrial Union of Shipyard Workers would be a defeat for the cause of industrial unionism.

A second danger comes from the company union. The bosses, fearful of the growing power of the Industrial Union, have taken steps to organize a company union. These company union men, who form a very small group, are waiting for the picket lines to weaken in order to go back to work. They must be educated as to what unionism is, but they must be kept out of the yards.

Craft Unions Threaten

A third danger, which is very great, comes from the direction of the bureaucracy of the craft unions (there are, as we have remarked, 20 such craft unions claiming jurisdiction over different parts of shipbuilding and repairing work). The craft union picket leaders may offer their services to the employers, saying, "If you do not come to terms with us, you will have to come to terms with the Industrial Union." The employers' first preference would be no union at all, but rather than have the Industrial Union they would be sure to come to an agreement with the craft unions. They may sign with the craft unions, making a little improvement in wages and conditions for a small minority of the skilled craftsmen, and take back whatever little they give to the skilled by doubly exploiting the less skilled sections. The men must be prepared to fight for their industrial union to the finish.

The machinists' officials, we must report, have, in spite of their word, signed an agreement with the General Engineering and Drydock Co., without consulting the Industrial Union. The Industrial Union is at present holding conferences with the General Engineering and Drydock Co., but if the Industrial Union cannot come to an agreement with the company, they must force the Machinists to live up to their promise to support the Industrial Union. The latter will most probably, in the event that no agreement is reached, throw a picket line around the General Co., keeping out the Machinists, as well as others.

The rank and file of the Machinists will undoubtedly support the Industrial Union in this action.

All support to the striking west coast shipyard workers, who represent militant industrial unions, striking at the boss as one man unlike the antiquated and impotent craft unions!

Members of the Maritime Federation: Support the move for admittance of the Industrial Union to the Maritime Federation!

LENIN MEMORIAL MEETING

SPEAKER: MAX SCHACHTMAN

SUNDAY EVE. | IRVING PLAZA HALL
JANUARY 19th | IRVING PLACE & 15th St.

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Jugoslav Communist Escapes from Siberia; Bares Anti-Bolshevik Terror of Stalin

A STATEMENT OF FACT ON STALIN'S TERROR, ON MR. HEARST AND THE SUNDAY WORKER

ON OCTOBER 19 the NEW MILITANT printed the revelations of A. Tarov—Bolshevik-Leninist who escaped from Siberian exile—on Stalin's persecution of revolutionists in the Soviet Union.

Three months later, on Sunday, January 19, William Randolph Hearst, without authorization or permission from Leon Trotsky, or his American literary agents, or from us, lifted the Tarov article and Trotsky's comment on it, from the NEW MILITANT and printed it in his chain of anti-labor rags.

On the very same day, the Sunday Worker, in true Hearstian style, blared forth headlines to the effect that Leon Trotsky is an agent of Hearst, and a promise to reveal at a later date the price received for them.

There is not a modicum of truth in this slander learned from the gutter methods of Hearst himself and employed against all revolutionists. It is

meant to be a smoke-screen to divert attention from the revelations of Stalin's terror against the Leninists.

Before the entire labor movement we challenge the corrupt scribbles of the Daily and Sunday Worker to prove their assertions.

Furthermore we challenge them to disprove one single charge made in Tarov's article.

On our part we charge the Stalinists with furnishing Hearst with ammunition against the revolutionary movement.

This they do by persecuting, torturing, yes! and even murdering genuine revolutionary internationalists in the Soviet Union, men who have fought and bled in the Russian Revolution and in the Civil War and against foreign intervention.

So long as this Thermidorian repression continues, we take no responsibility for whatever effects their publication may have. The stigma for this rests upon Stalin's gangster clique as

does the almost medieval torture of the Bolsheviks in the Soviet Union.

On our part we will not be silent when revolutionists of unimpeachable integrity and years of service and sacrifice to the working class languish in jails, solitary confinement and concentration camps.

We propose to publish authentic information as broadly and as widely as our means permit until such a time as an aroused labor movement throughout the world will force Stalin to call a halt to his criminal course.

In this issue we publish new revelations of the persecution of Communist opponents of Stalin in the Soviet Union. The article of comrade Ciliga shows that foreign Communists as well as Russians are imprisoned and hounded by Stalin for factional reasons.

The workers of the world must know these facts.

Revolutionists Held in Jails, Solitaries and Concentration Camps

Three Loyal Hungarian Stalinists, in Conflict with Bela Kun, Clapped into Jail

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The author of the following letter, former member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, comrade A. Ciliga, spent five and a half years in solitary confinement and in Stalinist exile. Comrade Dr. Anton Ciliga is at the present time not connected with any political organization.

December 9, 1935

Dear Comrades,

You have requested me to give you IMMEDIATELY, even though briefly, information on my own case, on the Russian Bolshevik-Leninists and on the penitentiaries and exile in general. Bearing in mind that the exigencies of the case demand speedy information, I will try to reply as best I can to your request, even though it may be to the detriment of a rounded-out picture. But I hope, in a following letter, to fill in the gaps of this communication.

I begin with the fate of the group to which I myself belonged. In the month of May, 1930, a group of Yugoslav communists who were in Russia on a mission for the Yugoslav Communist party, were arrested at Moscow and at Leningrad by the G.P.U. The group was arrested for connection with the Trotskyist opposition. Three were incarcerated in solitary confinement in the penitentiaries of Verkhn-Uralsk for three years: 1) Stanka Dragulich (Russian surname, J.V. Kovalev), former member of the C.C. of the Yugoslav C.P., leader of one of the most important Yugoslav organizations in the city of Zagreb; 2) Mustapha Deditch (Russian surname, Victor Solovlev), former secretary of the Trade Union Committee of the Province of Herzegovina, at Mostar; 3) Dr. Anton Ciliga, the author of these lines, former member of the P.B. of the C.P. of Yugoslavia, editor of the legal central organ of the party, "Borba," at Zagreb, and foreign representative of the C.C. of the party.

A comrade, Stephan Haeblerling (Russian surname, V. Suslov), former member of the party Committee of the province Vologodny (formerly South Hungary), at Novi Sad, was exiled for three years to the Ural. A score of our friends were exiled to, and placed under surveillance in various corners of European Russia.

Two Russian comrades, connected with us (Victor Zankov and Oreste Glibowsky), were also sent to the penitentiary of Verkhn-Uralsk on November 7, 1930; we were not mentioned in the list of prisoners which was published in the Bulletin of the Russian Opposition No. 10, as the list was drawn up in October, 1930.

Comrade Tarov, who escaped from the U.S.S.R. (see his letters in the NEW MILITANT of Oct. 19, 1935), mentions our group, but because of the similarity in the names of the two countries, he made an error regarding our country of origin and wrote "three comrades from Czechoslovakia" instead of "three comrades from Yugoslavia." Another inaccuracy, concerning myself, slipped into his letter. He writes: "One of them, former member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, a devoted partisan of the Fourth International." My position on the Fourth International is certainly correctly stated, but I was not a member of the E.C.C.I. I was a member of the party delegation under the E.C. and I was assigned to work in the Balkan Secretariat of the E.C.C.I.

In the summer of 1931, my comrades and I participated in the hunger strike which lasted 18 days and in which over 150 prisoners participated in the penitentiary of Verkhn-Uralsk. The hunger strike was provoked by rifle fire from the guards directed at the prisoners, one of whom, Gabo Esayan, who was standing peacefully at his window, was wounded. The strike also had as an objective the improvement of our famine rations. The atmosphere of terror and the famine rations drove two prisoners (Vera Bergner and Victor Kravny) insane.

At the end of three years of imprisonment, in 1933, my comrades and I demanded of the Soviet authorities that they allow us to return to our homes abroad. We fasted a long time (23 days) to obtain this demand. The Soviet authorities not only refused us permission to leave, but increased our sentence by two years, without trial and without new charges. (The Soviet laws authorize the G.P.U. to renew automatically and without trial the periods of imprisonment and exile. This law is enough to make one's hair stand on end, but it is on this fact that the entire history of years of political exile in Russia is based.) Following this hunger strike we were taken out of the penitentiaries and were sent into exile in various outlying districts. I had to go to Eastern Siberia, to the city of Yeniseisk; comrade Deditch to Western Siberia, the village of Kolpachevo, department of Naryn; comrade Dragulich, to Saratov on the Volga; comrade Haeblerling was sent from city to city until he reached the Ural. Comrade Dragulich escaped and returned to his home abroad. In 1934 he was arrested on the Russo-Polish border and locked up in the secret dungeons of the Solovietzki Islands, from where, for over a year, no further news has come from him.

Exile Without Trial

When in 1935 we ended the second term of our exile, the G.P.U. this time extended our exile for three years without trial or new indictment. Thus a foreign-born worker or a militant worker who comes to Russia no longer has the right to leave it, he is changed into a species of eternal prisoner if he is dissatisfied with the condition of the proletariat and the general situation in Russia.

I personally was finally able to escape from Russia after two and a half years of desperate struggle in which I found myself continually between life and death. I succeeded because I had a foreign passport, because I had a family abroad which was able to do something, and because I squarely posed the question: release or death. But my comrades have remained in exile and in dungeons—only active assistance by the European proletariat and by the democratic movement can set them free.

In the penitentiary of Yaroslavl are three members of the political bureau of the C. P. of Hungary. They support the general line of the Hungarian C. P. and of the O.I., but they are opponents within their own party of the Bela Kun group. They were invited to Moscow to discuss the controversial issues in the Hungarian party and were arrested on the spot and imprisoned in the penitentiary of Yaroslavl.

Hundreds of foreign comrades are officially in exile in the Russian provinces and actually in the status of prisoners in Russia, without the possibility of returning to their countries because of their opposition to their party or to the O.I.

On my departure, which was a deportation from Russia, the G.P.U. men robbed me, seized my scientific notes, my manuscripts, and not only my private correspondence, both Russian and foreign, but also my official correspondence with the (Continued from Page 3)

Bakers Union Official Framed in Youngstown

Third Unionist Arrested in Anti-Labor Drive Led By Reactionary City Administration

By GEORGE TRUHAN

YOUNGSTOWN, O., Jan. 21.—The frame-up of trade unionists in Youngstown is being extended by the present anti-union city administration in combination with the open shoppers and the Citizens' Association. Tuesday, January 21, a militant business agent of the Bakers' Local 177 was arrested. The warrant was sworn out by a scab named Gilbert Elchenlaub.

The drive on the unions is continuing. That the reactionary labor leaders of the United Labor Congress, under the leadership of Andy Hubbard, are trying to wash their hands of the whole matter is shown by their attitude of passivity and failure to mobilize the labor movement back of the local unions under fire.

On the other hand, in order to get the support of these reactionaries, the leadership of the local unions under fire tends to soften its attack against the various forces that are out to smash militant unionism. They also tend to rely too much on the different politicians who are promising them aid, and promising to fix things up if no noise will be made.

These "fix-it" friends are the most dangerous enemies of the attacked locals, that is, Bakers' Local 177, and Drivers' Local 377.

City Wage Cut Drive
This third arrest on the charge of kidnapping and torture is really the result of trying to "fix things up." The new city administration, led by Mayor Evans and Police Chief Olson, spurred on by the Citizens' Association, is out to make a name for itself. It also wants to divert the minds of the people of Youngstown from the city's financial condition and its efforts to reduce the salaries and wages of the city employees. At present this takes the form of an attack on the trade unions, especially the Drivers and Bakers who are most militant, and who are the driving force of the fight against wage cuts.

The trials of the three arrested unionists is coming up January 22, but it is understood that they will merely be given a hearing and bound over to the grand jury.

Your correspondent, in digging up material on the situation here, in talking to various business men and city officials, has been met with a smirking smile, a wink and the comment: "We've got to pin this on somebody," because, according to them "public opinion demands it." The newspapers and all city officials take the same attitude.

Boss Spurns U. S. Mediator
The Oles' Market, owned by George L. Oles, the spearhead of the campaign against the unions at this time, even refuses to meet with the U. S. conciliator sent in by the Department of Labor and is still carrying on his open-shop campaign. The unions are picketing the market, especially the Butchers and Bakers, with the support of the Drivers who refuse to deliver supplies.

The Butchers' Union attempted to get an injunction against the Oles' market to prevent them from

using scabs or non-union workmen, and to live up to the agreement which was to run until May 1, 1936.

Strikes are also going on in the Uptown Bakery.

One of the defendants arrested on the fake kidnapping and torture charge, Mike Hornyak, was discharged by the Armour Company, whose management openly declared in the press that it was because of his union activity and the notoriety which he received on his arrest.

The various concerns where officials of the different unions are employed are insisting that these employees resign from their offices in the unions.

The Bord Company, which has a contract with the city for sewage disposal, is violating its contract most flagrantly. The union is trying to prevent this and a strike may result.

Committee Funks on Union

The committee of prominent citizens, which local union 377 called into being to investigate the charges of racketeering and gangsterism leveled against them, held a secret meeting January 21 and advised the leaders of the union to postpone the investigation until the trial of January 22, or later. It also advised against any publicity. Dr. I. E. Philo resigned from the committee publicly, but appeared at the meeting.

Unionists should look with suspicion on the actions of this investigating committee, as the head of the Citizens' Association, Dr. Wilcox, is a member.

The Citizens' Association, that strike-breaking, union-busting body, was given headlines and front-page publicity for a mass meeting for Thursday, Jan. 17, and the chief of police and the mayor were scheduled to speak. 45 people turned out for the meeting!

The second issue of "The Union Guide," organ of Drivers' Local 377, has appeared and is being well received by the local unions. Bakers Union Local 177 and Common Laborers' Union Local 125 have endorsed the paper.

While the above events are taking place, the WPA workers are also on the move, and are being organized into the Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers Union Local 125. This is a new local, organized about six weeks ago, and it already has a membership of 500. They have been recognized by the WPA authorities and have the right to have fires at the project sites and covers for trucks that haul men to and from work.

Ohio WPA Union Wins Wage Rise

Rapid Growth, Militancy of Union Causes Many Concessions

(Special to New Militant)

TOLEDO, O., Jan. 21.—A promise of a 10 percent wage increase for common labor tentatively approved by the state WPA administration starting February 1, was given by William B. Schumli, Lucas and Wood counties administrator, to the executive board of the WPA Workers Union, affiliated with the Lucas County Unemployed League.

The promised wage increase was secured after six weeks of an intensive drive during which hundreds of WPA workers have flocked into the union.

A number of concessions have been secured in the way of improvement of job conditions, including the obtaining of shelter-houses on open jobs, fuel for fires, etc. Meanwhile, the union is redoubling its campaign to reduce the number of work hours per month from the present 132 to 120. The 132 hour schedule represents a slight reduction of six hours over the one in effect up to January 16, a concession won in the past week by the union.

Militancy at High Point

Grievances on the job are mounting, and the WPA workers here are showing a desire for organization and a militancy never displayed before. Five different crews of workers have walked off jobs in a body during the past three days led by union members, have organized in the union headquarters, elected committees, and battled out their grievances. Daily the headquarters are jammed with workers who represent entire projects who

(Continued on Page 2)

Utilities Brotherhood Hits Edison Layoffs

WPA Teachers Form Union in Minnesota

ST. PAUL, Minn., Jan. 18.—The Minnesota Emergency Teachers Association held its first annual delegate convention today in the Men's Union on the University of Minnesota campus. Sixty delegates, with practically every county in the state represented, were in attendance.

The convention adopted a constitution, declaration of principles, elected officers and an executive board of fifteen members, and laid down a plan of organization for the coming year.

Officers for the coming year are: W. W. Norris, Minneapolis, president, and Dorothy Holmes, St. Paul, executive secretary.

The declaration of principles calls upon the M.E.T.A. to establish the closest relationship with those forces in Minnesota which are seeking to build a state-wide WPA organization, and to help this new organization into being. (The next statewide conference of WPA, relief organizations and trade unions will be held in Minneapolis Feb. 8-9.)

The declaration also binds the M.E.T.A. to establish immediately fraternal relations with all other similar federal teachers' groups in other states, in order to work out a common program looking towards the establishment of a permanent adult education project by the federal government.

Teachers on federal adult, workers, recreational, nursery, arts and crafts, and National Youth Administration educational projects are eligible for membership in the Minnesota Emergency Teachers Association.

(Continued on Page 2)

Lays Power Tie-up to Undermanned Crews at Power Houses

Charges that the Consolidated Gas-Edison system has dismissed 300 more employees within the last week, and that it is thus "continuing the policy of cutting labor forces which was largely responsible for the power tie-up on Jan. 15," were made today to Mayor LaGuardia by the Brotherhood of Utility Employees.

This information was conveyed to the Mayor in a letter signed by Martin A. Wersing, president of the Brotherhood's New York regional board. Copies of the letter were sent to the several official bodies which are investigating last week's failure of electricity supply.

"All evidence in connection with the power tie-up serves to confirm the opinion I voiced at that time," Mr. Wersing's complaint declared, "... that it was due to drastic weakening of the system's maintenance and inspection forces through wholesale 'lay-offs'."

Fired for Organization Work

"The Consolidated-Edison system continues also to discharge workers with excellent records because of their union activities. One case in point is that of P. B. Ewing and Stephen Solosy, energetic organizers for the Brotherhood of Utility Employees, who were fired last Friday. Ewing is secretary of our Equity Local 100, which has jurisdiction over Manhattan and the Bronx.

"Both men were chemists for the Consolidated Gas Company. Solosy had been employed there seven years, and Ewing five years. Both had exemplary records. When they were dropped they were told by a company union delegate that Vice-President John Stilwell of the company had said that under no

(Continued on Page 2)

Morgan Coined Gold out of Workers' Blood in 1917-18 -- with Wilson's Aid

By ARNE SWABECK

In the investigations by the Nye Senatorial Commission of the part played by the House of Morgan in the last world war, the fact—previously so well known to Marxists—that the real cause of America's entrance into the war was furnished by the interests of finance capital, has now become clearly established. The quest for profits by the great financiers determined, in each decisive instance, the policy of the Wilson administration. Their fear of the loss of hundreds of millions, already invested, together with the fear of cutting off profits and prosperity for American business finally decided the issue.

The voluminous evidence introduced into the committee hearings

should remove all doubt of this fact even in the minds of the greatest sceptics. Viewed in the light of the present Roosevelt neutrality policy all this evidence should receive added attention.

On several occasions the President has chided the Wall Street bankers. Two years ago we had the Pecora investigations. Today the Roosevelt administration sponsors the Nye committee hearings. We were told that its purpose was to "take the profits out of war."

Object of Investigation

No doubt this is still accepted widely amongst the masses as a genuine objective of the investigations. To this extent they serve to strengthen illusions in regard to

the "peace" policies pursued by the Roosevelt administration. As such they are also quite in accord with the general methods of the New Deal schemes. In a bourgeois democracy governmental policy to be successful must have popular mass support. This is something the Roosevelt administration understands particularly well. Therefore the New Deal policy was carried on under such slogans as: increasing the purchasing power of the masses; safeguarding their collective bargaining rights; their minimum wage, limitations on working hours, etc. Likewise the war preparations in the Rooseveltian system must have popular slogans, such as: taking (Continued on Page 4)

Fight Police In Vermont Walkout

Marble Workers Battle Militantly After Three Month Siege

By CYRUS RIGBY

RUTLAND, Vt.—New England, the traditional home of granite-like, rugged American individualism, was Tuesday also the scene of oppressed Yankee workers in revolt. For three months the workers of the Vermont Marble Company, of Rutland, have been out on strike. Each week their battle has been drawing closer to victory.

So close to victory, indeed, had the strikers' battle become that the company, and its vested legal allies, decided to act. Picketing had been disciplined and constant. On Tuesday morning, a gang of scabs was engaged in loading marble onto D. and H. gondola cars, which were hitched to an engine under steam. The scabs were protected by a squad of D. and H. professional gunmen (called railroad police) hidden in the cab of the locomotive. All morning a line of about 300 pickets marched back and forth along the tracks.

The Battle

About noon two scabs, Arthur Alwill and Radcliffe Lyons, the former a company superintendent, attempted to leave the marble yard in Alwill's car, escorted by armed deputies in automobiles following. The scabs' car was stoned and forced by the pickets to halt. Immediately the deputies got out and ordered the massed workers to disperse. As soon as they began laying hands on the nearest pickets, the battle commenced.

Workers used whatever weapons came into their hands; deputies, reinforced by a torrent of new deputies that came pouring miraculously from the company office nearby, used nightsticks and blackjacks. One striker, unnamed except for his firsts, was seen to fall twice under blows from a nightstick, only to get up again and pursue the fight. Women as well as men engaged in the bloody fray until the police forces began to realize they were getting the worst of it. Then the desperate guardians of capitalism put more modern weapons into action. A tear gas bomb was hurled and exploded in the midst of the workers. But the retreat, unavoidable in the face of this onslaught, was both orderly and dignified. Some strikers merely withdrew a few yards to await developments. Others marched into union headquarters to prepare for a fresh attack by the law.

When the Smoke Cleared

When casualties were counted it was found that the working class battling average was remarkably high: 12 deputy sheriffs were sent to the hospital against 5 of the militant strikers. It was impossible to count those on both sides with more minor injuries, but those sent to the hospital were all in serious condition. Business of arresting strike leaders was begun as soon as Sheriff Schoenfeld's bomb had prepared the way for the State's Attorney's dramatic entrance on the set. Some of the ten strikers arrested were unable to walk; one was still unconscious and bleeding as he was carried forcibly off to jail.

In spite of their notorious Vermont smugness, the "disinterested" citizens of Rutland are more sympathetic with the strike than it would seem from capitalist press accounts. Reporters for the Rutland Daily Herald, for example, have attempted to stir up chauvinistic feeling against Polish workers involved in the strike—while at the same time they have been compelled to make public the arrest of two selectmen, Dwyer and Thomas, overseers of the poor, on charges of having failed to provide clothing to children of striking marble workers. Farmers and Rutland townspeople who work, as well as the smaller merchants, are generally on the side of the strikers. Larger business men, Rotarians and newspaper owners are fighting for the capitalists.

Students Support Strike

At various times since the strike began intellectuals living in Vermont and neighboring states have come out in complete accord with the strike. Students of nearby Dartmouth College have given their support by a benefit performance of "Waiting for Lefty."

It seems to be a finish struggle and the workers are decidedly gaining ground. Reports that Gov. Charles M. Smith is to send in National Guardsmen from Montpelier were both denied and reaffirmed in Rutland on Thursday. Meanwhile the strikers were again assembling their picket lines.

READ THE NEW MILITANT

PAUL LUTTINGER, M.D.
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5 Washington Square North
1-2 and 6-8 Except Sundays
and Holidays.

Developments in the Needle Trades; A Program for the Progressives

By A. J. MUSTE

Developments are taking place in the needle trades unions which are in themselves important and are also in considerable measure typical of what is taking place or will in industry generally.

When we seek to understand trends in the union movement, we have first of all to examine industrial conditions and in particular the developments in the industry in which a given union operates. What, then, is taking place in the garment industry today? For reasons which space does not permit us to go into, but among which the National Recovery Act was not the only or even the most important one, the garment industry experienced a decided upturn in 1933-4. Cut-throat competition had in the closing days of the Hoover era resulted in such chaos that even the employers, at least important sections of them, were prepared to accept government "regulation" and to deal with unions in return for an opportunity to put prices up and maintain them at some level. Something like "prosperity" obtained for a couple of years.

The Changing Situation

Gradually, however, the scene has been shifting. In the general economy of the country the basis for genuine and lasting prosperity has not been laid. There is a huge army of unemployed. The wage level remains far below that of 1929. The market remains a restricted one for every industry. The upturn which has occurred, however, causes employers to be impatient of the slight restraints to which they were subjected in the early days of the Roosevelt administration. The N.R.A. is declared unconstitutional. Even in the garment industry where the nightmare of 1930-2 is not yet entirely forgotten and N.R.A. conditions are in considerable measure "voluntarily" maintained, competition becomes ever more severe.

The urge to break all bonds—move "out of town" in order to escape union wage rates, the policy of playing off an unlimited number of shoe-string contractors against each other, etc.—becomes ever stronger. For the most part it does not yet take the form of direct and open cutting of wage rates or of a fight against the unions, but of resistance against any further concessions as to wages, hours and conditions and a steady pressure on union representatives in the shops to relax standards while formally the contract is maintained. The time when the employers will resort to the more extreme methods is probably not far distant, however.

Union Gains

The unions in the garment industry made huge gains in 1933-4. They were instrumental in lowering hours and raising wages from the depression level. The internal controversies which had rent the unions subsided, as they have a habit of doing in a period of growth and success. Even the Old Guard and the top bureaucracy were able to put up a plausible appearance of efficiency and progressivism. Were they not making demands on the employers and getting results? Witness, in another industry, John L. Lewis even before he openly launched his crusade for industrial unionism. (We are not speaking of the essential role played by Hillman, Dubinsky, et al., under the New Deal on which the New Militant has frequently stated its position).

There was an immense amount of organizing, administrative and educational work to be done and the officials turned to young workers, and intellectuals, Socialist party members, Lovestonites in the needle trades, etc. to assist; and the fact that these more political workers could give militant talks to the workers and a militant collaboration to the union was an additional recommendation in the eyes of the officials. We were supposed to be having a "revolution" under Roosevelt in 1933. On their part militants and progressives who did not hold a clear-cut and complete Marxist position (in more than name) found it fairly easy to keep their consciences quiet while not differentiating themselves from the top bureaucrats. There were workers to be enrolled, strikes to be organized. One could agitate for a labor party. Discussion over deeper implications of union policy would have to wait. Figures such as Zimmermann of Local 22, I.L.G.W.U., and others less prominent, became the administration in some of the local unions.

Test Yet to Come

We have pointed out that in the garment industry this is a transition period. The real test of the unions in the industry, and of the various elements in the unions has therefore not yet come. It will, when the employers go still further with abrogating the contract in fact even

if not in name, and presently demand substantial "concessions" in the contract itself and seek to wipe out the unions if they offer real opposition. Such a testing period these unions passed through after the war and post-war expansion, with what disastrous results for the workers is too well known. In such a period a well-organized progressive or left wing with a nucleus of revolutionary Marxists under the guidance and discipline of a revolutionary party, is needed.

Such a progressive movement does not exist in the needle trades today. We are as a matter of fact witnessing the disintegration of the old left wing forces and only the early beginnings of a new genuine left wing adapted to the needs of the coming period. The Stalinists and those under their influence are no longer a left wing force, but rather an extremely conservative one. In not a few instances in the needle trades unions they ally themselves openly with the S.P. old guardists or even more reactionary elements. It is not necessary to dwell on the details. The dissipation of the left movement in the unions as a result of the insane policies pursued by the Stalinists over a period of years is, however, a factor that cannot be too strongly emphasized. The fact that it is possible for the Stalinists still to masquerade as "the real revolutionists" makes the situation more difficult. They will not fully expose themselves until the crisis in the industry and the unions is much further advanced than it is today.

A Hot House Plant

The same holds true of the Lovestonites, for example. The so-called progressive movement under their leadership by no means constitutes a dependable left wing fighting force. It is a hot-house plant fostered by the union administration. It is not a rank and file movement born out of and hardened by the struggle over issues. For the present the Lovestonite union officials can still obscure and evade the issues. But when the conditions in the trade worsen and employers demand real and open concessions from the unions, and the Hillmans and Dubinskys are prepared as ever to help the employers "save the industry," then they will be unable to equivocate successfully, to work hand in glove with the top bureaucrats and at the same time pose as "progressives" and "Bolsheviks." And when we observe that already Lovestonite officials such as Zimmermann find it necessary to go out of their way to seek to combat the still weak forces of the Workers Party in the needle trades, we get an inkling of the course they will then take.

The fact that this is such a transition period as we have sketched accounts for the utterly confused picture presented by the various "groups" and "clubs" in the needle trades unions and the maneuvers in which they are engaging. It

largely accounts also for the extent to which the members in these unions are impressed by the Stalinist proposals for unifying groups, even though this often takes the form of unification with out-and-out right wing machine "clubs" and even on occasion the proposal that "there ought to be no groups in the union at all" which in practice always means that there be no organized force opposed to the union "machine." The members sense that something is wrong; they feel vaguely that danger threatens. But the issues are not yet sharply defined. It must be, they feel, that there are "too many groups"; let us have "unity."

No one can lay down a set of simple rules which can be applied in every specific case in this confused situation. There are, however, a few guiding ideas for the activity of the genuine progressives in this period.

Guiding Ideas for Progressives

1. It must be frankly recognized that this is a transition period. Confusion, inability to make rapid headway, and so on, must not induce discouragement or impatience. 2. The desire of the workers for unity cannot of course be met with a negative head-on attack. Progressives themselves must, however, not fall into the notion that the real left wing is going to be built by an attempt to fuse heterogeneous elements on any or no program. So far as possible they must wean the workers away from illusions and sentimentality about "unity in the abstract."

3. As a general thing unity with Stalinist "rank and file" groups is not a progressive step. What is progressive is to expose the role the Stalinists are playing—their capitulation to the S.P. old guard, the union right wingers, their reactionary proposals of "no groups in the union," etc. United action for specific ends to test out the genuineness of unity proposals may be resorted to. If in a given local union merger with such a group is the only way to break up the old situation and toward developing a genuine left wing, progressives must take the step in awareness of its meaning, must not regard merger as the end, as good in itself, and they must so far as possible disabuse the membership of illusions.

4. Finally, a genuine left-progressive movement is built upon issues. The issues will emerge ever more sharply. Then the various tendencies and elements in the unions will appear in their true colors. Since a new left wing must be built on the basis of a program, those advanced workers who constitute the nucleus of that left-wing must already begin to differentiate themselves in the eyes of the members from others, to become the exponents of issues as they arise, to show themselves as militant and responsible leaders in the shops, so that as the conflict deepens the members may know to whom to turn.

"Soviet Russia and Ethiopia the Goats" Behind the Scenes

By JAMES EVANS

"Soviet Russia and Ethiopia would be the goats."

Rodney Dutcher, Washington N.R.A. correspondent, thus predicts the results that would accompany the possible dissolution of the League of Nations in his column for January 8. As the crisis of international capitalism becomes more acute, it is certain that neither a weak feudal nor a highly developed workers' republic would be spared from aggression. When thieves face desperate measures, they take desperate measures. Can any informed observer deny that the particular type of thieves' honor, exemplified by the League of Nations, is crumbling along with the hold that the thieves have on the world? Dutcher says rather truthfully for an employee of the capitalist press:

Behind the Scenes

"Statesmen are constantly tempted by the idea of agreements which would preserve peace in western Europe and localize war by giving Germany a free hand to attack Russia while tossing Ethiopia to the fascist wolf. . . . There are powerful elements both in England and France which hold that destruction of the Soviet government would be a fine thing for the world. The only question among diplomats here is how influential those elements have been and may be expected to be in the backrooms of international politics."

"An alternative plan calls for an 'iron ring' around Germany, which would require appeasement of Mussolini and co-operation from Italy. The appeasement presumably would cover a benevolent Anglo-French attitude toward Italian designs on Austria."

"That alternative may yet be chosen. The British and French may have had it in mind when they tried to serve up Ethiopia on a platter to Mussolini. But recent conversations between the French and the Germans have strengthened a suspicion that all hands were at least flitting with the idea that a confinement of Hitler aggression to Russia would be the best way out of it all."

"But it can be said authoritatively that Berlin is eager for an understanding with London, and that Moscow, forever worrying over the possibility of attack from Germany and Japan at the same time, is jittery."

These statements are plain and apparent to any revolutionist. Beneath all the pompous ceremonies of the League sessions, and the hypocritical oratory about sanctions, still other sessions are being held—gatherings at which the Soviet Union is discussed but to which it is not invited. And in those sessions, the sick-hat bandits drop the idealistic pose of the forum. They become business men discussing a big deal: the dismemberment of the Socialist commonwealth and the accompanying destruction of socialist tendencies throughout the world.

Loaded Dice

Moreover, the Soviet Union is placed in the melancholy position of being a window-dressing; for the contemplated attack upon its very life. Its entrance into the League gave that body an unwarranted prestige in the eyes of millions of workers. Voluntarily, Litvinoff agreed to play a game with loaded dice—for all the high-flown talk about "taking advantage of the imperialist contradictions." The Soviet government has relied upon the personal integrity of sleek diplomats instead of the revolutionary defense of the workers. It has depended upon Laval, Benes, and Baldwin to protect it against attack from the predatory system which these gentlemen uphold.

Certainly, anyone can see that the French "Popular Front" amounts only to gradual emasculation of the revolutionary movement in that shameful reckoning through the shameful truce entered into by Thorez and Blum, Laval is free to negotiate with Hitler at one door and Mussolini at the other.

Laval Bides His Time

When this is accomplished, the French fascists will make their bid for power, while Monsieur Laval fights his clear with the Franco-Soviet pact. A concentrated attack upon the Soviet Union, fierce suppression of all working-class movements, will be the tragic results of the Soviet foreign policy. The "democratic nations" eulogized at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern will there relieve themselves of the painful incubus of democracy. Soldiers who might have been influenced for the proletarian revolution, had not the Comintern abandoned its propaganda in the armies, will march from their barracks to kill the toilers both of their own nationalities and of the Soviet Union. Moreover, the Soviet Union has largely forfeited the confidence of the colonial peoples by continuing to sell out to fascist Italy.

The hour of decision has come for the international working class! There lie potent within modern society the factors for the realization of Fascism and the factors for the establishment of Communism. These are mutually antagonistic issues, not to be solved by support of international capitalist alliances and vague "united fronts" with prosperous gentlemen who say every thing and mean nothing. This is the hour for social revolution!

For, as this paper has repeatedly emphasized, the central issue is not Fascism versus Democracy. It is Fascism versus Communism. The workers can win only under the leadership of a party which marches unflinchingly to the historic goal of the workers. The order of the day is not the building of reformist "Labor parties" which further confuse the masses. The order of the day is the building of the revolutionary party. But the time is short!

Union Hits Dismissals Ohio WPA Wins Rise

(Continued from Page 1)

circumstances would they ever be taken back. "Ewing and Solosy attracted unfavorable attention in company circles because of their work as editors of one of our publications, The Gas Man; and because in November, 1934, they were appointed to investigate the conduct of the company union's general council in behalf of the workers in the company's chemical department. Following that investigation they reported that the company union evidently had been formed to make the employees believe they had collective bargaining when this was not true."

Accompanying Mr. Wersing's letter was a copy of an affidavit by Charles Smith, a former operative for the Railway Audit and Inspection Company, a detective agency, attesting that he was assigned to shadow Solosy while the latter was employed in the chemical department of the Astoria Light, Heat, and Power Company, an affiliate of the Consolidated Gas Co. Documentary evidence also was available. The Mayor was told, to show that Ewing was shadowed by another operative from the same agency.

"In the latter part of 1935 more than 1,500 workers were dropped by the Consolidated-Gas system," Mr. Wersing's letter charged. "These additional 300 lay-offs coming on top of last week's breakdown are clearly indicative of the system's attitude of contemptuous indifference to the public safety. This action is in effect a re-statement of the system's implied contention that it alone rules the light and power industry in Greater New York, and it shows anew that the Consolidated-Gas alliance is concerned not with supplying adequate service to consumers, but in reaping as large a profit as the traffic will bear."

Copies of the Brotherhood's com-

(Continued from Page 1)

have walked off their jobs and come directly in a body to the headquarters to be organized. Reports of sentiments in the local Workers Alliance, which has consistently refused to cooperate with the union and Unemployed League in the WPA fight, due to the disruptive and slanderous tactics of the C. P. members who have invaded it, indicate that the rank and file is beginning to demand joint action with the union and the leagues.

The union is putting out a weekly paper on the jobs, the "WPA Union News," which has met with a tremendous response. Special weekly leaders' classes on unemployment and labor problems are being held by the union at the Toledo Workers School.

Likelihood of State WPA Strike

All indications point to a tremendously rapid growth of the union, with a corresponding growth of the Unemployed Leagues. The union has achieved genuine stability and the ideological character of the membership is surprisingly advanced for such a large mass organization. The tactic of organizing the WPA workers into a separate organizational form to deal with their particular problems, while linked organizationally with the general unemployed movement, appears to be a successful one, from the results obtained here.

There is a great likelihood that the growing sentiment for joint action with the Unemployed

Leagues now manifesting itself in the Workers Alliance will shortly pave the way for a state-wide united front between the two organizations and the Ohio Building Trades Councils in a state-wide WPA strike.

Philadelphia

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SUNDAY, JAN. 26, 8:15 P.M.
Grant Fraternity Hall
1626 Arch Street, 3rd floor
Speakers:
MAX SBACHTMAN
Editor New International
MANNY GARRETT
Editor Young Spartacus
Ausp: Philadelphia Branch, W.P.

Brownsville Open Forum
"Sex and the Class Struggle"
Speaker:
DR. OSCAR TROPP
well known physician
Friday, Jan. 24, 8:30 P.M.
1776 Pitkin Ave., nr. Stone

OPEN FORUM
LOCAL 22, I.L.G.W.U.
"The Government and the Unions"
Speaker:
A. J. MUSTE
THURSDAY, JAN. 30, 8 P.M.
in Council Room of Local 22
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Relief Rolls Are Pruned In Texas

Starvation, Graft, and Corruption Rife In State

(Special to the New Militant)

By JAMES EVANS

DALLAS, Texas—The Texas relief authorities are attempting to appease the hordes of unemployed with a few meager victuals before desperation flares into rebellion. Adam R. Johnson, the Southern aristocrat who directs relief activities in this state, has announced that surplus vegetables still in the local commissaries would be distributed to the unemployed who have been dropped from the rolls. Last Colonel Johnson appear to be a post-Christmas Santa Claus, it should be remembered that something has to be done with the surplus beans now that direct relief is being suspended. This form of dole will help to perpetuate the illusions of a beneficent government among the workers, causing them to think that the Lord Roosevelt will continue to scatter some manna their way.

Pruning the Relief Rolls

Meanwhile, the relief rolls are being pruned feverishly to eliminate every individual worker who cannot comply with the intricate rulings of those who fatten on poverty. The state commission has instructed its army of local flunkies to submit a list of their clients with the reasons for retaining them on relief. Every client, certified since November 1st is being dropped from the WPA regardless of his personal circumstances. I know one young teacher, employed on an adult education project, who is entirely typical of those receiving the axe without even the formality of advance notice. This particular client has a pregnant wife, a child, his father, and his mother to support.

The case workers, who has thus turned five people into the bread-line, is a woman who has never touched a broom nor picked a row of cotton in her life. When she was appointed to this position two years ago, she boasted to relief clients that she was very glad to have this employment. "I have had nothing to do but ride around and spend money," she said.

Passing the Buck

When a project worker protests over his dismissal, the buck is passed from one official to the other. Each plush-chair grafter politely contradicts the other until finally the worker abandons his appeal out of rage or sheer disgust. For as long as workers can be fooled into believing that individual officials are their friends, they will not resort to mass pressure and defeat these courteous purveyors of starvation.

The destitute members of the middle class are not required to sit with those in overalls while waiting their turn to beg for jobs. But this partially ends at the office doors. Competent professionals, in dire need, are being denied employment on the cultural projects merely because they have attained some professional standing — although they have simultaneously lost their incomes. On one writer's project, there is not a single bona-fide writer employed, while the supervisor is a very reactionary school teacher. In fact, there are probably not a dozen qualified writers in the state who are working on any of these "literary" projects.

From Red River to Rio Grande

Meanwhile, the old line labor leaders are attempting quickly to muffle the widespread strike sentiment. Any day may witness a spontaneous walkout of project workers, badly organized and led by men who lack strike experience. But, nevertheless, the WPA strike remains the order of the day in Texas, a strike which must be called and won through immediate coordination of all unemployed workers and progressive trade unionists. The only hope for the workers of Texas is a solid strike front from the Red River to the Rio Grande!

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Jugoslav Communist Bares Stalin's Anti-Bolshevik Terror

(Continued from Page 1)

consulate on the subject of my passport, without giving me any kind of document to confirm the confiscation of this material.

The Concentration Camps

2. On the concentration camps.

The new and most frightful scourge for those who are persecuted politically in Russia is the concentration camp. There are many concentration camps in Russia, in every region and of varying importance. The new Pharaohs (jailers—Ed.) in these places "educate" hundreds of thousands of workers and peasants and tens of thousands of criminals, receiving in exchange gratuitous labor. The peasant women and female criminals who are among them are sentenced to "serve" the men and are placed in the condition of practically forced prostitution.

The political prisoners are sent, to my knowledge, into four camps: Ukh-Pecherski (Zyryan), Marinski (Central Siberia), Karagandinski (coal mines of Kazakhstan) and the Solovetski Islands. In the month of December 1934, a new hunger strike broke out in the penitentiary of Verkh-Uralsk. The prisoners demanded that an end be made of these "additional" sentences of imprisonment, and the immediate release of men arbitrarily held in this way (that is to say, two-thirds of the prisoners). The hunger strike was stopped on the thirteenth day by the dispersal of the comrades to various penitentiaries, concentration camps, and by forced feeding. Nearly 30 comrades were then sent to the concentration camps: most of them, headed by the strike committee (Theodor Dingelstedt, Joseph Krashin, Sasha Slitski) were sent to the Solovetski Islands. Some of them, Lado Xenonikide, nephew of the famous ex-secretary of the C.E.C., M. Bielov, G. Roiko, etc., to the Ukh-Pecherski camp. In the summer of 1935, almost the whole Bolshevik-Leninist colony of Central Asia (Samarkand, Chirchik, Alma-Ata, Akmolinsk, Aktobinsk, Pavlodar, etc.) were in the major part sent to the concentration camp for a five-year period. Aside from the Bolshevik-Leninists, a considerable section of anarchists, some Zionists, and a few Social Revolutionaries and social democrats are to be found in the concentration camps. The political prisoners are subject to the regular camp regime, they must live and work with the criminals. The criminals are incited against the "politicians." Tens of comrades have endured long hunger strikes, demanding the substitution of the penitentiary for the concentration camp [Vladimir Smirnov, Jr. and S. Slitski, both of the "Democratic Centralists" group (the Saprovnists), did a 35-day hunger strike for this modest demand]. Several dozen others have conducted hunger strikes for establishing a regime for political prisoners in the camps. In the struggle for this demand fatal accidents occurred in the Marinski camp (among the anarchists). A group of prisoners in the Solovki and certain individuals in the Ukh-Pecherski and Marinski camps have succeeded in obtaining a partial regime for political prisoners, but a large majority of the prisoners, principally in the Marinski and Karagandinski camps, are under the regular regime. In the Marinski camp, during summer, a group of prisoners (among them the anarchist Sandemsky) was forced to walk, or rather to run, to their jobs in the fields, which were at a distance of ten kilometers from their quarters, where they worked until late into the night.

Upon expiration of his sentence in the summer of 1935, Dingelstedt was removed from the Solovki and exiled to Alma-Ata, S. Krashin to Turkhansk. It is necessary at all costs to secure the liberation of political prisoners from the concentration camps and to put a stop to the practice of sending them there.

Life in the Penitentiaries

3. Some remarks on the penitentiaries and exile.

In the solitary confinement cells of the penitentiary of Verkh-Uralsk is to be found at the present time the principal part of the Zinovievists (Zinoviev, Kamenov, Kuklin, Zaluski and also Smilga), also the well-known leaders of the Workers' Opposition, Shliapnikov (ill and deaf), and Medvedev, the leader of the "Democratic Centralists" group, who directed the insurrection of October 1917 at Moscow, former secretary of the C.E.C., at the time of Lenin, the old worker-Bolshevik Timopheev Saprovnov (he is seriously ill and unless the European proletariat releases him from the penitentiary he will not survive his five-year term).

The Zinovievists behave generally in a capricious fashion but in varying degrees and ways. Zinoviev is busy principally with questions of Fascism (he brought a load of books on Fascism) and with the history of the Russian situation. Kamenov is 98.5 percent in agreement with the general line. Some think that everything is over and that it will be necessary to begin all over again. Kamenov has received as the outcome of a new trial a sentence which runs to ten years. The second trial was based on the charges of a plot against "himself" (that is to say, Stalin). The principal hero of the accusation was Kamenov's own brother,

Who Are the Exiled Revolutionists In Jails and Concentration Camps?

IN HIS letter, Dr. Anton Ciliga mentions by name scores of men and women jailed and exiled and tortured by Stalin and his henchmen. Many of those mentioned by comrade Ciliga have been languishing in Stalinist dungeons for years; thus among the prisoners mentioned by him are to be found many of those listed in the Bulletin of the Russian Opposition (No. 19, March 1930) among the Bolshevik-Leninists are: Dorochenko, Victor Kravyn (driven to insanity), Langer, Papermeister Pavel, S. Slitski and others; among the "Democratic Centralists" are: Davidov, Essayan, Smirnov and others. These men have been incarcerated since 1929-1930, that is, for over six years.

Stalin persecutes not only his political opponents but their next of kin. Comrade Ciliga's references to wives, sisters, children, etc. of the prisoners denote this clearly enough. The persecution of Trotsky's son is not an exception but the rule.

Here are the records of a few of Stalin's victims: L. B. KAMENEV: One of the closest collaborators of Lenin. Member of the party since 1901. First arrested in a student demonstration in 1902. Worked in the Moscow Bolshevik organization. Participated in the Third and the London Congresses of the party. During the 1905 revolution worked in Petrograd up to 1908 when he was again arrested. After arrest he escaped abroad and collaborated closely with Lenin and Zinoviev. In 1918 he was ordered by the C.E.C. to Petrograd. Arrested in 1914 and exiled to Siberia. Member of the C.E.C.; Chairman of the All-Russian C.E.C.; Chairman of the Moscow Soviet (1918-1926), etc., etc.

G. ZINOVIEV: One of the closest collaborators of Lenin. Member of the party since 1901. Organized a Bolshevik group in Bern. In 1905 came to Petrograd where he worked in the Bolshevik faction. Participated in the London Party Congress where he was elected member of the C.E.C. on which he remained until Stalin came along. Arrested in 1908; after his arrest went abroad to collaborate most closely with Lenin (Zimmerwald; Kienthal). Returned to Russia in April, 1917 together with Lenin; after the July days went into hiding. Chairman of the Petersburg Soviet; Chairman of the Executive Committee Communist International, etc.

THEODOR N. DINGELSTEDT: Member of the Bolshevik party since 1910; member of the Petrograd Committee of the party during the February period of the Russian Revolution; active participant in the October Revolution. From 1923 one of the leaders

of the "catastrophe" was barely indicated, a mixed and very suspicious collection. The result was two executions (a member of the G.P.U., whose name I do not recall exactly, either Chervikov or Chervodski, and the second, a member of the Kremlin Guard). The rest were condemned to 5 to 10 years, half were transported to Verkh-Uralsk (most of them courtiers of the Kremlin). Kamenov denied categorically that he knew anything about this affair and insisted that he saw the principal accused individuals for the first time in his life during the trial. His brother announced during the trial that thanks to his last minute arrest,

of the Left Opposition in Leningrad. Arrested at the end of 1927.

MOUSSIA MAGID: Member of the Bolshevik party since 1917. When Denikin's hordes raged over the Ukraine she worked in the Bolshevik underground movement. Jailed for supporting the Left Opposition.

S. P. MEDVEDIEV: Metal worker. Member of the party since 1901 (Iskrovitz); Bolshevik since 1908. Served several sentences in jail and exile under the Czar. Participant of the October Revolution. Member of All-Russian C.E.C. since October, 1917; in 1920 Chairman of the All-Russian Trade Union of Metal Workers. Supporter of the "Workers' Opposition."

I. T. SMILGA: Peasant by birth; member of the Bolshevik party since 1907; twice in exile under the Czar; elected member of the C.E.C. in 1917; active participant in the civil war; member of the Revolutionary War Soviet; member of the Supreme Economic Council in 1921, etc., Jailed by Stalin in 1927.

V. M. SMIRNOV: Old Bolshevik; after February Revolution worked in Moscow as one of the editors of the Bolshevik paper there; active participant in the October Revolution; member of the Revolutionary Military Committee of the Moscow Soviet in October; participated in the street battles in Moscow; served in the civil war as member of the Revolutionary War Committee; in active service with the army that fought the Czechoslovak divisions and Kolchak, etc. Under Stalin's lock and key since 1927.

SHLYAPNIKOV: Communist; during the Imperialist war worked in Petersburg and abroad under the direction of the C.E.C. establishing contacts for the center. People's Commissar of Labor after the October Revolution. Leader of the so-called "Workers' Opposition."

VOYA VUXOVICH: Erstwhile Secretary of the Young Communist International. Exiled for his support of the Zinoviev group.

Then there are countless others, not named by Dr. Ciliga, languishing in Stalin's Thermidorian jails. Among them, for example, is Victor Serge, writer and historian of the Russian Revolution, exiled not for his activities, but merely for his sympathies with Trotsky and the Bolshevik-Leninists.

Assassination and physical extermination: Blumkin, murdered in cold blood by the G.P.U.; Bufo, driven by the G.P.U. to "suicide"; Kote Zingadze, denied medical attention, exiled to unbearable climate, died.

Verkh-Uralsk are also to be found twenty men of the Right Opposition (Slipkov, Astrov, etc. Ristun was there before, I do not know if he still is). Finally, some anarchists (Barmach), S.R.'s, Zionists, social democrats, and 40 to 50 Bolshevik-Leninists.

Who People the Solitaries?

In all, some 200 prisoners. In the penitentiaries of Chelabinsk, Yaroslavl and Soudal are to be found other groups of political prisoners of all currents. At Soudal the second leader of the "Dem-

ocratic Centralists," V. M. Smirnov, is to be found. He served his five years at Soudal in 1935; he was at liberty for half a month at Oulala (Olat Four) and at the present time he has been imprisoned for another five year term at Soudal. Voya Voyovitch, former secretary of the Y.C.I., is also to be found there. His wife, Budzinskaya, is at Verkh-Uralsk (with the sister of Unsicht). Taking advantage of the change that has taken place in the prisoner personnel, the administration has again worsened the legal conditions and the rations of the prisoners. Famine rations have again been introduced, particularly in the penitentiaries of Yaroslavl and Verkh-Uralsk. With the decrease in construction during the second Five Year Plan, unemployment has become a daily phenomenon in exile. At Yeniseisk, where I spent my last year, half of the exiles literally starved to death. The children of a new arrival to the concentration camp, M. Belov, became ill because of malnutrition and died of hunger before the eyes of all. The same news arrives from Minskushsk, in Central Asia, from the Narvin Province of Archangel. At Minskushsk, there are, at the present time, Kossior, Moussia Magid, Dorochenko, Yakoubson, the social democrat, etc. At Yeniseisk: Papermeister Pavel, Balmonchov, Grail, Donbenbaum, Kolomoenko; the Viennese V. Langner (he is systematically deprived of work); the S.R.'s, Teodor Isaevitch Teederbaum, Marc Levin, Eva V. Losman, the left S.R.'s, the Zionists, Bornstein and Kogan; the sister of Medvedev and a large number of Leningradists.

In the spring of 1935, Siberia was filled up with Leningradists. They were transported there in entire trainloads, whole families with children, wives, parents, etc. Many of them have been sent into places which are all the way north: Otdorsk, Doudilno, Vorilsk, Turkhansk, Verkhne-Uralsk. Several tens of thousands of comrades were exiled from Leningrad. A group of women, the sister of Zinoviev, the widow of Chatski (who was shot), the sister of Kuklin, etc., are to be found in exile at Vorogod (between Yeniseisk and Turkhansk). The situation of the major part of the Leningradists is tragic. The Zinovievist functionaries haven't a very noble bearing, and deport themselves without dignity. The workers' section keeps its mouth closed, makes no requests, tells no lies to the G.P.U., doesn't fall on its knees ten times a day in order to be pardoned.

At Yeniseisk a group of Oppositionists was arrested during the summer (the Democratic Centralists Davidov and Bolko, the Bolshevik-Leninist Makslmov) and two groups of Zinovievists. The Oppositionists are accused of having en-

deavored to "sway" the Zinovievists. In the course of the affair it was shown that the G.P.U. persuaded and tried to force the Zinovievists to bear witness that the "oppositionists" had "swayed" them. The Zinovievists sent a general statement about this affair to the prosecuting attorney of the U.S.S.R. It was also discovered that the local G.P.U. was acting in a provocative way on instructions from Moscow. At present the whole group has been in prison for three months, the hearing is over and a decision is awaited from Moscow.

Help the Exiles!

To compel Moscow to provide work for the exiles, to eliminate the famine rations in the penitentiaries, to release political prisoners from the concentration camps, to release from exile and from dungeons and to allow the Yugoslav comrades Deditch, Dragutich and Haeblering to return abroad—these tasks leave me no peace, I think of them day and night. And I am ready to do everything in my power to relieve the fate of the hundreds of comrades with whom I spent five and a half years in prison and exile and with whose terrible situation I am so well and so directly acquainted. I think something can be achieved by the pressure of the European workers and of the democratic movement.

4. On political life in the solitaries, penitentiaries and in exile.

There remains too little time to enable me to describe this aspect of the situation as it warrants. It will be necessary to do it separately and a little later, in a week or two. I may say, in a few words, that at Verkh-Uralsk the political life was very intense, a host of articles used to appear on all questions of social life in the U.S.S.R. and also on the principal question of international politics during the period 1930-33: Fascism, Germany. A series of papers appeared (written by hand), issued by all the groups, sub-groups and currents. Great discussions were held. In 1931-32, the Bolshevik-Leninist group underwent splits and lived in organizational chaos. In 1933-34 a rapprochement in opinions was reached anew and a single B.L. collective was set up with a single paper. Several (about ten) Bolshevik-Leninists went over to the Democratic Centralists. Conflicts and splits also took place among the Democratic Centralists and among the partisans of Myasnikov, but in 1933-34 there was also a rapprochement and a "federation of left communists" was created. The views of the Bolshevik-Leninists in the penitentiaries were oriented in the same direction as those of the Opposition abroad and of comrade L. D. Trotsky.

With fraternal greetings,

A. CILIGA.

Hangmen of Finnish Workers Pay Homage to Scandinavian 'Socialists' -- and they Reciprocate

By A. J.

OSLO, Norway.—On December 8 to 10, the annual conference of the "Scandinavian Internationale" met in Helsingfors, Finland. This outfit originated as an alliance of the Swedish, Danish and Finnish social democrats. But, for more than a year, the Norwegian Labor party has also been participating in it. The extremely reactionary character of this "Internationale" was especially emphasized this year by the fact that the conference was welcomed not only by the Finnish social democracy, but also by the official host, the Finnish government. The latter invited their "colleagues, the messrs ministers of state," to dinner and placed the national broadcasting system at their disposal.

Glance Into Finland's History
In order to make clear to the reader the full significance of this behavior on the part of the Scandinavian social democrats, it is necessary to digress for a moment into the post-war history of Finland.

During the war, the Social Democratic party of Finland grew into the strongest party in the country. It captured an absolute majority in the national elections of 1918. Thereupon parliament was not convoked. The February revolution in Russia unleashed also the revolutionary energies of the Finnish proletariat. But the "great" social democracy proved to be a Centrist conglomeration, unequal to the tasks before it.

Social Democracy Misses Chance
This party completely missed the most favorable moment for insurrection in November, 1917, immediately following the victorious uprising in Petrograd. It thus permitted the Finnish bourgeoisie to organize the counter-revolution with the aid of the Russian general Mannerheim and the troops of the Hohenzollerns. Only after a long period of vacillation, and amidst open sabotage from its Right wing, the social democracy also prepared for a struggle. In Southern Finland the uprising took place despite, rather than because of the Social Democratic party, which

still trusted in its strong position in parliament.

The governmental activity of the Finnish social democrats consisted of a type of passivity and indolence which is unparalleled in history. While the counter-revolution armed and organized itself openly and entirely unhampered, within the very boundaries of the "Red" South, no one even thought of taking up the offensive against the White North. In this manner the victory of the Finnish White troops, and of their allies: the Romanoffs and the Hohenzollerns, was guaranteed in advance.

The White Terror

The White Terror of the victors ranks high at the top of the list in the history of counter-revolutions throughout the ages. Take into consideration the numerically weak population of Finland—3,402,000—and you will grasp the full weight of the following figures: Toward the end of the civil war, 90,000 workers were incarcerated in the concentration camps and jails; 16,000 workers were executed outright. In the course of four months 75,200 sentences were meted out by the special Tribunals. The prisoners, women and children among them, were subjected to the most hair-raising atrocities by the White Finnish bands and by the White Russian and German mercenaries.

90,000 workers in the jails! At that, the statistics for all of Finland, taking in the whole year 1917, show a figure of altogether 83,000 industrial workers. In 1919 and 1920 the Finnish government had to resort to broad amnesty measures for no other reason save that otherwise the Finnish capitalists could find no labor power on the market! And yet, the wounds inflicted during the Finnish civil war have endured till this very day. Year after year finds the government exerting the sharpest form of repression against the labor movement—dissolution of organizations, arrests, workhouse sentences, etc. The statistics for the year 1932 show that 350 revolutionary workers were convicted to 800 years' imprisonment in that period alone. In many cases, the penalty for par-

ticipation in the revolutionary movement amounted to as much as fifteen years imprisonment.

School-Pigeon Activity

The "legal" social democracy in this country is like a dog with his tail between his legs. Somewhat in the same position as the Hungarian social democracy, which also "enjoys" Horthy's legality. It behaves accordingly. It denounces its own radical members to the police and takes care to see that they are "brought to justice." It helps the government disband the trades unions whenever the latter are in the hands of a revolutionary majority and organizes new, yellow unions. In the winter of 1933 this party sunk so low as to propose in parliament that the Fascist defense organizations—which did the hangman's bloody work for the counter-revolution of 1918—be incorporated as a reserve army in the military apparatus.

After all this, it is clear enough that the Finnish social democrats did not invite the social democratic representatives of the neighboring countries as a demonstration against the Finnish government, but on the contrary, as a service to it. The Finnish bourgeoisie is well aware of the dangers attendant on a new world war, insofar as it is concerned. For a long time it flirted with the German-Polish anti-Soviet alliance. Of late, it is more attracted by the neutral Scandinavian position. Alliance with the rest of the Scandinavian countries (and with England) appears to be a way out for the difficult position of its Foreign Office. That is why the reactionary Finnish government took into its own bosom the international carnival rigged up by its social democratic errand boy.

Enslavement for Butchers
As is usual on such occasions, there is a great deal of speech-making. The perorations of Swedish Prime Minister Per Albin Hansson and his Danish colleague Stauning about the attributes of the peaceful government form of democracy were remarkable enough as they resounded over the net-

works in this Finland of the Lappe* terror. But Norwegian "Labor Premier" Nygaardsvold's address was even more remarkable, for he showed the awkward zeal of the parvenue. His speech grew into a veritable eulogy of the Finnish nationalists. He even went so far as to give vent to his sympathetic understanding for the suppression of the Swedish-speaking minority in Finland.

Among other things, he said: "I understand the Finnish people from the viewpoint, that every people can only become great and strong when and if it builds on its own foundations and upon its own free culture."

The "Arbeiderbladet" of Oslo defends these noteworthy sentiments with the even more remarkable contention that they contain an "old socialist truism, which no socialist can contradict." If the noble Nygaardsvold had expressed these views at the time of Finland's oppression under Czarism, they might not have been an "old socialist truism" but at any rate, a petty bourgeois viewpoint of relatively progressive character. But the editorial writers of the N.A.P. overlook the fact that what may have been relatively progressive in 1916 is ultra-reactionary in 1936.

The Finnish bourgeoisie has the years 1918 behind it. That year transformed it into an extremely counter-revolutionary factor. Aside from that, the N.A.P. politicians, so heartily solicitous about the national renaissance of Finland, have simply forgotten that the Finnish bourgeoisie has ceased to be an oppressed, and has become an oppressing bourgeoisie. It indulges in this oppression—like the Czech bourgeoisie—out of vengeance for the centuries of its own suffering—with particular intensity. Moreover, Finland cannot become "great and strong" any more "on its own foundations." Finnish nationalism

*Lappe is the terrorist organization of the Finnish Fascists, given a free hand by the "democratic" government.

**Official organ of the N.A.P.

can only lead the Finnish people into the abyss. Only the Finnish proletariat, by its revolution, can create a vigorous life for the Finnish people—within the borders of a Soviet Europe.

The policy of the London Bureau and of the S.A.P. in their approach to the N.A.P. has not been able to prevent the latter from becoming one of the most degenerate reformist parties in the Scandinavian—serving as it does, the interests of the most extreme Finnish nationalism. It must be clear to everyone by now, that collaboration with reformist leaders who take the road to a nationalistic "Autarchy" policy in their own country, can only mean participation in their treachery. In the Scandinavians, also, the recuperation of the labor movement leads toward the building of sections of the Fourth International.

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NEWS FROM NORWAY

1. The N.A.P. and the S.A.P. International.

The Plenum of the National Committee of the Norwegian Labor Party (N.A.P.) was held in Oslo Nov. 16-18. At this session a communication from the International Bureau for Revolutionary Socialist Unity (formerly known as the I.A.G. or the London-Amsterdam Bureau) came up for discussion, among other things. The communication requests the N.A.P. for information whether the N.A.P. shall continue to be regarded as a member of this bureau or not. (This, it appears, is the manner in which this bureau handles questions of international policy.) The N.A.P., which has not up to the present been disturbed by the Bureau in its evolution toward the Scandinavian type of purely reformist parties, finally felt the time had come to give up this somewhat compromising relationship.

In doing so, the N.A.P. showed that they, at any rate, take their reformist principles much more seriously than this famous Bureau takes its revolutionary shingle. The National Committee adopted the following resolution on this question (Arbeiderbladet, Nov. 18, 1935):

"When the Norwegian Labor party began its collaboration with the Independent Labor parties, it did so with the object of advancing the unification of the international labor movement into a single International. The party has repeatedly declared that this is the prerequisite for its participation in the Collaboration Committee which has been set up. Of late, this Collaboration Committee has developed

more and more into an independent political organism with a program and directives all its own. Some of the parties represented in this Committee are working also for the formation of a Fourth International.

"Under these circumstances, the National Committee of the Norwegian Labor party is of the opinion that the prerequisites for the participation of the party in this form of international collaboration no longer exist. The party will nevertheless continue to work with all its might for an international unification."

2. "Mot Dag" (Norway) and the Sanctions Question.

The "Mot Dag" organization is affiliated to the London Bureau (S.A.P. Bureau) as a sympathizing organization. Its representative, Orsling, attended its Paris conference this year as well as its London sessions. This organization is also, as a matter of fact, represented in the Secretariat of the Stockholm Youth Bureau. In association with this outfit, the S.A.P. decided to expel the representative of the International Communist League from the Stockholm Youth Bureau. In the Nov. 9 issue of their paper, these allies of the S.A.P. take a position on the sanctions question. One quotation suffices in order to prove that the views of this organization are in no respect different from the social-patriotism of the Second and Third Internationals:

"Some revolutionary groups attack the sanctions policy because they believe that it will lead to war with Italy and to collaboration with the bourgeois-radical parties (the reference is to France—Tr.). This position causes these groups to adopt the same point of view as the Fascists, against their own will, and to commit the same mistakes as the Comintern did in its worst ultra-left period. . . . In a certain phase of its development the League of Nations can become an instrument in the interests of the working class and of peace." It is interesting to note, also, that today this group is trying to join the N.A.P., declaring that it is in no case a political group with a distinct platform, but a "Trade Union of Intellectuals" (sic). It is obvious: opportunism knows no limits. . . .

The War Policy of U.S. Imperialism

NEUTRALITY LAWS AND WAR

Pacifism versus Revolutionary Policy

By JOHN WEST

A striking indication of the depth of the war crisis is the fact that, during these first weeks of the present session of Congress, the hearings and debate over "neutrality legislation" have received more newspaper space and headlines than any other Congressional news—more even than the potentially vote-corralling Bonus. Senator Nye is becoming a name for housewives and ward-healers to conjure with. Every day brings a juicy scandal from the files of the State Department or Morgan & Co. Carter Glass plays his favorite role of ancient Roman Senator denouncing the desecrators of the temple, and defends the honor of his war-time leader—who was besides, sir, a Southern gentleman—against Nye's infamous accusations. The resigning monarch of the House of Morgan smokes his big pipe, smiles jovially at reporters, and poses with his inquisitors for the cameramen.

"Neutrality" is hardly a new problem. Particularly in the United States have the conceptions of "neutrality," "neutrality policy" and "neutrality rights" had a long and checked career. Around these conceptions have revolved the leading ideas of American foreign policy as a whole. They deserve careful analysis.

"Neutrality" Part of War Policy

The first and essential prerequisite to an understanding of the concept of "neutrality" and any specific neutrality proposals or legislation is to realize that such a concept or such proposals and legislation are a fundamental part of the war policy of the United States (or of any other capitalist state which makes use of them). This basic fact is no doubt obscured by the attitude toward neutrality and neutrality legislation taken by Roosevelt, Nye, the liberals, the Nation, the New Republic, the Daily Worker, the New Leader, and the Socialist Call. But it none the less remains a fact for all that; and it could not be otherwise.

The business of the state is to serve the interests of capital. These interests, from time to time, reach a point of such tremendous conflict that a temporary solution can be reached only through war. Modern war is a gigantic and involved undertaking, and must be systematically prepared for over a long period of years. The most obvious part of the preparation is the building of armaments. But there is more to it than this. Speeches, laws, and declarations about neutrality are one vastly important part of the preparation.

How else could they be understood? Undoubtedly, on any account, they have something to do with the problem of war. But we are told, they are efforts to maintain and secure peace—not at all part of the preparation for war. This, however, could be true only if peace were possible under capitalism. We know that it is not. We know that capitalism leads inevitably to war. We know that the program of every capitalist state is necessarily a war program. For the capitalist state to abandon a war program would be simply for it to abdicate, since only through war can it endure. Consequently, neutrality measures can be understood only as part of the war program of the capitalist state.

Who Believes Neutrality Means Peace?

Who is it that doubts this? Who believes that neutrality measures are part of a peace program? It is not Roosevelt. On Friday in his annual message he states that adequate neutrality legislation is the major task of the present session. On Monday he follows with his annual budget providing an increase of \$200 millions in the appropriation of the regular budget for military preparation—with no telling how much more will flow from relief funds. As Roosevelt knows, these are simply two sides of the same program. There is no contradiction whatever between them. It is not Hearst. He is a major champion of neutrality (in the form of "isolation") and he also, quite naturally, is a major champion of big navies—in order, as he explains, to defend neutrality. It is not the American Liberty League, which, with all its howling for economy, never says a word about military expenditure and thoroughly concurs in the plan to have a "strong" neutrality program. It is not General Smedley Butler. In his speech to the American League at Cleveland he showed the delegates clearly enough—if they had wanted to listen—how neutral and a modern mechanized army and navy go hand in hand together. It is not Morgan. He and the Nye Committee collaborate harmoniously in the mutual effort to work out a satisfactory neutrality program for

this country. The New York Times, authentic voice of finance-capital, sums the matter up succinctly, Jan. 19th, in an article by Harold B. Hinton: "Neutrality, in the last analysis, must always present itself to this country as a problem in trade relations." Nor is the problem peculiarly American. Augur, the brilliant director of the Times' foreign service, somewhat grimly applies the lesson to England: "Britain will arm to the teeth not for war but for the defense of peace."

These are serious men, who know what they are talking about.

Chloroform for the Masses

No, it is not these who doubt that the neutrality policy of a capitalist state is part of its war program, who delude themselves with the myth that it is a "means for ensuring peace." It is, unfortunately, the masses—too trusting and too desperately eager to grasp at any straw labeled "peace"—who cherish such illusions. And the masses do so, above all, because they are deceived and confused by the border of false "friends of peace" whose efforts spread the lies and distortions. From within and outside the working class, the pacifists and social-patriots carry forward betrayal. It is they who advise the masses: Support strong neutrality legislation, and strike a blow for peace. Which, translated, means: Support the war program of the imperialist state, and prepare for sacrifice in the coming war.

The neutrality proposals prominent at present can be divided into three major types:

"Freedom of the Seas"

(1) The traditional neutrality policy of the United States since its foundation has been the doctrine of "the freedom of the seas." The theory of this doctrine is that the U. S. wants peace; it wishes to avoid all "foreign entanglements"; it demands only that its nationals shall be left free to carry on trade over the high seas with any customers they may choose.

A year ago Secretary of State Hull made statements in part apparently abandoning this traditional doctrine. And there is no doubt that the publicity given its consequences in 1914-17 has made it fall into a certain public disfavor. Nevertheless it remains a cornerstone of U. S. policy. The Administration Neutrality Bill, when introduced, contained it in a modified form in the clause permitting, (i.e., demanding) "normal trade" with belligerents in all but actual war munitions. Great leeway is allowed for the definition of "normal trade," and no provision is made to shut off indirect shipment to belligerents through neutrals. It should also be remembered that increased trade with future belligerents begins in advance of actual hostilities, during the period of the rapid accumulation of war reserves—so that almost any amount of trade could in fact be defined as "normal." Even this, however, was not enough. Under the pressure of Borah and other "traditional" Senators, an amending clause has been inserted to guarantee continued full upholding of the freedom of the seas doctrine.

Profits, Trade and War

This doctrine is consistent and realistic. It is entirely false to believe that American capitalists want war. Like other capitalists, they want profits. They strongly prefer to gain profits peacefully, by "trade." They know that war is an expensive, hazardous undertaking, and besides they have moral scruples against it. So they ask, in all sincerity, only to carry on their trade in peace. Those nations can do the fighting, and the U. S. capitalists will stick to their profits. The comparative geographical isolation of the U. S. and its immense material resources give a semblance of plausibility to this idea, since the U. S. is not so immediately involved in international political disputes as are European nations.

But—such are the perversities of capitalist society—the laudable aim of the U. S. capitalists runs into a jam. Other nations, struggling for their political lives, cannot permit "freedom of the seas" without destroying themselves. They must have the "freedom" so far as possible, apply only to themselves, and not to their enemies. Nations fight wars in order to win them. Thus the warring nations are forced to

infringe the—entirely "reasonable"—rights of the honest neutral Uncle Sam, who asks only peace and freedom. This is naturally a severe moral—and, incidentally, financial—shock to U. S. capitalists. They can put up with it for a time, and to a certain point. But, after all, the honor of a great nation, and the profits and potential profits of its capitalists, can endure only so much. After all, economics is not everything. When honor is at stake, more vulgar considerations must go by the board.

So, with infinite regret, and a call on all classes for truly patriotic sacrifice, the war to defend the rights of the neutral and peace-loving United States is declared.

The Doctrine of "Isolation"

(2) The second neutrality policy now current, which has also a long history, is the program of "isolation." This is a favorite of liberals, the avowed theory of Senator Nye, and, in a somewhat different form, of Hearst. This doctrine says that "freedom of the seas" must be abandoned, since it got us into the last war and would get us into the next. The U. S. will have to isolate itself rigidly from any war situation, will have to remain in strict financial and economic quarantine, sacrificing the "war profits."

The neutrality bills now before Congress are on the whole a hybrid of this second type and the first. The doctrine of "isolation" is a vicious and fatal myth. In terms of historical actuality, isolation for the U. S. is simply a direct impossibility. What could it possibly mean? Even if—which is also impossible—foreign commerce to warring nations could be cut off entirely, it is necessary to remember that U. S. economic enterprise is not at all confined at any time to the geographical boundaries of the nation. American capital owns or is invested in industries of all kinds throughout the world—automobile and airplane plants, oil wells and refineries, transportation and communication systems, mines, plantations, public utilities, railroads, to mention only a few. What would happen to these under the rule of "isolation"? Would U. S. capitalists sit back quietly and allow the warring nations to take them over? Would such industries also (and how?) be "forbidden" to trade with the belligerents?

Life-Blood of Imperialism

But what an absurdity to suppose that even commerce could be shut down. In an imperialist nation, foreign investment and trade (however small a percentage of total turnover they may represent) are essential to the functioning of capitalist economy. Without it, imperialism collapses. No class can allow

the system which supports its social position to collapse without a struggle. Uncontrollable forces would wedge through any conceivable isolationist scheme. Anyone who doubts this need only glance over recent moody foreign trade reports during the period of operation of the temporary isolationist neutrality legislation adopted last summer.

What then is the function of isolationist neutrality propaganda? It too has a basic part to play in the war program of U. S. imperialism. The U. S. does not need to enter the coming war at the outset. The probable strategy will be to wait until the opponents are to some extent exhausted, and then to step in holding the decisive position (though a "preventive" war against Japan is not excluded).

Consequently, the rulers of the U. S. can afford the luxury of a more indirect long term preparation for the war than is possible to the hard-pressed European nations. Preparation for war means not merely building armaments, collecting reserves of material, and organizing industry. It also means, especially in the present era, the psychological and moral preparation of the masses for war. The masses must be led to see the war as "just" to accomplish this, they must be systematically deceived as to the true nature and cause of war. In such deception in this country, the doctrine of isolation plays a great part, creating the grossest pacifist illusions. By its falsification of the real position of the U. S., it hinders the development of the genuine fight against war, and directs the energy of those seeking peace into the harmless chase after a will-o-the-wisp.

(3) The third current doctrine of neutrality is the American counterpart of the theory of "sanctions." Secretary Hull has flirted with this from time to time, but its foremost supporter in this country is the Communist party together with the organizations under its influence. This is the doctrine of Litvinov, applied by the C.I. sections within capitalist nations in the same way that Litvinov applies it as spokesman for the Soviet State.

The basic pre-requisites of neutrality legislation according to this theory, as given by the Daily Worker, Jan. 2, are: "(1) Recognition of world collective action to maintain peace; (2) branding of an aggressor; (3) lifting of arms embargo against the victim of aggression, tightening it against an AGGRESSOR; (4) arms embargoes to be extended not only to financial aid to an aggressor, but to include the MOST VITAL war materials of today—oil, cotton, copper, iron, and such other raw materials in which American supplies are decisive."

The "Aggressor" and Status Quo

This type of neutrality legislation is the most openly of all an integral part of a war program. Since the question of who is the "aggressor" is purely juridical and moral in character—all capitalist nations being equally involved in the international system which inevitably breeds wars—such a doctrine is merely a formulation of one possible way in which nations to whom the whole, maintenance of the status quo is desirable, can plan to secure such maintenance. This applies above all to the Stalinist bureaucracy. The status quo is also, on the whole, desired by British and French imperialism, but they find acceptance of the extreme theory of sanctions too risky. They advocate it therefore in a diluted form.

The U. S. also waits for the time being, the status quo. But the U. S. does not so imperiously need to take dangerous steps to gain this end, nor does the U. S. isolationist tradition make a "sanctions" doctrine easy to come out with openly. However, even the present proposed neutrality legislation, nominally applying equally to all belligerents, contains something of the "sanctions" against an aggressor idea: in effect it works out to aid one or the other side, just as "freedom of the seas" in the last war acted in part as sanctions against Germany. Later on the need of U. S. imperialism to smooth the way for the declaration of war may require more openly sanctionist legislation or declarations. Roosevelt's annual message, with its attack on autocratic war-making dictatorships, foreshadowed such a possibility, which would make it easy for a moral mobilization of the nation in a war against the "aggressor," against fascism, tyranny and militarism.

An examination in the concrete of proposed forms of neutrality legislation only serves to establish more unquestionably what is clear enough in general to begin with: Neutrality legislation of any sort whatever on the part of a capitalist state is and can be nothing else but one aspect of its war program. Different types of neutrality legislation are only different theories of what best serves the long-run interests of the basic war program. What, then, are we to conclude? We can and must conclude that advocacy and support of neutrality legislation is necessarily advocacy and support of the war program of the imperialist state. Such advocacy and support within the working class, therefore, is a form of betrayal on the question of war. It must be exposed, fought against, and eliminated.

There is only one struggle against war: the revolutionary struggle against the system that breeds war, the struggle for world socialism. Let us put an end to the deadly myth that the war makers—the capitalist states—are going to be the ones to do away with that through which alone they endure. The struggle against war is nothing other than the class struggle for workers' power.

European banks have about three and one-half billions of dollars in gold in their vaults," said Lansing. He insisted it would be disastrous to withdraw any considerable amount, and if the European countries cannot find the means to pay they would have to stop buying, thus causing a proportionate shrinkage of American export trade. "The result," said Lansing, "would be restriction of outputs, industrial depression, idle capital and idle labor, numerous failures, financial demoralization and general unrest. . . . It would therefore be necessary, according to Lansing, to adopt a policy of extending loans.

In the characteristic manner of secret diplomacy Wilson answered: " . . . we should say that 'parties' will take no action either for or against such a transaction," but that this should be orally conveyed, so far as we are concerned, and not put in writing."

The policy on war loans thus changed. The House of Morgan floated not a mere \$100,000,000 but loans totalling in excess of one billion dollars. Morgan "turned the heat on" the munition manufacturers inducing them to subscribe heavily. The House of Morgan became the sole purchasing agency for the allied powers, placing orders to the tune of a total of three billion dollars for which it received the handsome commission of \$30,000,000. Contracts for war materials were let to a total of 888 firms in which Morgan had what he described to the committee hearings as a "negligible interest." As one example of this there is the United States Steel Corporation, organized by the elder Morgan, who received a promotion fee of \$25,000,000 in cash and common stocks. This alone would suggest the degree of interest held by the House of Morgan in U. S. Steel.

Still after this change of policy on war loans and after the initial heavy deliveries of war materials to the allied powers, Wilson man-

Danger in Scottsboro

AN EDITORIAL

THE Scottsboro cases are in court again. At no time since their original trial has the mass movement of protest on behalf of the nine innocent boys been at a lower ebb. At no time has the need for such a movement been greater, as the energetic attempts of trial Judge Callahan to rush the first case through to a conviction indicate.

To frustrate and expose these efforts of the prosecution and to back up the legal defense, a broad campaign of counter-pressure is imperatively necessary.

The new "Scottsboro Defense Committee" has called a meeting in New York City for January 26. This will be held, however, after the trial is over!

During the month preceding the trial, when such protests are most effective, the I.L.D. did not call a single mass meeting or demonstration in New York City specifically in support of the boys. The only such meeting held was that of January 8, called by the New York branch of the Non-Partisan Labor Defense. Conditions in the rest of the country appear to be the same.

The Committee has just published a pamphlet, "The Scottsboro Case." This pamphlet asks readers to send the Committee money. Money for defense is a good thing. Why not also ask readers to send a letter of protest to Gov. Bibb Graves of Alabama or to Lt.-Gov. Tom Knight, the vindictive prosecutor? Why not ask readers to get their organizations to adopt resolutions? Why not call for mass meetings and demonstrations throughout the country?

The pamphlet contains a four-page chronological outline of the formal developments in the case and 19 pages of Judge J. E. Horton's decision, when he set aside the second conviction of Patterson on the grounds that it was contrary to the evidence. The introduction to this material, signed by the Committee, states:

"In our judgment no one who reads Judge Horton's temperate and fair statement of the evidence can fail to conclude that the Scottsboro boys are wholly innocent of the charge of rape."

Let us not recall that when Horton issued his decision in June, 1933 the I.L.D. stated that his motive was to make it easier to kill the boys. Let us not even stop to ask why the Committee now goes out of its way to praise the judge for his "fairness" in deciding not to join a lynch party.

Let us simply ask this: how is that the jury which heard all the evidence which Judge Horton heard, concluded that the boys were "guilty"? Apparently there are exceptions to the "no one who reads" rule laid down by the Committee. And the main exception seems to be Alabama juries! With them, at least, evidence does not decide.

The "Scottsboro Defense Committee," in all its news releases, statements, etc., gives only one reason for supporting the boys: that they are innocent.

But they will never be acquitted if the fight is made simply on a legal basis.

The only sure fortress of the Scottsboro boys is the masses. Only a militant campaign of mass protest can force court and jury and the class forces behind them to heed the laws and to heed the evidence. That is the lesson of hundreds of labor cases. It is the lesson of five years of Scottsboro itself.

In calling this lesson to the attention of the Committee, we must admit that we feel uncertain of its reception. "The New York Times" reports, obviously after an interview with Leibowitz, that the defense is going to test the theory of winning this case by keeping radicals out of the picture.

The boys were arrested, charged, tried and convicted before a radical or a liberal or a Yankee intervened in their behalf. The cry of "Reds" is a prosecution trick. The intention of Leibowitz, which he has carried out successfully for three years thanks to the I.L.D., is to run everybody out of the case except reactionaries, and to see that the mass campaign stays at its present low ebb or sinks even lower.

Before one asks whether the Committee will be able to stop his plans, one must ask whether the Committee intends to. The Committee states that it has retained Leibowitz and his reactionary Huntville, Ala., associate, Clarence Watts. Then is not Leibowitz's strategy the strategy of the Committee? Then how can the Committee organize a mass protest campaign?

Before it is too late and dire consequences result, we call upon the Scottsboro Defense Committee to reconsider its policy. The Scottsboro boys are in grave danger. Only a broadly organized, aggressive movement of mass protest can save them. The only victory is freedom. Leibowitz's policy will never get it.

Morgan Coined Gold Out of Workers Blood

(Continued from Page 1)

the profits out of war. Besides Wall Street can still be consoled with the comment by the New York Times on these investigations, that the "financial sensations have all been exploded, with little or no damage."

It is to be expected that the bankers like these investigations about as much as they now like the New Deal. But for Roosevelt this is one way of applying pressure for his specific aims. In his recent messages to Congress the neutrality policy stood out prominently. Yet his budget message proposed to set aside about a billion dollars for the 1936 armament expenditures.

A Sham Opposition

It is one thing to investigate the bankers, but it is something entirely different to take steps toward a change of the system that makes Wall Street possible. The Wilson administration also had its period of "opposition" to the bankers. On the whole much in the present situation is reminiscent of those days; and where in the decisive moments the real and the important pressure was applied has been shown very clearly by the records of the Department of State, brought out in the hearings of the Nye Committee.

At a very early stage of the world war the Wilson administration was committed to a policy of strict neutrality, according to the records of the committee. When the question of loans to the allied powers by the American bankers was first broached, W. Jennings Bryan, who was then Secretary of State, formulated an adverse opinion set down in a letter of January 20, 1915, saying that, "money is the worst form of contraband because it commands everything else." Wil-

son expressed the wish that such loans should not be made. Shortly thereafter, Robert Lansing, as Counselor of the Department of State, authorized the bankers to extend credits, advising them, however, not to submit the question to the government for a formal opinion. Purchases of munitions and other war material by the allied powers increased in volume at a rapid pace. From then on began the real intervention of American finance capital, and especially of the House of Morgan.

Morgan Turns on the Heat

Apparently following the advice of Lansing the House of Morgan carried on secret negotiations for a \$100,000,000 loan to the allied powers. But the task of changing the government policy against loans still remained, and an opportunity to do so soon came. In August 1915 there was a crisis of exchange. The pound sterling rate declined. Previously the House of Morgan had supported sterling, a policy it now suddenly abandoned it and for obvious reasons. Bankers, including governors of Federal Reserve Districts, quickly made their presentation to the Department of State. In the language of the Nye Committee, they "turned the heat on." They visualized the danger that the decline of sterling would wipe out all profits on goods sold even before it was actually delivered. Robert Lansing, now Secretary of State, wrote his famous letter to Wilson—a letter never included in Lansing's Memoirs. He estimated that for the year 1915, excess exports over imports would reach the stupendous sum of two and a half billion dollars. The pre-war average had been about half a billion. "It is estimated that the

European banks have about three and one-half billions of dollars in gold in their vaults," said Lansing. He insisted it would be disastrous to withdraw any considerable amount, and if the European countries cannot find the means to pay they would have to stop buying, thus causing a proportionate shrinkage of American export trade. "The result," said Lansing, "would be restriction of outputs, industrial depression, idle capital and idle labor, numerous failures, financial demoralization and general unrest. . . . It would therefore be necessary, according to Lansing, to adopt a policy of extending loans.

In the characteristic manner of secret diplomacy Wilson answered: " . . . we should say that 'parties' will take no action either for or against such a transaction," but that this should be orally conveyed, so far as we are concerned, and not put in writing."

The policy on war loans thus changed. The House of Morgan floated not a mere \$100,000,000 but loans totalling in excess of one billion dollars. Morgan "turned the heat on" the munition manufacturers inducing them to subscribe heavily. The House of Morgan became the sole purchasing agency for the allied powers, placing orders to the tune of a total of three billion dollars for which it received the handsome commission of \$30,000,000. Contracts for war materials were let to a total of 888 firms in which Morgan had what he described to the committee hearings as a "negligible interest." As one example of this there is the United States Steel Corporation, organized by the elder Morgan, who received a promotion fee of \$25,000,000 in cash and common stocks. This alone would suggest the degree of interest held by the House of Morgan in U. S. Steel.

Still after this change of policy on war loans and after the initial heavy deliveries of war materials to the allied powers, Wilson man-

aged to put Congress on record against what he called the intolerable attitude of Britain's interference with the freedom of the seas. Wilson's intervention for peace at that particular time, has been characterized by Senator Clark, of the Nye committee, as an effort to "draft terms definitely to the advantage of the Allies, terms which Germany was sure to refuse, thereby opening the way for our entrance into the war on the Allies' side." Nevertheless in the presidential elections of 1916 Wilson could roll up a plurality vote on the slogan: "He kept us out of war." In reality the way had already been opened for America's entrance into the war on the side of the Allies.

Lansing Gives Game Away

In March, 1917, Wilson proposed his fateful declaration of war, proclaimed to be the result of the loss of "lives of peaceful and innocent people," in the unrestricted submarine warfare that Germany put into effect. But in the voluminous documentation, the state correspondence and the correspondence of the international bankers, nothing of importance is said about the unrestricted submarine warfare, except insofar as its results could be used as a cover for the deliberately planned policy of entry into the war.

In this respect the cable addressed by Ambassador Page from London to the State Department, under date of March 5, 1917, is most revealing. In terse language it states the real cause for America's entrance into the war. Ambassador Page stated that the international condition was "most alarming to the American financial and industrial outlook." Page complained that the allied powers could not make shipments in gold to pay for purchases in the United States and said that: "The almost immediate danger, therefore, is that Franco-American and Anglo-American exchange will be so disturbed that orders by all the allied governments will be reduced to the lowest minimum, and there will be almost a

cessation of transatlantic trade." He felt that the pressure of this approaching crisis had gone beyond the ability of the Morgan financial agency—meaning that it was time for the U. S. government to intervene directly.

Page's Letter

"If we should go to war with Germany," said Ambassador Page, "the greatest help we could give the Allies would be such a credit." Further on in the same cable he added: "Perhaps our going to war is the only way in which our prominent trade position can be maintained and a panic averted."

A few weeks later the United States declared war on Germany; and when it was over 120,000 American soldiers had lost their lives while another 182,700 were wounded. But according to testimony of Charles A. Beard, in his "American Leviathan," the American corporations, which became the merchants of death; filled their coffers with gold. These corporations made profits of thirty-eight billion dollars, over and above all deductions, including excess profit taxes. For them America's entrance into the war became an exceedingly lucrative business.

Thus the real causes of America's entrance into the world war are revealed. While the House of Morgan became the principal object in the investigations now about to be conducted, we do not, of course, fare the problem of one individual, or some individuals, as the actual instigators of war. On the contrary. What we face is the system that inevitably produces wars; and a class, the bourgeoisie, the representatives of finance capital and of the industrial corporations, in collusion with their agents in governmental positions, that engineer the plans and preparations for war. To the working class this is the real enemy.

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Stalin's Terror Against Bolsheviks } **SPEAKERS: JAMES P. CANNON**
Sunday Evening 8 P. M. Feb. 2 • Irving Plaza Hall • 15 Street at Irving Place } **A. J. MUSTE**

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PRICE 3 CENTS

Powell Framed; Scottsboro Boys In Peril

"Tell the Workers the Truth About Stalin's Hounding of Revolutionists in the Soviet Union!" -- Trotsky Urges

Mass Protest Only Means For Freedom

Smash the Bourbon by Mobilizing the Labor Movement!

Cablegram from Leon Trotsky Hits Hearst and Daily Worker Lies

Just before going to press we received the following radiogram from comrade Trotsky in reply to an inquiry from us:

PUBLICATION OF TAROV ARTICLE BY HEARST COMMON PRESS GANGSTERISM STOP BUT IMPUDENCE OF HEARST NO EXCUSE FOR CRIMES OF STALIN CLIQUE STOP GAVE STATEMENT TO ASSOCIATED PRESS UNDERSIGNED

TROTSKY

Pen Prostitute NO. 1

Louis F. Budenz has been rewarded for his craven capitulation to Stalin and Browder. Decorated with shame, he will be known to the revolutionary workers as Pen Prostitute Number One of the Daily Worker.

In the late edition of the Sunday Worker and in Monday's edition of the Daily Worker appears a "scoop" by this new convert to Stalinism and twice converted American patriot.

Its title reads: "Militant Gives Hearst Permission to Reprint Trotsky's Articles—New York American Is Non-Committal on Cash Payment."

And the proof: the word of Hearst's agent himself! Yes, the very institution the Stalinist rag never tires of denouncing for its lies about and against the working class movement.

Frenzy at Revolutionists
In their mad hatred of those who tell the truth to the working class, who excoriate the Stalinist recruiting sergeants of American imperialism, who throw a searchlight upon the crimes of the bloodhounds who persecute Lenin's co-workers, the hired liars of the Daily Worker achieve a touching confidence in the hired liars of William Randolph Hearst.

Budenz is shameless enough to write this scurrilous attack on Leon Trotsky and the NEW MILITANT on the basis of an alleged telephone conversation with a certain "Mr. Frank Challen of the 'March of Events' section of the N. Y. American."

Mr. Challen on the Phone
You see, the editor of the "March of Events" section, Mr. T. V. Rauck, was conveniently "out" when Budenz phoned!

And what is Challen's position on the American?

Has he the authority to speak officially for the Hearst press?

Will he repeat his telephone answers to a court of law?

All this Mr. Budenz never troubled to find out. From the word "go" he trusted Mr. Challen like a brother.

What does Budenz say that Challen told him?

1. That the Trotsky articles were reprinted from the NEW MILITANT.

2. "Permit me to say," Mr. Challen is alleged to have said, "was given to reprint them from that paper... the New Militant, the Militant or whatever you call it."

(Continued on Page 4)

'Socialist Call' on "Hearst Trotsky & the Communists"

(Editor's Note: The following editorial is reprinted from the Socialist Call for Feb. 1, 1936.)

"HEARST, TROTSKY AND THE COMMUNISTS"
It is no news to readers of the Call that William Randolph Hearst is a journalistic whore-monger who has not the slightest conception of honesty in publishing.

His latest venture in the realm of larceny, stealing a series of articles by Leon Trotsky, first published in the columns of the American Trotskyite weekly organ, deserves universal condemnation.

"But it is quite as shocking to find the Daily Worker seizing upon this and interpreting it as evidence that Trotsky has sold out to Hearst. We are not concerned with the truth of the statements in these articles; but even the Daily Worker must recognize in Trotsky a man of high principles who has suffered personally for his loyalty to his revolutionary ideals."

"The Daily Worker owes Trotsky an apology. Or we too, assume that the Stalinists, too, have lost any idea of journalistic propriety?"

NEXT WEEK!

Another installment of comrade Anton Ciliga's searching exposure of Stalin's repression against revolutionists, dealing especially with the shambles made of the Yugoslav C.P. by the bureaucrats of the C.I. will appear in the next issue of the New Militant

C. P. PLOTS TO WRECK LOCAL 574

By CARL O'SHEA
MINNEAPOLIS, Minn., Jan. 27.—Recently there has come into our hands a set of directives drawn up by the Central Executive Committee of the Communist party for the Minnesota district, one of the most amazing documents in the recent history of the American labor movement.

In these directives is contained overwhelming proof, not only of the degeneration of the Communist party, but of its middleboredness. No more shameful proposals have ever been made by a group calling itself a working class party, and masquerading under the banner of Lenin.

This exposure of the Communist party's schemes will be of absorbing interest, not only to Local 574 and the Northwest trade union movement, but to honest trade unionists, Socialist party members and Communist party members the country over.

Such is the nature of this document that it is little wonder that it proved too much for some of the Communist party members in Minnesota, also.

Page Mr. Meyer Lewis!
1. The C.E.C. orders the Minneapolis C.P. to "drive the trade union functionaries and membership further away from 574" to colonize in General Drivers Local 574; to "negotiate" with Daniel Tobin; to "appeal" to the Minneapolis Central Labor Union, the locals, etc.

Page Mr. Meyer Lewis! Here are his allies! He has been seeking for four months now to find someone who would go along with him in his plan to isolate Local 574 and to smash it. And now the C. P. in Minnesota is ordered to do this very thing; to agitate among the local trade union officials and membership to drive them away from 574.

From the very beginning the Communist party has had only one

By L. D. TROTSKY

The letters and documents recently published by comrades Tarov and Ciliga have served to stimulate highly the interest in the repressions of the Soviet bureaucracy against the revolutionary fighters. Eighteen years after the October revolution, at a time when, in accordance with the official doctrine, Socialism has conquered "finally and irrevocably" in the U.S.S.R., revolutionists who are unwaveringly devoted to the cause of communism but who do not recognize the dogma of the infallibility of the Stalinist clique, are clapped into jail for years; incarcerated in concentration camps; compelled to do forced labor; subjected, if they attempt to resist, to physical torture; shot in the event of real or fictitious attempt to escape; or deliberately driven to suicide. When hundreds of the prisoners, in protest against the intolerable bounding, resort to the terrible means of a hunger strike, they are subjected to forced feeding, only in order to be placed later under even worse conditions. When individual revolutionists, finding no other means of protest, cut their veins, the G.P.U. agents, i.e. the agents of Stalin, "save" the suicides only in order then to demonstrate with redoubled hostility that there is no real salvation for them.

The Comintern—G.P.U. Terror

Into this horrible picture, comrade Ciliga's account introduces an element that is especially tragic. He was one of the former leaders of the Yugoslav section of the Comintern. Under any other conditions the differences of opinion between the leaders of this party would have been settled by means of discussion, by a Convention, and to extreme cases, by a split. But not in the Comintern. That section of the national C.E.C., which at any given moment executes the instructions of the Moscow clique, transmits a request to the latter to rid it of the opposition. Stalin orders the oppositionists to Moscow, where, after a brief attempt to "convince" them, they are placed under arrest, clapped into solitary confinement and subjected to other forms of physical extirpation. Among the hundreds who were killed, as "implicated" in the Kirov case, i.e. in the majority of cases those who are in no way involved in this case, a number of Bulgarian and other foreign oppositionists were shot. The right of asylum for revolutionary refugees is thus conditioned upon their binding themselves to renounce all right to think independently. A call to Moscow "for a conference," implies time and again a treacherous trap. If the "criminal" is beyond grasp, then his wife, daughter or son are seized. In these cases, the agents of Stalin utilize methods

(Continued on Page 3)

Bring the Slanderers Out Into the Open!

New Militant Editor Calls for Impartial Committee to Pass Judgement on the Stalinist Frame-up

The following letter, proposing the setting up of an impartial committee to investigate and pass judgment on the charges of the Stalinists has been sent to the American Civil Liberties Union by James P. Cannon, editor of the NEW MILITANT.

January 27, 1936
Mr. Roger Baldwin, Director,
American Civil Liberties Union,
100 Fifth Avenue,
New York, N. Y.

Dear Comrade Baldwin:
The Daily and Sunday Worker have carried stories alleging that the articles by Comrades Trotsky and Tarov, relating to the situation of political prisoners in the Soviet Union, were reprinted in the Hearst press from the NEW MILITANT with our permission. It was further stated that Comrade Trotsky received money from Hearst for these articles.

There is not a word of truth in these allegations. The Hearst press neither solicited nor received permission from us to republish these articles, which appeared originally in the NEW MILITANT under dates of September 28 and October 19. I can further state authoritatively that the articles were also printed without the knowledge or consent

of Comrade Trotsky and were never destined by him for publication in the Hearst papers. The accusations against us and against Comrade Trotsky are a deliberate frame-up.

In order to establish the truth about this matter before labor and liberal public opinion, we herewith request your organization to set up an impartial committee to investigate the matter and make a public report of its findings. The fact that the A.C.L.U. has acted in a similar capacity in other disputes and has had its findings recognized by various factions in the labor movement as fair and impartial prompts us to turn to you with this request.

We are ready to appear before such a committee, to furnish all facts and information at our disposal, and to answer any questions whatever. We have no doubt whatever that the frame-up against us and against Comrade Trotsky will be thoroughly and completely discredited by an impartial investigation and that the violation of labor ethics involved in the controversy will be placed where it belongs.

Yours fraternally,
JAMES P. CANNON,
Editor, New Militant.

Bare Murder On WPA

Toledo Union Demands Federal Investigation Into Case

TOLEDO, O., Jan. 27.—The WPA Workers Union is continuing its aggressive campaign to organize all of the WPA workers in Lucas County into one solid, fighting organization. This last week it has lifted out of the obscurity which the WPA administration has attempted to place it, the cruel murder of Alonzo Walker, a Negro WPA worker, who was allowed to freeze to death out on an open ditch project. The union has already called upon Harry L. Hopkins to conduct a federal investigation on the matter and is planning a mass protest meeting and trial.

(Continued on Page 2)

Local Wins Recognition

Mpls Power House Union Forces Wage Rise and Seniority Rights

(Reprinted from the Northwest Organizer)

MINNEAPOLIS, Jan. 22.—General wage increases, seniority rights, recognition of the right of the employees to hold union membership, and representation by union committees in settling grievance are among the gains which have been won for the employees of the Northern States Power Co. by Local Union No. 160 of the I.B.R.W. These conditions are guaranteed in writing over the signature of Mr. R. F. Pack, president of the company.

The terms of settlement were accepted by unanimous vote of the members of Local 160 in a special meeting held on January 15. The meeting had been called, by a previous decision of the union, for the purpose of taking a strike vote after the negotiating committee reported that the company refused to discuss a written agreement. With the announcement of the impending strike vote, the Latimer Employer-Employee Board attempted to step into the controversy. Meyer Lewis, not bothering to discuss the problem with Local 160 issued a long statement to the press demanding Pack's resignation from the board—he seemed to consider that this action would render the board "neutral." But Local 160 objected, with considerable emphasis. Having no confidence in the board as such, they felt that Pack's influence, on or off the board, would still be felt and would render the board even less capable of making a fair decision.

A few days prior to the January 15 deadline contact was established between the union and the company by Attorney Fred A. Ossasora, acting as a special mediator. On January 14 the union committee

The fourth Scottsboro trial ended with the conviction of Haywood Patterson. Judge and prosecutor worked hand in glove. No Negroes were on the jury; the state went through the farce of putting Negroes on the panel, but none served on the jury. They were either challenged by the prosecution or evaded service through fear of reprisals.

Patterson was given a 75-year prison sentence. The attitude of Attorney S. S. Leibowitz, enemy of the mass defense movement, is that he has won a victory. The New York Times special correspondent comments that it may be a victory for Leibowitz but it is a defeat for Patterson.

Patterson himself is not deceived. He announced on hearing the verdict that he would rather die than spend another day in jail for something he did not do.

All other trials have been indefinitely postponed because of a material witness' sickness. The boys were returned to Birmingham jail, Patterson pending appeal of his case on the grounds that he was denied a change of venue and thus did not get a fair trial.

Powell Framed

On the road from Decatur, where the trial was held, to Birmingham, a guard shot Ozie Powell, one of the boys, who is now close to death. The state will prosecute Powell and two of the other boys for attempt to kill a guard. It appears that Powell, subjected to repeated and terrible provocation, scratched one of the guards with a knife.

The Workers Party at the request of the N.P.D. is circulating all branches urging them to rush resolutions against this new frame-up and the Patterson sentence. Protests should go to Gov. Bibb Graves and Lt. Gov. Tom Knight at Montgomery.

The Scottsboro Defense Committee held its first public meeting Sunday in the Hotel Delano, New York City. The Daily Worker has admitted that the date was deliberately chosen so that the meeting would follow the trial. Thus it could bring no pressure on the prosecution in the fourth trial.

The meeting was given little publicity beforehand. After it was announced about the shooting of Ozie Powell. Hopefully, the Committee hired an extra hall, but there was no overflow. Not more than 1,500 people turned up. No resolutions of solidarity or protest were adopted.

The meeting was opened by an L. I. D. representative introducing the chairman, Colonel W. J. Schiefelbusch, head of the Citizens Union ("balanced budget" agitators) and a prominent Protestant layman. The speakers were Osmond Frankel, Angelo Herndon, a school teacher, Robert Minor of the I.L.D. and Roy Wilkins of the N.A.A.C.P. The last two, until recently, were calling each other liars, provocateurs and whatnot. Minor now calls Wilkins "an honest intellectual"; Wilkins says nothing about Minor. Norman Thomas, Charles Zimmerman of Local 22, and B. S. McLaurin of the Sleeping Car Porters were announced as speakers, but did not appear.

"The Best People of Alabama"
Herndon declared that the Scottsboro case shows "the slave-masters" (Continued on Page 2)

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Social Security and the Class Struggle THE TOWNSEND PLAN

The Panacea of a Quack Doctor

The United States is a country of colossal social contradictions. Here exist side by side the greatest wealth and the direst poverty; the most advanced industrial technique and the biggest army of unemployed; the most confident of ruling classes and the most restless of peoples; unsurpassed heights of technological development and an extremely low level of political life.

The friction and energy generated by the clash of these antagonistic conditions give a tremendous impetus to all social movements in this country. Utopian crusades to reform capitalism, like Technocracy, rise up overnight and sweep through the middle classes like prairie fires. The easily combustible social material distributed in large quantities among the middle classes, is however, quickly consumed. These middle-class reform and Utopian movements have neither stamina nor stability. They fade away as speedily as they spring to life, leaving only the wreckage of ruined hopes behind.

The American workers are not "propelled" into political action on their own account so easily as the middle classes. (Their wrath burns more slowly but more surely.) They find their first field of organization and action on the industrial front. Strike after strike in the past period has demonstrated that when American workers are aroused and ready for combat, they spring into action with the power, ferocity, and agility of tigers. We can be confident that, once they take the road of independent political action, they will move as fast and as furiously in politics as they are doing today on the industrial arena.

The social reforms secured by the people under a capitalist regime are invariably by-products of the class struggle. They are exacted from the bourgeoisie by organized social force; and granted because of their fear of the consequences of refusal. The number of social reforms accorded to its citizens is an accurate gauge of the degree of development of the class struggle in any bourgeois democracy. The immaturity of the class struggle in the United States—thanks to the exceptionally fortunate position occupied by American capitalism in

world economy—is directly reflected in the absence of any national system of social insurance comparable to those which were established before and after the war in other democratic countries. Almost every European state (including Germany before Hitler discarded them wholesale) had been forced to institute some system of state provision for the aged, the unemployed, the industrially injured, etc., long before these questions acquired national political importance on this side of the Atlantic.

Until recently, the policy of laissez faire and the devil take the hindmost prevailed in regard to social services as in so many other spheres of American life. "Charity" was no concern of the Federal government; at most it might be the concern of the separate states; but it was better to leave such Christian duties to individuals, religious groups, or plutocratic philanthropy. The system of administering relief to the aged and the unemployed was long divided between petty public and private agencies—with the result that a majority of the needy were either completely neglected or supported by their families and friends.

This laissez-faire policy has been radically reversed since 1933. Hard on the heels of the granting of unemployment relief follows the demand for other forms of social relief, unemployment, disability, old age, maternity, widows' and mothers' insurance. The most persistent of these has been the cry for old age pensions. The prevailing insecurity, economic disintegration, and widespread unemployment, the tendency of American industry and business to discard all but the youngest and most vigorous workers; the ten-year increase in the average life-span of the American people, have given birth to a demand for old-age pensions which is being heard throughout the length of the land. "If military veterans are entitled to bonuses, medical care, and pensions from the government, why should not our social veterans receive as much," the old people are asking. And along comes the Townsend with an answer to their prayers. Such is the social background out of which the Townsend movement has emerged.

The Townsend Crusade

The Townsend Old-Age Pension Plan, which was restricted a year ago to the West Coast, has today become a national crusade, embracing millions of people and counting thousands of clubs throughout the country. The Townsend Plan has made the idea of old-age pensions a political issue of the first magnitude. Not since the days of the temperance movement has there been anything quite like it. In fact, the organizational and political methods of the Townsend Clubs are modeled after those of the Anti-Saloon Leagues.

Some reactionaries are concentrating their heavy propaganda ar-

mily upon the movement in attempts to smother it. The conservative economists in the universities, the editorial writers in the metropolitan papers, the publicity men of the capitalist parties are busy issuing blasts against it. Meanwhile, the Townsend Clubs are becoming political powers in locality after locality. Peasant politicians of all parties from the Republican to the Communist find it necessary to come to terms with the Townsend vote in their districts. Feeling their strength, the Townsends are already boasting of taking over the government after the next election and ushering in the millennium.

The Townsend Panacea

What is this remarkable remedy that is going to cure all the ills of American capitalism at one gulp? The Townsend Plan has suffered many changes since it was first formulated by its genial parent and it will undoubtedly be modified many more times before it sinks into oblivion along with Technocracy. Like all Utopian panaceas, it is extremely simple in essence. In its very simplicity lies both its initial strength and its ultimate impotence.

The scheme has two major ingredients. The first is the bait by which the suckers are hooked. All Americans over sixty are to be paid \$200 a month for life by the government on condition that they withdraw from productive work and spend the pension within the month. According to Townsend, this flow of money will supply the extra purchasing power needed to keep the wheels of commerce turning without interruption. Anyone acquainted with the petty-bourgeois reuters of Southern California will immediately recognize in this part of the plan the passport to paradise.

Two hundred dollars a month and no work is the wish-fulfillment of every retired Middle-Western farmer and his wife.

But there is a hook concealed within the bait—the method of financing the enterprise. The Townsend Plan proposes that the 24 billion dollars a year for the Plan be secured by a two-percent tax on all commercial transactions. To all the processing-taxes and sales-taxes that have plagued and impoverished the consuming masses in the past few years is to be added a monstrous sales-tax of two-percent!

All taxes, except taxes upon income, are ultimately paid for by the consuming masses, among whom the workers are in the majority. The effect of such taxes is always to force up the prices of the necessities of life. The Townsend two-percent transaction tax would raise the cost of living to unheard-of heights. Ninety-nine percent of the

only dangerous in principle; it is hopeless in any practical sense. No capitalist country could conceivably afford the costs of administering and financing such a plan without going into bankruptcy. For this reason, if for no others, capitalist politicians will see to it that the plan is not adopted. However, the demand for old-age pensions is very powerful and cannot be easily laid. If the movement becomes sufficiently threatening in the radical form of the Townsend Plan, it will become necessary to detail the movement by palming off some harmless substitute upon the people. Another thin plank will have to be added to Roosevelt's spurious social security program.

The Struggle for Social Insurance

A correct struggle for social insurance should possess three characteristics. First, it should be made an integral part of a broad campaign for workers' security, based upon a rounded program of immediate social demands: adequate cash relief; a coordinated plan of public works, unemployment insurance, the universal 80-hour week, etc. Such a rounded program is contained in the Workers' Security Bill of the National Unemployed League. Second, social services should be financed by income taxes upon the wealthy, not by sales taxes upon the poor. Third, the fight for these demands must be a class-struggle fight, not a class-collaboration lobby.

Neither the Townsend Plan nor the Roosevelt Social Security Act passes any of these tests. The unemployment provisions of the Social Security Act do not include the present unemployed; workers can enjoy its benefits only if the states enact unemployment insurance laws, and then only after reserves have been built up for two years (so far only nine states have passed the necessary legislation); agricultural, professional, and domestic workers are excluded from its application. The payroll method of financing unemployment insurance under the Act differs in only one respect from the sales-tax. While the sales-tax is levied at the point of purchase, the payroll tax is levied at the point of production. The result is the same. The consuming masses foot the bills in the form of higher prices.

The Frazier-Lundeen Bill, now before Congress, which is sponsored by the Communist party, avoids the first two of these errors but is guilty of the third. It provides for a comprehensive system of social insurance for six categories of the population, unemployment, self-employment, disability, old age, maternity, widow and mothers' insurance, and it proposes to "raise the

Revolutionists cannot afford to turn their backs upon any movement, however Utopian it may be, which enlists wide strata of the people in an anti-capitalist and progressive struggle. On the other hand, they cannot allow themselves to endorse such Utopian schemes, or refrain from exposing their fallacies and reactionary features. Above all, they cannot unconditionally support movements which nourish illusions about the nature of the state or aid in the practical or theoretical suppression of the class struggle. To do so is to play the role of camp-follower of the petty bourgeoisie instead of fulfilling their function as independent leaders of the working class in their struggles.

It is important to the labor movement that the struggle for old-age pensions and social insurance be carried through to a successful conclusion. While such reforms are increasingly difficult to obtain under the present conditions of capitalist decline, they are by no means impossible of attainment. Whatever their ultimate success, the agitation for them serves to focus attention upon the inability of our present social system to care for its industrial veterans. Every social concession wrested from the capitalist masters of society heightens our morale and fighting spirit.

The revolutionist must constantly point out the following facts. First, that such reforms can only be obtained by independent labor action and militant policies. Second, that once gained, the workers must be on guard to see that the reactionaries do not rob them of the fruits

The petty-bourgeois Utopian character of the Townsend movement dooms it to disintegration and destruction. The Epic movement of Upton Sinclair, which aimed to conquer the country, is today crumbling to pieces. The Townsend old-age pension movement, which has an even narrower social and political basis, is sure to follow suit. The middle classes are pragmatic; they demand immediate results; and when these are not forthcoming, will desert a movement as quickly as they flocked to it. The Townsend movement can easily be divided, diverted, and disintegrated by wily politicians, who can steal Townsend's plank and whittle it down to a toothpick.

surplus funds required by suitable revenue legislation from high incomes, corporate surpluses, and other accumulated wealth." Yet, though more comprehensive and realistic than the Townsend Plan, and less fraudulent than the Social Security Act, it nevertheless is essentially Utopian and reformist in character. This is apparent in the fourth clause of the "Declaration of Policy" prefacing the Bill, which reads: "The system must be administered democratically by workers, representative of local workers and familiar with local work conditions and opportunities, pursuant to rules and regulations in the social interest (1), to prevent administration against the interests of workers, and to insure administration in accordance with their needs and interests." The

(Stalinist) Interprofessional Association for Social Insurance, which drafted the bill, confirms this in its own pronouncements. "The bill," they say, "does not ask one group to do something for another group who are unfortunate." Perish the thought! "On the contrary, it suggests that the people as a whole provide by legislation for the people as a whole."

Proposals that the working class and its organizations shall take over one of the official functions of the state have only one meaning. That it is possible for the workers to use the capitalist state for their own good, that they can improve their conditions not by struggling against the state and its agents but by working with it, and becoming a part of it, that there is no necessity for overthrowing the state so long as an opportunity exists of accommodating themselves to it. The class nature of the capitalist state is ignored and the struggle for these demands is restricted entirely within parliamentary lines. Nothing is left but the most vulgar illusions of petty bourgeois reformism—and that is precisely what the bill is designed to foster.

Reformism and Revolutionary Policy

of their victories. Third, that under the present conditions of capitalist decline, social reforms cannot be held simply by resting content with the conquests that have been made, but only by carrying forward the fight against capitalist misery and oppression another step toward the revolutionary goal.

Social security for the working masses is a Utopian dream in our present social order. Capitalist reforms are at best but palliatives on an incurably diseased system. These reforms are grudgingly given if business capital can afford them. As soon as business capital is forced to the national budget to the bone to avoid further taxation on their own wealth and enterprises, the masses are the first to feel the knife, as the Means Test imposed on the English workers by the Tory government proves—not to speak of Hitler! As business capital plunges deeper into crisis, it can find no way to survive and rule in the highly competitive world market except by robbing the workers of all their hard-won democratic rights and social services and putting the Fascist knife to their throats.

There can be security for the workers only in a state where the workers rule and where all the wealth of the country is in the workers' hands. In a workers' republic like the Soviet Union, social services are an integral part of the social order, freely given to all useful citizens. There can be no real salvation and security for the masses until capitalism is overthrown and socialism succeeds it.

Bare Murder on Ohio WPA

(Continued from Page 1)

The new issue of its regular weekly paper, the "WPA Union News," is just off the press and is receiving the widest distribution. The leading article with its challenging headline, "Murder on the WPA," giving the full story of the death of Alonzo Walker, has already received wide comment and is arousing the indignation of all the WPA workers of this county. The union intends to bring the lesson home that unless the WPA program is changed through the power of the WPA workers themselves, the old conditions will inevitably bring about such catastrophes to the WPA workers involved.

At the regular membership meeting on Sunday, Jan. 26, the union voted to send a floral wreath with the inscription: "We Shall Not Forget—WPA Workers Union." All members not working pledged to attend the funeral. All the others would down tools on the job from 1:30 to 2 P.M. Monday, Jan. 27. About 20 union men attended the funeral services on Monday at the Easley Funeral Home.

Art Preis, chairman of the union, spoke briefly and gave the union's pledge over the body of Walker "to place the responsibility for his murder and erase the conditions which caused his death." The obituary stated as the cause of his death, "Murdered on the WPA." When the casket was carried out of the funeral parlor, Mrs. Walker walked behind it, grief-stricken. "They murdered him on the WPA!" The WPA union sent the following letter to Harry L. Hopkins:

January 27, 1936

Harry L. Hopkins
Federal WPA Administrator
Washington, D.C.
Dear Sir:

Enclosed please find a copy of the "WPA Union News" of Jan. 26, 1936, which presents in detail the story of the death of Alonzo Walker, a colored WPA worker, and the circumstances which caused the death.

The circumstances as described in the article are of such a character as to indicate absolute criminal negligence on the part of the responsible project officials involved.

On Tuesday morning, Jan. 21, Alonzo Walker reported for work at the Prairie Ditch project in Lucas County, Ohio. Sub-zero weather was blowing in from the northwest, and although this is an open project, no shelter houses were provided for the workers. Walker collapsed from exposure. Mr. Jack Hays and Kasmir Lewkowski, foreman and supervisor of the job respectively, were informed of the man's condition but took no steps to secure medical attention or to transport him to a hospital or his home.

Mr. Walker was permitted to lie out in the open for at least four hours unattended. He was finally taken home by a fellow WPA worker in the latter's car at the regular quitting time, 4:30 P.M. The administration issued no statement on the matter until the following Monday, January 27, when the WPA Workers Union publicly called upon the administration for an accounting and issued a press release to the Toledo papers. Thus a period of six days were allowed to elapse. The man died on Wednesday, Jan. 22 of double pneumonia, as a result of freezing and over exposure, according to the attending physician, Dr. P. M. Johnson. Dr. Johnson stated that it was too late to save the man when he was finally brought home, as he was literally frozen to death.

We give firm in our belief, as a result of our investigation of the case, that Mr. Walker's death is solely the result of the criminal negligence on the part of the administration officials involved. The local WPA administration is not lacking in culpability, since it requested thousands of WPA workers in this district to report to work on open jobs with no protection during sub-zero weather.

We are demanding a federal investigation into the circumstances of Walker's death and the conditions on the WPA which led to such a tragedy.

Our union is continuing with its own investigation on the case and is securing affidavits from the individuals concerned. We will shortly hold a public meeting on the whole case and present the result of our findings.

We request immediate attention on this case and await your reply to same.

Very truly yours,
WPA WORKERS UNION
T. G. Selander, sec'y.

Labor Defense Front

(Continued from Page 1)

determination to suppress revolts. Col. Schlegel suggested that if the audience would imagine itself in their place, it would understand the attitude of "the best people of Alabama." He declared, however, that the Negroes "are well-behaved." "The best people of Alabama wish the case had not come up," the Colonel said, and he undoubtedly knows because, as Minor said, he is "a man of high standing."

Not a word was said to contradict repeated statements that the case would be won "not on the facts but in the Alabama courts." After the Colonel declared that "the best people of Alabama want justice done," Attorney Frankel of the I.L.D. proposed a means of appealing to them. He wants the case transferred to a Federal court, where the jurors are "people of standing . . . more likely to reach independent judgments because, unlike the Decatur jurors, they would not fear their neighbors." Herndon proposed pressure on Roosevelt to get into a Federal court, and demanded that Federal troops be sent to Alabama. He also demanded the electrocution of Sheriff Sandlin, who shot Powell, and the impeachment of Gov. Bibb Graves—by the Alabama legislature!

The meeting's immediate aim was not 100 percent clear. Herndon and Frankel declared the boys must go free. But the Colonel sounded less adamant. "Even at its worst," he said, "the life of this boy (Patterson) is saved, and that is something we ought to be thankful for."

"Fair Play and Justice"

The speakers, however, had further aims. Undoubtedly due to sentiments inspired by his military background, the Colonel wants to see "fair play and justice" vindicated. Herndon spoke of "the uplifting of humanity." The school teacher seeks for Negroes the same rights as are enjoyed by everybody else in America. Frankel seeks to preserve democratic government. And in general, everybody wants to protect the Stars and Stripes. For example:

Minor declared that he is "seeking to defend our nation by defending these boys," fighting for "our country's welfare—our America." Wilkins declared that he fights for "the salvation of all the people of the U. S., those on top as well as those suffering underneath," and thundered that this crime must be stopped "in the name of God and the United States!" Thereupon he asked who would give \$50 "for the elevation of his soul."

Herndon's call for Federal troops was supported by his demand for a return "to the traditions of our forefathers," who, it seems, always treated the Negroes properly. The Colonel, however, asked no "return" or other change; he declared that lynchings in America are not like those in Germany because here it is not done by the government. His hymn to America culminated in the following remark: "True, there were 20 lynchings last year, but in 80 cases people were saved from lynching by the authorities." It is clear what Minor meant when he called the Colonel "a man who has the courage and American manhood to speak out."

Quite honestly, the Scottsboro Defense Committee did not announce this as a protest meeting. It was called "to analyze" the present situation. It did that—but not from the viewpoint of those who believe in a militant struggle to save the Scottsboro boys.

HERNDON CASE AGAIN IN COURT

The appeal of the State of Georgia from the County Court decision which recently set Angelo Herndon free, was heard by the Georgia Supreme Court last week. It is not yet known whether the court will agree that the insurrection law under which Herndon had been sentenced to 20 years on the chain gang is unconstitutional, or whether it will send Herndon back to serve his sentence. If it does the latter, the defense will appeal to the U. S. Supreme Court.

Herndon was represented by Attorneys W. N. Seymour of New York and W. A. Sutherland of Atlanta, retained by the I.L.D. As in the county court hearing where Herndon upset the sentence, Seymour dealt with the legal questions involved in the case.

Sutherland again made a political speech, similar in character to the one he made in the county court. He complained that the case "has been used as a spearhead for the liberals throughout the country," and again urged the court to allow some freedom of speech in order to preserve the existing order. "When a man like Herndon is made a martyr," he said, "there is real danger to democracy."

The Joint Committee to Aid the Herndon Defense, an auxiliary body with no control over Sutherland or over the legal defense policy, is continuing to circulate petitions for Herndon's freedom through its constituents. Among the latter is the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, which urges all supporters with filled-out petitions to send them in to the nearest N.P.L.D. branch.

RUSSELL CASE

Because of the heavy load of work on the shoulders of the Minneapolis and St. Paul branches of the N.P.L.D., the National Executive Board of that organization is conducting a special national drive for funds to finance the appeal of Al Russell from a Federal contempt of court sentence.

Russell is now out on bail, obtained with the aid of Minneapolis locals of the A. F. of L. The St. Paul N.P.L.D. has just run a social affair to help provide funds to pay for the transcript of his trial, needed by Francis Helsler, N.P.L.D. attorney, for the preparation of the appeal brief.

The Russell case is important not simply to free this persecuted militant picket, but also in order to prevent the nullification of the Minnesota state anti-injunction law and the Federal anti-injunction law. Funds to appeal the Russell case should go to Adelaide Walker, Treasurer, N.P.L.D., 22 East 17th Street, New York City.

FERRERO AND SALITO

The hearing on the deportations of Ferrero and Salito which was to have been held Jan. 24, has been postponed to Feb. 4. These two anarchist workers are now on Ellis Island while the Ferrero-Salito Defense Conference, among whose constituents is the N.P.L.D., is carrying on a fight to save them from deportation to Fascist Italy.

Attorney I. Shorr, representing the conference, is seeking a writ of habeas corpus. His associate, Carol King, is conducting a fight for bail. In all districts except that of Southern New York, Federal judges generally grant bail for prisoners held for deportation pending their appeal. The New York judges, however, have always refused to do so, and the fight on this case will set a precedent if victorious.

Continued protests against the deportation of these two workers, guilty of no crime except giving house-room to the editor of a San Francisco newspaper which William Randolph Hearst wants to suppress, should go to D. W. McCormack, Commissioner of Immigration, at Washington, D. C.

ROBINSON ON THE SPOT

Frederick B. Robinson, reactionary president of the College of the City of New York, who has hounded with Fascists, expelled anti-Fascist students, and terrorized many of his professors into giving him hypocritical praise, is on the spot. A committee of alumni has called on the Board of Education to remove him. They give as the reason the fact that he "lacks qualities of leadership." The committee has won the support of the Alumni Association by a vote of 519 to 217.

Back of this development is a long campaign by radical and liberal students to establish academic freedom in New York's leading public college. In this fight the Non-Partisan Labor Defense has played an active role.

A year ago its representative, Herbert Solow, speaking for the Columbus Day United Anti-Fascist Committee, turned the La Guardia-dominated city Board of Estimate on its ear by taking the floor during the hearings on the city budget and proposing to reduce Robinson's salary to \$1 per year. Aldermanic President Deutsch, recently deceased hero of the League Against War and Fascism, intervened on Robinson's behalf and had police drag the N.P.L.D. spokesman out of the chamber.

Now, however, it looks as though Robinson might lose his job altogether: a continued militant fight, which should be led by students and labor unions, can make this outcome certain.

MINI APPEAL

Attorney R. W. Henderson is continuing his legal fight to get copies of the transcript of trial proceedings for all the Sacramento criminal syndicalism defendants, according to an announcement by the National Sacramento Appeal Committee. In a short time if all these moves fail, he will demand a writ of habeas corpus since Norman Mini, Prisoner 57606 in San Quentin, is being denied the right of appeal.

Attorney Leo Gallagher of the I.L.D. recently sought a habeas corpus on the grounds that the other defendants, like Mini, had been denied bail pending appeal. The Appellate Court held that trial Judge Dal M. Lemmon of Sacramento had the right to refuse bail.

Protests against the further incarceration of Mini, Caroline Decker, Pat Chambers and the other Sacramento trade unionists, should be sent at once to the Board of Parole, Sacramento, Calif. They should stress the fact that the defendants were convicted of no overt acts, and that one of the convicting jurors has confessed that the verdict was reached as a result of a horse-trade.

Funds are still needed by the N. S.A.C. and should be sent to Harry W. Laidler, Chairman, Room 707, 51 Union Square, New York City.

700 at Tampa Protest in NY

(Continued from Page 1)

paign of pressure for a real prosecution of the vigilantes; and for the protection of Poulton and Rogers when they return to Tampa.

Executive Council Backs Down
The A. F. of L. Executive Council, after first refusing to settle the

place of the next annual A. F. of L. convention—originally called for Tampa—has now given a half-hearted indication that they will not withdraw from Tampa. The president of the State Federation of Florida is working overtime to keep the business in his state, and will not help the fight against vigilantes.

The Joint Committee has sold 22,000 copies of its pamphlet, "Tampa—Tar and Terror," and is printing a new edition. Copies may be ordered from the Non-Partisan

Labor Defense, 22 East 17th Street. Contributions for the Committee's work should go to Mary Fox, treasurer, 112 East 19th Street.

At a mass meeting held in the Hotel Delano last week, New York workers pledged their support to the Committee. Among the speakers were Norman Thomas of the I.L.D., Sam Wiener of the G.D.C., George Novack of the N.P.L.D., Poulton and Rogers. A resolution of protest was adopted and sent to Tampa authorities.

READ THE NEW MILITANT

«Tell the Workers the Truth About Stalin's Hounding of Revolutionists!» Trotsky Urges

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worthy of the best qualified American gangsters.

What Are Their Crimes?

The so-called communist parties not only cover up these unpardonable crimes of Messrs. Marshalls and Super-Marshalls against the revolutionists—villainies in which the leaders of the various sections of the Comintern take direct part—but the press of the Comintern seeks on top of this to turn the edge of the accusation against the victims themselves. Involved here, you see, are not mere oppositionists, not Bolsheviks who rebel against Stalin's self-rule or the patriotic degeneration of the Comintern. No, involved, if you please, are "terrorists," conspirators against the sacred person of the Leader or one of his Marshalls, and finally, agents of foreign espionage, the hirelings of Hitler or the Mikado. Zinoviev and Kamenev have been caught red-handed in a horrible crime: they criticized (within four walls) the adventurist tempo of collectivization that led to the senseless destruction of millions of men. A genuinely proletarian court, investigating the case, would have undoubtedly flung in jail the adventurists—collectivizers. But the court of Stalin and Yagoda sentenced Zinoviev and Kamenev to ten years imprisonment on the charge of—a terrorist act in which they were not and could not in any way be implicated!

Not more than two years ago the social-democratic, labor-party and trade union press, eagerly seized

upon revelations not only of the actual but also of the fictitious crimes of the Soviet bureaucracy, in order thus to compromise the October revolution as a whole. At the present moment a complete about-face has occurred along this line, in Europe at any rate. The policy of the social-patriotic "united front" has become transformed into a conspiracy of mutual concealment. Even in those countries where no united front exists because of the insignificance of the communist parties, the reformist organizations prefer not to quarrel with the Kremlin upper crust who, today, after they had inscribed upon their banner the defense of the League of Nations and of the democratic fatherland, are immeasurably closer to them than the revolutionary internationalists who are persecuted. The "defense of the U.S.S.R." serves of course as a pious justification for passing to silence over the crimes of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

In this connection, we ought to mention also a special category of the professional "friends" of the Kremlin: intellectuals in search of a gilt-edge ideal, writers who have taken stock of the superlatives of the State Publication Society, lawyers who are hungry for publicity, and, finally, ordinary amateurs who are fetched by free trips and jubilee banquets. These people, parasites in most cases, then eagerly broadcast throughout both hemispheres the inventions and insinuations that the agents of the G.P.U. buzz into the ears of their "friends" during heroic sup-

pers given in honor of the October revolution. Suffice to refer only to the unworthy role assumed by so outstanding a writer as Romain Rolland!

Prison for the Critics

The fraternization between the tops of the degenerated Comintern and the tops of the Second International evokes however a salutary reaction as well. An ever greater number of advanced workers are beginning to open their eyes. Such "socialistic morals" as constant crowding on the belly before the "leaders," as Byzantine flattery, as the creation of castes of "red" Colonels, Generals and Marshalls, as the reactionary cult of the petty bourgeoisie family, down to the resurrection of the Christmas tree—all these compel thinking workers in all countries to surmise to what profound extent the ruling stratum of the Soviet Union has managed to degenerate. On this soil of awakened critical consciousness are falling today the accounts of the bestialities perpetrated by the bureaucracy upon those revolutionists who are a threat to its sacred privileges, and who stubbornly refuse to accept the gospel of Dimitroff, Litvinov and the League of Nations.

The number of such "criminals" is constantly increasing. In the course of the latest purge of the ruling party of the U.S.S.R. (the latter part of 1935) there were expelled, in so far as one can gather from the official data, from 10 to 20 thousand "Trotskyists" alone. All the expelled in this category are, as a general rule, immediately arrested and subjected to conditions that

need to prevail in the Czarist hard-labor camps. These facts must be made known to the working class of the entire world!

An Objection and the Answer

To be sure, even at present there are still to be found in the West not a few activists in the workers' movement who sincerely ask themselves the following question: But will not exposures of this sort bring harm to the Soviet Union? Is there not the danger that together with the wash-water the baby, too, may be flung from the tub? These fears, however, have no basis in reality. Can the exposures of the Stalinist bestialities perpetrated upon revolutionists damage the Soviet Union in the eyes of the hour-glass world?

Just the contrary is the case, for the entire bourgeoisie, including the White Guard emigres, sees the best pledge of the "normalization" of the Soviet regime in Stalin's offensive of extermination against the Bolshevik-Leninists and other revolutionists. The serious and responsible capitalist press of the entire world is unanimous in applauding the struggle against the "Trotskyists." Small wonder! For Litvinov, side by side with the representatives of world reaction, sits in the Geneva Commission for the struggle against "terrorism." Involved here, of course, is not the question of the struggle against Governmental terrorism against revolutionary workers, but of the struggle against individual avengers, aiming at crowned and uncrowned tyrants. Marxists, as is well known, have irreconcilably rejected and continue to reject the method of individual terror. But this has never prevented us from always siding with William Tell and not with the Austrian despot Gessler. The Soviet diplomacy, on the other hand, is now discussing jointly with the Gesslers how best to exterminate the Tells. By his participation in the international stalking of terrorists, Stalin supplements in the best manner possible his own terroristic stalking of the Bolsheviks. It is self-evident, that in the eyes of the League of Nations, in the eyes of the American government, even in the eyes of Hitler, our exposures will only strengthen Stalin's already quite extensive credit.

Reformists Mum on Stalin's Crimes
As regards the reformist labor bureaucracy in bourgeois countries, there is no reason to have any fears either. The reformist bureaucrats are quite well informed about the facts of the Stalinist repressions, but during the last two years they have deliberately and maliciously passed them in silence. In the eyes of Leon Blum, Otto Bauer, Sir Walter Citrine, Vandervelde and Co. our exposures will not, in any case lower their esteem for the Soviet bureaucracy; involved here is a friendship that is calculated, and this friendship is directed first of all against the left, revolutionary wing.

There still remain the masses of workers. In their unjustly, the workers are sincerely and honestly devoted to the Soviet Union, although they do not always know how to express this devotion in action. The masses find it all the more difficult to find a correct road on this question because bureaucratic appointments are raised over them, duping them incessantly and skillfully. Thus, the matter is reduced to the following simple question: Are we on our part duty-bound to tell them the truth? For a Marxist, to pose this question is to answer it. The revolution has no need for blind friends, or allies whose eyes are bandaged.

The workers are not children. They are capable of appraising at one and the same time both the colossal conquests of the October revolution and the enormous historical heritage that has bequeathed on its body in the shape of a frightful bureaucratic alien. A revolutionist who is afraid to tell the masses what he knows himself is absolutely worthless! We leave no doubt as to the patriotic, anti-bureaucratic, anti-fascist, anti-imperialist, and other philistine "personal" motives of course they'll say it. But we have not yet become accustomed—thanks to nature's gifts—to look upon philistines and their public opinion otherwise than with contempt. By embellishing the present it is impossible to prepare the future. Faithfully to the October revolution demands merciless exposure, and, if need be, canterize its sores. Lies serve as the instrument of the possessing classes. Today, lies have become the instrument of the Soviet bureaucracy as well. The oppressed need the truth. The workers must know the whole truth about the Soviet Union, so that the impending events do not catch them off-guard.

Through the medium of all honest publications, it is necessary to broadcast as far and wide as possible the news of the vile repressions to which irreproachable proletarian revolutionists are subjected in the Soviet Union, our chief and immediate task thereby is: to alleviate the fate of tens of

Russian Fascists Hail the Anti-Bolshevik Terror in Soviet Union

THE Stalinist press the world over, and the Daily Worker in particular are waging a hysterical and poisonous campaign to nullify the effect upon thinking workers and stouche friends of the Soviet Union of the exposures to the letters and documents of revolutionists who escaped from the toils of the hounders of revolutionists, Stalin-Yagoda and Co. and their crew of flunkies and hirelings, Browder-Hathaway-Budenz and Co., to this country.

The Daily Worker crawls out of its skin not only to link up Trotsky with Hearst and the Fascists but to convey the idea to the workers that these exposures of the bestialities practiced upon revolutionists in the Soviet Union damage the reputation of the Soviet Union. These revelations damage only the reputation of the Stalinist clique—but not in the eyes of the capitalists.

In his article appearing in this issue of the NEW MILITANT, comrade Trotsky makes the following statement:

"... the entire bourgeoisie, including the White Guard emigres, sees the best pledge of the 'normalization' of the Soviet regime in Stalin's offensive of extermination against the Bolshevik-Leninists and other revolutionists. The serious and responsible capitalist press of the entire world is unanimous in applauding the struggle against the Trotskyists." (Our emphasis.)

To naive and unpolitical minds these words may seem as exaggerations uttered in the heat of the moment.

We therefore reprint below a few extracts from the organ of "Young Russians," one of the factions of the Russian Fascist-Monarchists. No more rabid foes of the Soviet Union exist on the face of the earth than are these gentlemen. And here is their frank opinion of Stalin: here is how they really view the persecution of the revolutionists by the usurping Stalinist clique. (Our emphasis throughout.)

"We do not deny that the Stalinist Government is still formally guided by the ideas of communism. But we are also aware that it has subordinated the interests of the foreign Communist parties to the interests of the Russian state, from the theory of the world revolution is has passed to the theory

of socialism in one country, and from the latter to Soviet patriotism; ideological internationalists find themselves proscribed and in exile, while to power are people who have either become patriots or are compelled to masquerade as such."

—BODROST, Issue No. 30.

"... desirous of maintaining himself in power, Stalin is swimming along the stream of a revolution that is becoming nationalized. His blows are being today directed primarily against the representatives of ancient Leninist Marxism. The dissolution of the Society of Old Bolsheviks is a new and symbolic instance of this struggle against the old guard of Bolshevism." —BODROST, No. 31.

"From the day he (Stalin) assumed power, and particularly since the First Five Year Plan it became clear that the last vestiges of orthodox Marxism would disappear." —BODROST, No. 34.

"Stalin, seeking to keep power in his own hands, has become the open and quite obvious traitor and wreck of Marxism, artificially adapting himself to the demands of the nation and of life. From the leader of the Communist party Stalin is striving to become a people's, a national leader. Precisely herein lies the entire gist of what is taking place in Russia." —BODROST, No. 41.

"Three new milestones have marked during the last weeks the degeneration of the Russian revolution. We have in mind the introduction of military ranks, the reform of the ZAGS and the elimination of ration cards for an entire series of the most essential necessities."

"Both of the latter measures only supplement what has already been accomplished in the same direction during the past year. The introduction of ranks is a phenomenon of a new order and therefore especially significant." —BODROST, No. 49.

"The convalescence of Russia, the first symptoms of which we pointed out many years ago, is proceeding apace with every new day. In this convalescence is the pledge of our victory." —BODROST, No. 37.

Comment, as the saying goes, is superfluous!

C. P. Plots Against 574

(Continued from Page 1)

labor fakers in America.

2. The C.E.C. directs the Minnesota district to follow out a similar course in the Independent Union of All Workers, with headquarters in Austin, Minn.

C. P. members working in the Independent Union have already proposed that this organization dissolve into the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workers (A. F. of L.) at all costs, that is, with no assurances from the A. F. of L. union that it will change its present stultifying and ineffectual policies. This program put forward by the Communist party is all the more abhorrent when one sees that for the first time in history, the packing house workers have a real chance to form a national industrial union in their field. (As a matter of fact, the groundwork has already been laid for a broad and all-inclusive conference of packing house unions which will meet in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, on Feb. 1.)

The Charge of "Syndicalism"
3. The C.E.C. directs the Minnesota "communists" to expose our "unprincipled," "semi-syndicalist" trade union policy, and to challenge the Workers Party to a debate on trade union policies.

The charge of "semi-syndicalism" is worthy of comment. It is within the realm of possibility that these people have made so many turns that in their dizziness they no longer recall what syndicalism means. In our trade union work, have we forewarned the necessity of a revolutionary party? Just the opposite is true. Or is it that the Stalinists can no longer differentiate between an independent union and a union based on syndicalist principles. It is well established that Local 574 has sought, ever since the day of its expulsion from the International in April, 1935, to be reinstated—on a principled and honorable basis, and not on one which would mean liquidation of the union. It is also well established that the "defeatist" Local 574 has consistently advised for union action which it has helped to bring (candy workers, furniture workers, electrical workers, etc.) to join and remain within the A. F. of L. Do semi-syndicalists act in this way?

4. The C.E.C. directs the Minnesota district to place the unemployed under the leadership of the A. F. of L. and of the Farmer-Labor Party.

Before Local 574 was expelled from the Central Labor Union, it several times proposed that the A. F. of L. take the initiative in organizing the federal workers. When the Central Labor Union and the State Federation of Labor refused to act, Local 574 got busy and organized its Federal Section, which now has thousands of members. Local 574 has participated in the two conferences which laid the groundwork for the state-wide WPA conference which will be held at Local 574's hall on February 8-9, a delegated conference with representatives from unemployed organizations, WPA groups and the unions. Local 574 has proposed that a state-wide WPA organization be formed, to fight for trade union wages. The organization will seek the active support of the State Federation of Labor, and of the various unions. It will give its sup-

port to the unions when help is needed. This economic organization will in no sense be a dual organization to the A. F. of L., for its members will be urged to join the union of their trade when working for a private employer, and to remain, if possible, their membership in the trade unions while working on federal projects.

There are slanders contained in these directives which the Workers Party has answered a hundred times before, and will continue to answer and expose in the future. The directives contain three points with which we are in complete agreement: that the Minnesota Communist party is "weak,"

Directives of C.E.C. of Communist Party to the District Committee -- Minnesota

Planned struggle against Trotskyites—

1. Strike at major base of Trotskyites—discard idea that 574 cannot be touched.—Buro responsibility for recruiting—establish fraction—concentrate on some key people.

2. Improve work in Southern Minnesota. Win over people in Trotskyite units in Austin and Albert Lea.

3. *

4. Drag Trotskyite trade union policy into open to defeat it. Challenge for debate on trade union policy—broaden progressive conference, WPA—propose concrete program for 574—regarding membership in A. F. of L.—paying per capita tax—change Independent-Syndicalist policy, etc.

5. More attention to leadership in unemployed work to out-maneuver Trotskyites which can be done through uniting unemployed under leadership of A. F. of L. and Farmer-Labor Party.

6. More attention to explanation of Soviet peace policy, anti-war program. Drive on building the L.A.W.A.F.—mass meetings—talks in unions, including 574, Independent Union of All Workers—utilize broader delegates.

7. Work with S.P. in Minneapolis as a number of now Trotskyites are former Socialists, Mpls.

Special Problems—
If we link about our major problem to build the Farmer-Labor Party, we can... smash Trotskyites.

The role of Trotskyites internationally: their role and the expression of its counter-revolutionary character in this state.

a. Obstruct the unity in economic organizations.
b. Obstruct the organization of the People's Front against Fascism—the Farmer-Labor Party.

c. Obstruct the sympathy to Soviet Union and prevent workers from recognizing their strengthened position due to existence of Soviet Union.

Preventing the consolidation of an anti-war movement, etc.

Their strength in this district. Why?

1. Due to our weakness.
2. Their standing of march over us in many fields.
 - a. truck drivers.
 - b. unemployed
 - c. liberal groups
 - d. Socialists, Mpls.
 - e. strength of leadership.

Their policy of defeat—

a. Trade union—semi-syndicalist approach—relation to A. F. of L.—shady deals and politics.

The effect of this policy of ours—policy of ruin for themselves.—We cannot permit a policy of let them alone and they will destroy themselves.—People capable of unmaneuvering, unprincipled people, will seek and find a stop-gap to their own smashing.

Our approach tactic—

Must overcome the idea that 574 is welded to Trotskyites forever.

Drag into open their real Trade Union policy to drive the trade union functionaries and membership further away from them. (Our emphasis.)

Special attention to unemployed work for unification of the unemployed.

Attention to *

More education on Soviet peace policy.

Steps to drag them into open—

Friendly recruiting, and, yes, colonizing of capable forces in 574.

Improvement of work in L.A.W.A.F.

Build I.L.D.

Our ear to the ground.

Not to overlook opportunities to have a real alert state committee of C.P. really directing within the state as a whole.

* Items so marked have been deleted. They are of such a nature that their publication might bring injury to the workers' movement.

Mpls. Power Union Wins

(Continued from Page 1)

With the written statement that the company "will not discriminate in any way against any employee because of union affiliation," many timid workers, who did not have the courage to join the union, even though they knew that they should, have come forward to join hands with their more hardy brothers who had already taken up the cudgels for them and won the fight.

The wage increases will average around \$10 per month or the equivalent in hourly rates. All previous wage cuts will be restored, and in no case will the rate of pay be below the 1928 level. In the lower wage brackets some increases will exceed \$10 per month. All wages are to be based on the 40 hour week.

Local 160 will not make the mistake of resting on the laurels of its victory. The union will now proceed vigorously to the consolidation of its position through its day by day service to its members. A large organization committee has been elected and charged with the responsibility of organizing grievance committees in the various departments and crews, together with special committees to carry grievances to the higher officials when they cannot be settled satisfactorily with the immediate supervisor.

One of the first responsibilities of these committees will be to see that there is no discrimination against union members in connection with the wage increases. Questions of seniority and general job conditions will be taken up by the union committees as the occasion may arise. On the matter of seniority the company expressed a desire to show preference to married men with families in certain cases; they agreed, however, to leave the final decision to the employees.

As it has in the past, the executive board of Local 160 will continue to receive the benefit of the experience of the officers of Local 574 in the day by day organization problems of the union.

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THE MANAGER'S CORNER

Branch 8 in New York City has exceeded its quota of new subscriptions in the present drive and the Salt Lake City branch is only one short in reaching its quota. In addition two party fractions in New York City have set an excellent example of how to secure subscriptions in a big way. The teachers' fraction brought in not less than 65 new subs. collectively secured, and the fraction of WPA workers followed this example and brought in 10 new subs.

Since our last report we have thus added 123 new subscriptions, bringing us up to a total of 443. This is not so bad. Still it is less than half of the actual quota set. Again we repeat that it would be well for the various branches to make a little study of the list that appears below particularly those that are still behind their quota, not to mention those that have not yet made a start. Our advice is to get to work and to speed up.

In view of the fact that we did not yet reach the goal set for total number of new subscriptions to be secured, nor the total amount required to actually launch the eight-page weekly it became necessary to hold a decision on this question in abeyance for a little while.

The standing in the subscription campaign is as follows:

City Quota, Turned In
Akron, Ohio..... 20 9
Albert Lea, Minn..... 10 —
Allentown, Pa..... 30 —
Austin, Minn..... 10 —

Berkley, Cal..... 10 4
Boston, Mass..... 25 3
Charleston, W. Va..... 5 —
Chicago, Ill..... 50 16
Cleveland, Ohio..... 25 9
Columbus, Ohio..... 10 —
Detroit, Mich..... 25 2
Dickson City, Pa..... 5 —
Fargo, S. Dakota..... 10 —
High Point, N. C..... 5 —
Kansas City, Mo..... 10 2
Los Angeles, Cal..... 75 13
Minneapolis, Minn..... 25 12
Mount Carmel, Pa..... 5 —
Newark, N. J..... 20 4
New Castle, Pa..... 10 —
New Haven, Conn..... 10 1
New York City..... 400 283

(Branch 1 90 78)
(Branch 2 40 10)
(Branch 3 75 39)
(Branch 4 30 12)
(Branch 5 20 13)
(Branch 6 15 10)
(Branch 7 15 2)
(Branch 8 10 12)
(District 100 109)

Philadelphia, Pa..... 25 13
Pittsburgh, Pa..... 25 1
Plentywood, Mont..... 10 —
St. Louis, Mo..... 10 1
Salt Lake City..... 10 9
San Francisco, Cal..... 20 2
San Diego, Cal..... 10 4
Springfield, Ill..... 25 2
Toledo, Ohio..... 25 —
Utica, N. Y..... 5 —
Washington, D. C..... 10 3
Youngstown, Ohio..... 10 1

Cities not listed..... 45

Total..... 1,000 443

on Feb. 1936

The Crime of Scottsboro

AN EDITORIAL

For the fourth time an Alabama jury has convicted Haywood Patterson of a crime neither he nor any of the Scottsboro boys committed. This time Patterson has been given a 75-year sentence. Living death in an Alabama jail, the Alabama authorities seem to feel, will be more difficult to fight than a death sentence. Patterson, on being sentenced, declared:

"I'd rather die than spend another day in jail for something I didn't do."

Attorney Samuel Leibowitz, however, "feels" that he has won a victory. And Colonel W. J. Schieffelin, treasurer of the Scottsboro Defense Committee, says that we should be thankful that Patterson's life has been saved!

We are not thankful. We do not agree with Leibowitz. We agree with Patterson. This sentence is worse than a death sentence.

It is a victory for the prosecution, not for the Scottsboro boys. The latter are in greater danger than ever.

On the way back to Birmingham, after all other trials had been postponed, Ozie Powell was framed and shot by a guard. Powell, subjected to extreme provocation, is said to have scratched the guard's face with a knife. Today Powell is close to death. For him, as well as for the two boys in the car with him, there must be an uncompromising defense against the charge of assault with intent to kill which the State is bringing in order to discredit the boys' fight for freedom.

The Scottsboro Defense Committee seems today to be concentrating on the idea of getting the case into a Federal court. A number of its spokesmen are arguing that Decatur juries convict because the jurors are afraid of their neighbors. They say that a Federal jury in Alabama will be made up of people unafraid of their neighbors. They say that these are "people of standing," "the best people of Alabama," who "want to see justice done."

We, too, think that a fight should be made to get the case into a Federal court. We support the appeal to higher courts, based on the fact that the Lynch Judge of Decatur refused a change of venue and a transference to a Federal court.

But not because we think "people of standing," "the best people of Alabama," will heed only the evidence in this case and free the boys. We do not support the appeal from the poor whites of the Alabama back-country, to the cold-blooded Lynch-organizers of the Alabama ruling class. We put no more stock in the "fairness" of a Federal jury in Alabama than in that of the Decatur jury.

We favor going into a Federal Court only because it will then become possible to demand of the Federal Judge a change of venue out of the Federal District of Northern Alabama into some other state, preferably a Northern state, where the Jim Crow system cannot influence the trial as it does in Alabama.

To the Scottsboro Defense Committee we give this word of advice: Ask for a Federal trial on the grounds that fair juries are impossible in an Alabama state court on this case. Do not proclaim that in a Federal court you expect a "fair jury." Should you win the demand, you will get a jury which will have approved in advance, and a Federal court conviction would then silence you forever.

There are other things to be said to the Committee. Elsewhere in these pages is a report of the Committee's "mass meeting" in New York last Sunday. The sort of thing which went on there will not build a militant mass protest movement, a fighting defense. It can only weaken the defense movement at a moment when Leibowitz, by refusing to recognize the defeat the boys suffered in the Patterson trial, is jeopardizing the future of the whole struggle.

Only a mighty mass movement, based primarily upon labor and Negro organizations, following an aggressive policy, can save the Scottsboro boys. This is as true today as it was when first the boys were snatched from death by the intervention of "radicals and damned Yankees."

It is time to stop making concessions to the red-baiting, Jew-baiting and Yankee-baiting of the prosecution. It is time to stop appealing to patriotism and God and "the best people of Alabama."

When he cried out against the 75-year verdict, Haywood Patterson showed that he still has fight left in him. When he resisted the brutal guard, Ozie Powell showed that he still has fight left in him. Today they are leading their own fight for freedom.

Victory will come only through a militant fight!

Zeller Pamphlet Out!

Previous announcements have given only a bare indication of this pamphlet at the time when it was on the way. It is now off the press. Of course, to get a complete view of what it contains, it is necessary to read this pamphlet. We on our part recommend it highly.

Fred Zeller is the acknowledged leader of the French Socialist youth. He was expelled from the Socialist youth organization by the agents of Leon Blum and his Old Guard some time ago, together with twelve other youth comrades. The young Socialists, however, remained supporters of the viewpoint represented by Fred Zeller and his co-workers. Fred Zeller represented the revo-

lutionary position and he is continuing his struggle for that position. How this struggle has been pursued and how comrade Zeller and his co-workers came to a revolutionary position, and came to be supporters of the Fourth International, is described in this little pamphlet. The introduction is by Leon Trotsky.

We believe that the few words mentioned above is sufficient reason for our recommendation to all, and particularly to revolutionary Socialists, to read this pamphlet. It retails at 5c a copy; in lots of ten or more the price is 3c a copy. Send your order to the NEW MILITANT, 55 East 11th Street, New York, N. Y.

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Needle Strike Impends

With unprecedented enthusiasm and solidarity 105,000 dressmakers organized in the I.L.G.W.U. are ready to go over the top on Saturday, Feb. 1, in a general strike that will close down every dress shop in Metropolitan New York. At the same time, expiring agreements and demands for union conditions may also bring out 18,000 furriers, the entire millinery trade, and all building service workers of the garment district in the largest general tie-up ever known in the needle industry.

Among the demands presented by the I.L.G.W.U. are the following: (1) the thirty-hour week, (2) establishment of a labor employment bureau, (3) higher minimum scales, (4) limitation of contractors, (5) price settlement on jobbers' premises, (6) the unit system of price settlement.

The union is strong both in morale and finances and for months has prepared carefully for the strike. Strike halls are ready. Hall committees, picket committees—the entire strike machine—has been prepared to handle the huge tie-up. Every member of the union, from the oldest member to the newest recruit, enters the strike with supreme confidence that a satisfactory agreement can be won. Last minute conferences called by Mayor LaGuardia have, up to the moment, given no indication that the bosses can be brought to their senses without a strike.

Demands put forward by the Furriers' Union are similar to those of the Dressmakers: 30-hour week, closed shop, division of labor, etc. As we write, furriers are jamming the streets in front of the Cooper Union and Labor Lyceum an hour

before the opening of the halls, eager to take part in a union rally in preparation for the strike.

In the millinery trade negotiations are still proceeding and it is not yet clear whether the strike will be called February 1 or later. The bosses are demanding the right of reorganization which would be ruinous to the union.

Trojanovsky Dodges Sergei Trotsky Issue

(Editor's Note: The International Committee for Political Prisoners sent out the following release to city editors on Jan. 29, 1936.)

This committee has been concerned over the disappearance in Soviet Russia of Leon Trotsky's son and daughter-in-law, Sergei Trotsky and his wife, both of whom are said to have been imprisoned in the Soviet Union for some time. Inquiry has been directed to the Soviet Embassy at Washington, but so far no information has been made available as to their whereabouts. Young Trotsky is twenty-seven years old and a professor. His wife is a librarian. Neither of them have ever engaged in political activity.

We have in our possession several interesting documents which we will be glad to release to the press concerning this case, and, if you care to get in touch with us in regard to the story, we will gladly show them to any reporter you care to send to our office.

Very truly yours,
ROGER BALDWIN,
Chairman.

Hired Liar Number One

(Continued from Page 1)

From whom was this permission received; from what person or persons?

When was this permission granted? What date?

(The Tarov article and Trotsky's comment appeared in the NEW MILITANT on Oct. 19, 1935.)

4. Where was this permission given? In the office of the New York American? In the office of the NEW MILITANT? Over the telephone? In a dark alley? Where?

Who Sent Hearst the New Militant?

5. Then Cullen is alleged to have said in reply to a question as to the date of the NEW MILITANT from which the reprint was made: "I don't know the date. We have reproduced the masthead of the paper and you will find the date there. We have only a photostatic copy of the masthead. We returned the original to them."

No date appeared on the masthead of the NEW MILITANT as reproduced in the N. Y. American!

Why didn't Budenz inform Cullen of this? He knew this to be the fact otherwise why did he ask the question? There should be a little honor even among thieves. Or why doesn't Budenz inform the Daily Worker readers of this fact?

Or was the NEW MILITANT masthead reproduced from a copy of the paper (as is the actual fact) which can be purchased on innumerable newsstands in the city? Or did the Daily Worker, perhaps, send Hearst a copy?

But why trouble Budenz about such details. He earns good pay for every word of slander written against the revolutionary internationalists. This creature loves the mud and before he gets through he wallows in it up to his neck, even attempting to besmirch the unsullied name of Leon Trotsky.

Did Trotsky Get Paid?

He blithely asks Cullen whether Trotsky will get paid for the articles and says he received the answer:

"That question you can't take up with me. I don't know. You will have to ask the auditor. I assume the auditor will get paid for it—Mr. Trotsky."

Nothing daunted our inquiring reporter who judges everyone else by his own sordid standards goes to the auditing department of the N. Y. American and says he is told that "general orders for the payment of articles do not come through for about a month. We would not know at present if payment were to be made or not. Even if we did, we could not disclose this information, as it is confidential."

"Finally," (apparently in despair) says Budenz, "a secretary or other representative of Rank (Who was this representative? What was his name? Didn't you trouble to find out?) as to whether the articles had been paid for, he replied: 'I'm sorry. We don't discuss such information. It is of a confidential nature. We don't care to discuss it.'"

Stop Cramling, Budenz!

So you didn't get the goods on Trotsky, Mr. Budenz. You didn't get the goods because there aren't any!

Don't try to crawl out from under by saying that "for the American workers the vital thing is not

whether or not Trotsky was paid by Hearst for his attacks on the Workers Republic and on the Communist party."

Yes, that is the "vital issue." In last week's Sunday Worker you promised your readers the evidence. You claim to know how much Lang, Beal, Walker, et al were paid for these articles. Was Trotsky paid by Hearst, and how much?

Produce the evidence or shut your lying mouths!

A Shameless Pair

You have no evidence, if the truth is told. You have no more evidence, Budenz, than did your brother-in-law, Moissaye J. Olgin, editor of the Freiheit, when he accused Lenin and Trotsky of having been bought by German gold.

But your motives and Olgin's are the same as the latter's in 1918: recruit the workers for the army of American imperialism and defend the revolutionists for self-protection.

"Trotsky," says Budenz with his tongue in his cheek, "has already written for pay for equally reactionary publications—the Saturday Evening Post and the Liberty Magazine."

The Question is WHAT Not Where

Indeed! And what of that? Budenz in his ignorance doesn't know—he isn't paid to know such things—that all revolutionists, Marx and Engel, and even some who aren't revolutionists like Radek and Stalin have written in capitalist periodicals so that their views might receive broader publicity.

He doesn't know that Lenin used the Kaiser's "sealed train" to get into Russia!

The question is not where but what a revolutionist writes. The only time the Stalinists were able to "prove" that Trotsky wrote against the Soviet Union was in the case of a Polish paper which printed a forgery concocted by the G.P.U. On the other hand, every article written by Stalin or the smaller Stalinists, whether they appear in the capitalist press or the Daily Worker is a blow at the Workers' Fatherland and the working class. A blow because they trample on Marx and Lenin and speak with patriotism.

This latest frame-up by Budenz is hardly surprising. He once advised the revolutionary movement to learn from the methods of the Fascists.

Deny the Charges, Browder!

Once again we accuse Stalin of furnishing Hearst with ammunition against the Soviet Union by his anti-Bolshevik terror. In the case of the scoundrel Lang the Daily Worker took great pains to answer his assertions point by point.

Why not with Trotsky or Tarov? Why don't they deny the gruesome facts about Zinoviev, Kamenev, Medvediev, Shlyapnikov or the Hungarian Communists or the Jugoslav Communists?

They dare not because they know every word to be true.

They know from their own experience that to incur the slightest displeasure with the Stalin clique in Russia means expulsion, loss of party job, slander, etc.

The Stalinists are playing with fire when they resort to this frame-up against us.

Before the flames have died down they will be so deeply burned that every conscious worker will know that nothing distinguishes the Daily Worker from the Hearst press but a label—the cravens on both papers lie about revolutionists, blackmail them and frame them up, and in each case it is done for a price.

Will the A. F. of L. Split on the Issue of Industrial Unionism?

By ARNE SWABECK

Reports from the Executive Council sessions, at Miami, Fla., fully bear out the unmistakable rumblings of a conflict in the A. F. of L. more profound than any ever witnessed before and of far reaching consequences for its future. The A. F. of L. is approaching a crisis. Sooner than could have been expected it is coming to its crossroads and it must decide which way to go.

The industrial union issue is now a matter of intense dispute in the high council and may soon become the axis of active struggle throughout the ranks of the organization. On the surface only this issue appears to be involved; but the conflict that is developing goes much deeper. Forms of organization, or to be more exact, industrial unionism versus craft unionism, embrace, on the present-day basis of a highly developed industrial structure, the whole problem of which direction the movement shall take. Its attitude to the most burning questions of the class struggle and its own policies and methods will be vitally affected by whichever of these conflicting forms of organization become predominant.

Militants should, therefore, give the utmost attention to this present struggle in the A. F. of L. They should become its most active participants.

Lewis Central Issue

The Executive Council sessions, from beginning to end, were taken up almost exclusively with the question of the Committee for Industrial Organization, headed by John L. Lewis, and related questions. Other matters were simply put aside. This was natural. What could it do, for example, about the projected amendment to the United States constitution, so long as this all important question stared the craft union dignitaries in the face. The intensity of the debate was reflected in the threats of an imminent split with which the reports of the sessions are filled.

It is stated that the craft union officials, led by O. A. Wharton, W. D. Hutcheson and Dan Tobin, demanded aggressive action against the Lewis' committee. They are reported to have demanded the suspension of the eight unions whose representatives make up this committee. In the end, however, some more moderate counsel prevailed. A committee was designated to confer with the industrial union bloc and report the results to the council sessions in May.

A Threat to the Old Guard

Yet in view of the declaration adopted by the Executive Council, the selection of this committee is largely perfunctory. It will have to approach the industrial union bloc with a condemnation and a demand for its dissolution. The latter cannot be mistaken about the intent of the condemnation. Even if there had been no preceding conflict the wording of the declaration adopted leaves no room for doubt.

The Executive Council declared that: "there is the growing conviction among an ever increasing number of affiliated unions and those outside of the labor movement that the activities of this committee (the Lewis' committee) constitute a challenge to the supremacy of the American Federation of Labor and will ultimately become dual in purpose and character to the American Federation of Labor."

Further on it is stated that "it is the opinion of the Executive Council that the committee for industrial organization should be immediately dissolved."

Bitter Enders Dissent

This puts the question bluntly, but still not bluntly enough for some of the members of the Executive Council. In the voting five of the "bitter enders," which means the most conscious craft union reactionaries, dissented. They said the declaration was "not strong enough"; they wanted more drastic action. Open threats of secession by the unions they control, is reported to have been made by them, unless more drastic action is taken. And how deep-going this conflict really is, can perhaps best be illustrated by the orders that have gone out from Hutcheson's office instructing all carpenters local unions to withdraw from every city central labor body that endorses the objectives of the industrial union bloc.

NEW MILITANT

with which is merged
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JAMES P. CANNON, Editor

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SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 1, 1936
Vol. 2, No. 5 (Whole No. 57)

Miami Meet Sharpens Cleavage Between Old Guard and Lewis

No doubt these most conscious craft union top officials fully comprehend what is involved. In the Lewis' committee they see a challenge not only to the control of what they consider their own special preserve, but also to their whole idea of trade unionism. No matter how stubbornly they insist on the superiority of the old forms of organization, they are aware of the dynamic forces that the industrial union issue may set into motion under present-day conditions. They may not be of the particularly old fashioned, corrupt type like Skinny Madden, Robert Brindell or "Umbrella" Mike Boyle. Nevertheless they are conscious supporters of the capitalist system. That mechanical skill ought to have a special reward they consider as established by tradition.

Organization as Special Privilege

In their opinion, organization is, therefore, to be a special privilege of the skilled workers and they feel that this can best be accomplished in cooperation with the employers, or, at least, on friendly relations with them. Beyond their social philosophy does not penetrate; their interest in organization does not embrace the workers as a class. They are perfectly contented to leave the great mass of production workers in the basic industries outside the unions. And, besides, the organization of these workers causes the sharpest conflict with the employers.

It is true that the bosses do not want any union at all in the big manufacturing plants. It is equally true that, if compelled to make concessions to union organization, they dislike to deal with a multitude of craft unions. But much less do they want unions with greater militant potentialities such as industrial unions, embracing all the workers in the plants, will have. On this basis the reactionary craft union top officials do not find it so difficult to cooperate with the employers. They also want to limit the unions to the skilled crafts. The right to represent the latter is the only concession that they demand from the employers. And so, harmonizing their position in the unions with their own basic concepts, they function essentially as agents of the employers.

Antagonism Will Grow

Out of this situation arises the great fear of the industrial union issue manifested by the reactionary bureaucrats—and out of this arises also their furious opposition to the Lewis committee. It should be easy to foresee that in further developments of union organization, this opposition will tend to increase rather than diminish. An encouragement given to industrial union organization will immediately inspire them to greater resistance against the onslaughts of the employer and equip the whole working class with a more effective weapon of resistance than the craft unions can give.

Out of this develops also the much more fundamental issues in the present cleavage in the A. F. of L. leadership. In every respect this will tend to increase and sharpen the present conflict. The dyed-in-the-wool craft union chiefs will be compelled to lean ever more upon the bosses and upon the instruments of the capitalist state for support to stem the tide.

Pressure on Lewis

On the other hand the leaders in the industrial union bloc will most likely find themselves compelled to lean ever more upon the workers who are actually set into motion for industrial unionism and who also demand democratic unions with an aggressive policy of organization. These workers who are in motion, and whose ranks are sure to increase, will press the issue forward and exert their pressure on the Committee for Industrial Organization. It will be increasingly more difficult for the latter to retreat at the same time as it will be extremely difficult for the reactionary bureaucrats to accept a compromise on this issue. What can be expected is, therefore, a sharpening of the present conflict all along the line.

John L. Lewis, in answer to the Executive Council condemnation, has already indicated that the Committee for Industrial Organization will continue with its program. With his characteristic scorn for the Council, he said: "The mountain has labored and brought forth a mouse." He added:

"After all the rumblings and convulsions at Miami for a week past, the unorganized workers of the country had a right to expect that the A. F. of L., in its own interest, would extend a sympathetic hand of assistance rather than a churlish denunciation of these organizations in the federation which are trying constructively to help the cause of labor

and the common people in this country."

Deep Organizational Guilt

In questions of basic class ideology it would be difficult to find a real distinction between John L. Lewis and his official co-workers, on the one hand, and Green and company on the other. To foster illusions on this score would be pernicious and worthy only of the mealy-mouthed dunkey. But in questions of organizational policy the gulf already appears to be an unbridgeable one. The very existence of the Committee for Industrial Organization, as inadvertently admitted by the Executive Council declaration, is a challenge to the rock-ribbed reactionary organizational policy of the A. F. of L. A continuation of this committee's work must of necessity deepen the present cleavage.

So far there has not been much concrete evidence of direct intervention by this committee for industrial organization in the mass production industries. Nevertheless, the raising of the issue is an important step in itself and, as could be expected, a powerful response followed immediately. The automobile workers' union wrote into its constitution, contrary to A. F. of L. decisions, a provision making the union industrial in character. In this field there is a definitely growing clamor for an all-inclusive industrial union in which the independent unions may merge. Representatives of the radio workers' federal locals intimated to the Executive Council meeting that secession from the A. F. of L. may follow rejection of their demand for an industrial union charter. Nevertheless it was rejected.

On the whole, there is ample evidence throughout the country that the demand for industrial unionism is beginning to take on the form of a movement. Such a movement will be distinctly progressive in character. It will give a stimulus to new and greater struggles and it will provide a fertile field for the advancement of revolutionary ideas of policy and methods of working class organization. This particular fact will undoubtedly exert its influence in a fundamental sense upon the present conflict in the A. F. of L.

The Possibilities of Split

It may be entirely premature to speak of the probability of a split in the A. F. of L. in the sense that the report from the Executive Council sessions do. While one cannot lose sight of the fact that the A. F. of L. is purely a voluntary federation of completely autonomous unions, and while secession of some of these unions, sometimes more than one at a time, have taken place before, they have occurred usually over purely jurisdictional disputes leading to a separation of a purely temporary nature. In such cases the secession did not carry the stigma of dual unionism; nor would the A. F. of L. undertake to organize rival unions in the place of those that withdrew from its ranks. An actual secession movement in this present situation, or a split arising out of this present conflict and around the present issues in dispute would be far more profound in its nature and in its implications for the future. Inevitably the result would be two rival movements struggling for supremacy.

Horse-and-Buggy Age Over

While a split of this nature in the A. F. of L. may not be an immediate probability, it cannot be denied that all the implications leading in this direction are already at hand. The choice, however, is essentially with the officials who are in control of affairs of the A. F. of L. They cannot help but see the handwriting on the wall. They have the choice of changing, and adjusting the federation to the requirements of modern conditions and to the needs of the masses or to give way to other forces capable of undertaking such a task.

The issue of industrial unionism is now of paramount importance. It grows out of the needs of the working class and once its real importance is fully appreciated it can become the vehicle for the revitalization of the whole labor movement. The moods of the masses are changing. The masses seek organization and they seek to utilize their organizations as instruments of struggle for their own class ends. In this respect there are now the most favorable opportunities available.

If the Committee for Industrial Organization stands its ground in this present conflict a first and most important step can be accomplished. It can become an instrument toward the creation of a genuinely progressive movement in the trade unions. This is today an imperative necessity and an absolute prerequisite. Once this genuine progressive movement is finally established there need be no fear of the consequences of any position taken by the reactionary A. F. of L. top leaders, be it ever so hostile.

NEW MILITANT

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Milliners Stoppage Settled

Trimmers Suffer Cut As Contract Is Made Behind Closed Doors

As we go to press some of the millinery workers in New York are returning to their shops, while others await orders from the union and the settlement committee.

About 15,000 ladies headwear workers filed out yesterday morning from the uptown, midtown and downtown shops in a stoppage called by the union here. Two halls were filled to capacity.

The millinery workers had a preliminary shake-up a few months ago when the manufacturers threatened the union with a general lock-out. Since then a number of sizeable concerns left New York, thereby swelling the ranks of the unemployed. Because of the general scarcity of work and the unprecedented number of unemployed there was a deep-going interest in the negotiations and in the agreement.

Trimmers Lose Out

Agreements were signed with two associations and many independent shops. The settlements involved the following branches: operators, blockers, cutters and trimmers. The conditions of the first three branches remained the same as in the old agreement while the trimmers who constitute a majority in the trade lost one fourth of an hour in overtime pay.

The administration of the Millinery Union greeted the membership to an original method of procedure. There wasn't a single provision made for discussion of the agreement before ratification, either at the chairman and chairladies meeting of two weeks ago, or at the two general membership meetings on February 4. A new method of bureaucratic control over a union! There were many dissenting voices among the trimmers who suffered by the compromise with the manufacturers. Even during the life of the NRA, the trimmers received time-and-a-half for overtime. Now with the union agreement they are entitled to only 25 cents extra per hour for overtime. But they were submerged by a well-organized and well-oiled bureaucratic machine.

Another NRA

The orations of the officers of the union, including President Zaritsky, were petty, superficial and primarily shop talk. They lacked inspiration and fighting spirit. Zaritsky's announcement about his new creation of a "union NRA" fell flat. Nobody was interested, and why should they be? One lesson the millinery workers have long ago learned: whatever they get will be only through their own organized effort and not because of any outside force or benevolent individuals. The president called his latest creation a "Gentlemen's Board" consisting of two "liberal" and "honest" men, who previously served on a Labor Relations Board, and one professor, who is all good intentions.

In spite of all these shortcomings, the stoppage had a number of advantages. First and foremost—the display of organized strength of the millinery workers. This union doesn't make a practice of calling regular membership meetings, mass meetings or any other kind of collective demonstration. The revision of the conditions in the shops brought to the surface many evils existing therein, and emphasized the need of more attention and stricter control. It gave the workers a new start to begin a drive for the improvement of working conditions. It undoubtedly created a spirit of closer cooperation between the different branches that work side by side in the shops.

They Will Organize

These scattered voices who were unable to make their opposition heard or felt in this stoppage will eventually combine in an organized force to fight against the undemocratic methods of the leadership of the Millinery Union. They will find a way to voice their opinions during the life of the agreement, when it is under consideration and even during a stoppage or a strike.

It is interesting to note that the nominal opposition that has existed for the last few years in the millinery trade under the name "Rank and File Committee" (a Stalinist stooge organization) which in the "third period" called for strikes over the heads of the officialdom, could not be heard even in whispers during this stoppage.

Furriers Strike Is Scotched

Gold Forces Wretched Agreement on Union No Closed Shop

By J. RABINOWITZ

The new agreement signed between the Furriers union and the employers in New York clearly revealed that the only concern of the Stalinists in the leadership of the union is "respectability," to curry favor with the A. F. of L. bureaucrats and the bosses even at the price of sacrificing the last pretense of struggle.

Stalinists Closed Shop

The union has surrendered its demand for a closed shop, entitling the bosses to fire workers after the six months of equal division of work. In addition the demand for a labor bureau was abandoned, which empowers the boss to hire whomever he chooses. A major concession was made when the clause in the last agreement, providing for an unemployment insurance fund, paid for by the bosses and administered by the union, was completely omitted in the new agreement.

The agreement provides for a ten percent wage increase, equal division of work for six months of the year, no firing of shop chairmen before March 1, 1937, only two bosses to be permitted to work in the shop, agreement to be binding in case of removal of firm from the city, equal wages for women.

Compared with conditions prevailing in other sections of the needle industry, this agreement is the worst. Furthermore, this agreement was signed at the very time the I.L.G.W.U. is fighting for a renewal of its own contract. A very encouraging token, indeed, for the dress bosses in their present conflict with their own workers. The bosses could desire no better negotiation "for" the workers than Ben Gold.

The furriers have written many heroic pages in the struggle for union conditions, enjoying the best conditions in the needle industry until internal strife and division in the ranks destroyed a considerable part of their past gains. But with the union reunited, it was the hope of the furriers that the time had come to wage a determined fight for the closed shop and for conditions that would at least equal the standards of the other needle trades unions. But the policy of struggle is today alien to the Stalinists who now head the union.

The Pot of Gold

In presenting the agreement to the membership meeting held at Mecca Temple on Tuesday, Feb. 4, Ben Gold brought all his demagogic tricks into play to make the fur-

(Continued on Page 4)

700 in N. Y. Mass Meet Protest Stalin's Terror

Vote for Resolution Calling for Committee To Probe Charges Made by Cilia and Tarov

NEW YORK, Feb. 2.—A packed hall of over 700 people in Irving Plaza roared an enthusiastic "Aye" to a resolution protesting Stalin's anti-Bolshevik repressions and calling for a committee to investigate the Daily Worker frame-up against the NEW MILITANT and Leon Trotsky.

With the same overwhelming approval the audience endorsed the sending of a telegram of solidarity and confidence in its name to comrade Leon Trotsky in view of the slanderous charges made against him in the Stalinist scandal sheet.

The speakers at this meeting, comrades Cannon and Muste, called to protest Stalin's terror in the Soviet Union, lashed out against the murderous treatment accorded to Bolshevik-Leninists and the attempt to cover it up in the U. S. by a miserable frame-up.

A. J. Muste, in a stirring talk, answered objections made by many uninformed workers who concede the truth of our exposures of the Stalin clique but who believe the publication of such facts has a deleterious effect on the Soviet Union itself. He pointed to the method employed by reactionary trade union bureaucrats who accuse progressives of injuring the trade unions by making known the crimes and misdeeds of the leading cliques. "Stop the persecutions," Muste urged, "and you will thereby deprive the capitalist press of ammunition against the Workers' Republic."

He was followed by comrade James P. Cannon who explained the fundamentals of the Soviet state as the greatest labor organization in the world, fayed the destruction of the Communist party, the Soviets and the trade unions, and the degeneration introduced into it by the Stalinist bureaucracy. Comparing the revolutionary measures of self-protection utilized under Lenin with the reactionary terror of Stalin under which the

best revolutionists are hounded, jailed, tortured and exiled, he exclaimed "Stalin is destroying the Russian revolution for there can be no revolution without revolutionists." But police terror can never vanquish the great ideas of Leninism, he concluded, "they live on in the prisons, the solitary confinement cells and Siberian exile!" Prolonged cheering and applause greeted the conclusion of the speech and the meeting ended with the singing of the Internationale.

The following is the resolution adopted:

"We, over 700 New York workers in mass meeting assembled, vigorously protest against the frightful hounding of revolutionists by the Stalin bureaucracy in the Soviet Union;

"We declare that the terror campaign against the true defenders of the Soviet Union seriously undermines the workers' state and aids the forces of counter-revolution;

"We call for the immediate cessation of these persecutions and the release of all revolutionists now in Stalin's Siberia;

"We protest the dastardly attempt of the Daily Worker to cover up this repression by linking the great co-worker of Lenin, Leon Trotsky, with the reactionary Hrusst;

"We add our voices to the request that Roger Baldwin undertake the formation of a committee for an investigation of the charges of the Daily Worker against Leon Trotsky and the NEW MILITANT;

"We, furthermore, call upon all genuine supporters of the Soviet Union, workers and intellectuals, to support the demand for an international investigation by an accepted pro-Soviet committee of the charges of Tarov and Cilia concerning Stalin's anti-Bolshevik repressions."

NEXT WEEK!

Two highly important articles, one by Leon Trotsky and another by A. Tarov, dealing with the Bolshevik-Leninists in the Soviet Union, will appear in the next issue of the NEW MILITANT.

The article by comrade Trotsky is one of the most heartening and inspiring that has come from his pen on the Soviet Union in recent times. In it he takes the figures printed in the Russian Stalinist press on the recent party "cleaning" in the Soviet Union and submits them to a searching analysis. His conclusions, after removing every possible charge of exaggeration or partiality, prove that the Bolshevik-Leninists in

the Soviet Union have become a mass force and at the same time the biggest and most tested section of the Fourth International.

The new article by Tarov gives further information on the conditions of the Bolshevik-Leninists in exile and prison in the Soviet Union, the names of the most outstanding personalities and a vivid narration of Tarov's escape over the border.

Watch for the next issue! Order extra copies and bundles in advance! Make sure that this issue of the paper finds its way into the hands of all our friends and sympathizers!

Pekin Strike Called Off; Paralyzes City in Fight To Remove Police Chief

Motor Products Strike Enters its Third Month

Detroit Auto Workers Battle Bravely Against Motor Dynesty, Police Terror, Dillon Sabotage

DETROIT, Jan. 30.—The strike in Detroit at the Motor Products plant is entering into its third month. This desperate battle, beginning as a controversy over wages, has developed into an epic struggle to conquer the right to unionism in the automobile industry.

The class-conscious automobile manufacturers saw the threatening danger facing all of them if the strike proved successful, and within a moment's hesitation or delay,

the "big three" declared a truce and banded together with the independents to destroy the common foe. Ford ordered new dies made for instrument panels to relieve the Motor Products management of any embarrassment because of the strike. Hudson began using mouldings from seal shops; Packards used rolling machines moved over from the Motor Products plant, etc.

Motor Barons Unyielding

The automobile barons, determined that their industry shall not be tainted with any part of unionism, resorted to the most violent methods to crush the strike and stamp out with iron any hopes the automobile workers may harbor about organizing. Five days after the strike was called, the Motor Products Co. joined the National Metal Trade Association. The Motor Products firm, it is reliably reported, has been heavily subsidized by Chrysler and Ford since the inception of the strike, with the latter directing the strategy of the manufacturers' movements. The "line" is the familiar one he employed in the controversy with General Johnson during the golden days of the Blue Eagle—Don't talk, don't answer questions, don't negotiate with anybody—Just hold on tight and keep things in your own hands. The two federal negotiators sent in by the Department of Labor were given the runaround until they threw up their hands in despair and left for Washington; absolutely no negotiations have been contemplated since the N.M.T.A. has taken over the reins. The manufacturers are simply "ignoring" the strike.

An Augury of Future Battles
Concomitant, they have unleashed the most violent terror seen in Detroit since the Ford massacre 5 years ago. An imposing army of mounted police, squad cars and motor cycle details patrol the plant gates daily, harass and attack the strikers in an attempt to break their spirit and crush their morale. The mounted police enter inside the plant gates; the squad cars carry the seals to work and police are stationed in the plant proper to browbeat and terrorize the scribs working inside! Mayor Cavanaugh insists the reign of terror is necessary for the preservation of peace.

This pioneering skirmish in the great struggle to establish auto unionism, furnishes a foretaste of what ferocious labor struggles await (Continued on Page 2)

Workers Sit Tight

The mass protest caught both the company and the union leaders unawares. When shift changing time came at 6 p. m. and the workers refused to leave the factory, word was passed around of the seriousness of the situation. Night workers coming to the plant joined in the movement and likewise sat down at the firebuilding machines. Meanwhile, the millwrights, plumbers, and other departmental workers who work leads up to the actual building of the tires were forced to shut-down.

The effect of the action is comparable to the effect of the closing of the Toledo Chevrolet transmission (Continued on Page 2)

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Labor Skate Disbands Militant San Diego City Labor Council

By Richard Fraser

SAN DIEGO, Calif., Feb. 2, 1936.—The San Diego Labor movement during the past few weeks has been suffering from a severe attack of growing pains. Joseph Casey, Pacific Coast A. F. of L. Organizer, top bureaucrat, is the principle pain. Arriving in town three weeks ago he proceeded, as an opener, to dissolve on a technicality the entire Labor Council during its weekly session on Jan. 15.

Since that time there has been complete chaos throughout the local labor movement due to the bureaucratic gangsterism used by William Green's latest "personal representative," Casey, in his attempt to break up the Federated Trades Council.

Progressives Gain Control
Through a gradual process the more progressive elements have been shifting into the Federated Trades Council until last Fall they were able to muster an overwhelming majority in the election, sweeping out the reactionary control. At the State Convention of the A. F. of L. held here last Fall the delegates from San Diego unions almost

to a man stood solidly with the bloc which raised a city for industrial unionism that was near throughout the A. F. of L. Harry Steinmetz, of the Teachers Union was installed as the progressive President of the local Federated Council. Since that time there has been a constant organizational drive which had many of the elements of an authentic left wing movement.

And then came Casey!

This attack is the continuation of a vicious campaign of reaction by bureaucrats against Progressives started a short time ago by Green through his agent, Meyer Lewis, in his attempted "purge" of the militant Minneapolis Unions. The next point of attack is the West Coast where the voice of the rank and file is beginning to be heard. The San Diego Federated Trades Council and the West Coast local of the Seamen's Union are being attacked simultaneously.

An Open Shop Town
San Diego is a notoriously open shop town, the boast of the Chamber of Commerce to Eastern industrial- (Continued on Page 2)

Green Succeeds Where Bosses and Tear-Gas Were Powerless

BULLETIN

Maintaining his San Francisco strikebreaking record, William Green stepped into the Pekin strike in order to club it over the head. A representative of Green persuaded or coerced the unions to call off the strike before an agreement could be reached in the distillery strike. It goes without saying, that Police Chief Donahue, the Mayor and the employers were overjoyed.

February 5, 1936.
Pekin adds its name to San Francisco and Terre Haute, to a new tradition and weapon of American labor forged in recent years—the general strike.

This small mid-western city (population 17,000) on the outskirts of the Illinois coal fields is feeling the power of aroused and enraged workmen.

Industrial paralysis grips the town. Nothing moves, plants are shut down, stores and banks are closed, the streets are deserted. A new power is superseding the capitalist city administration—the general strike committee which gives "permission" as to what necessities, milk and fuel are to be delivered, which closes down drug stores and "allows" pharmaceutical departments to fill out prescriptions.

The workers of Pekin, and through them the workers of the rest of the country, will begin to grasp the might of organized labor. More than that, they will begin to see in vague outlines the workers' government of the future.

Causes of the Strike
The general strike at Pekin grew out of the soil of economic and political conditions. As far back as August of last year a conflict ensued between the union and employers at the American Distilling Company over the firing of a union engineer. A strike followed and the struggle simmered until about a week ago when Chief of Police Harry Donahue and his deputies hurled tear gas into the picket line before the plant.

Labor solidarity rose to counter the attack. The Pekin Trades and Labor assembly protested the strike-breaking efforts of Mayor W. E. Schurman for his "settlement" efforts and demanded the removal of the chief of police. Failure to comply with these demands brought on the strike.

Braving the sub-zero weather, crews of pickets are patrolling the city, enforcing the closure order on shops and plants and preventing unauthorized deliveries. The strike ranks are swelling: 600 workers at the Corn Products Refining Co. voted to join the general strike; pickets prevented the night shift from entering the Fleischman plant—the manager yelled out but he was powerless against the workers' determination.

Looking for Plug-Uglies
Donahue is at his wits end in seeking devices to break the strike. The forces of the Trades and Labor Assembly, militant and aggressive, admittedly outnumber and outwitted those of the police department.

"What this town needs," he says, "is so many reactionaries have said before him, 'is a vigilante committee of about 100 tough citizens.'" Unfortunately, the underworld of Pekin, Ill., has not yet reached the proportions of that of Chicago or St. Louis, otherwise Donahue would have found comrades to enforce "law and order" for him.

Meanwhile in Peoria, seven miles away, where negotiations have failed, seven companies of militiamen have been held in readiness for several days awaiting a call to go into Pekin to break the strike.

Why the hesitancy? Is it because the authorities believe the very presence of armed men in Peoria would overawe the strikers? Or do they fear a reception for the militia such as was accorded them in Toledo a year and a half ago? Or are they awaiting a convenient provocation, some frame-up instigated by the chief of police?

Whatever the reason may be, the delay in sending the troops to Pekin is testimony to the power of the general strike and a sign of the combustibility of the labor situation which the bosses and authorities fear to ignite.

Hunger Stalks Poor Texas Farms As Roosevelt Plans Take Effect

(Special to the New Militant)

By JAMES EVANS

DALLAS, Tex.—The farmers of this the leading agricultural state are beginning virtual serfs with land rentals sky-rocketing. Roosevelt's Triple A may have been dispatched neatly, after it had served its original purpose of helping to put capitalism on its feet. But the AAA backfire is evident in the spectacle of homeless families trudging the roads, and of abandoned schoolhouses in once populous communities. I have seen barefooted children, hitchhiking with their parents on the cold roads, begging scraps of food at hot dog stands—wandering continually until they meet eventual death from starvation.

While Roosevelt, Bankhead, and Wallace seek means to pay benefits due to landlords, the tenant farmers and the small owners are being turned adrift like abandoned mules. In every county, there is a frantic struggle to rent any land that has not been retired from cultivation—on whatever terms the landlords may care to offer. These gentlemen are demanding enormously increased payments and crop shares before they will sign any contracts.

Two Generations

In Crosby county, on the South Plains, more than 250 families are without farms or any other prospects of making livings for the coming season. The farmers of this area experienced drought on top of the AAA during 1934. When the western part of the state was opened

for settlement, a generation ago, the original agrarians were induced to emigrate by the railroad companies who promised them cheap land. Manfully, they fought the ranch owners who wished to preserve the region for grazing purposes. Year after year, they cultivated the soil and developed it into an important farming territory. Now, the second generation finds itself dispossessed and penniless.

Those who migrate to the cities find neither jobs nor relief awaiting them. Realtors are taking advantage of the heavy influx to raise the house rentals; and, in one town of which I know, it has become almost impossible to find any vacant dwellings. In other towns, old houses are being torn down both to discourage emigration and to exact higher rents from employed workers. Over one thousand houses have been destroyed in the city of Wichita Falls alone. Homeless couples, stranded on the outskirts of the larger places, are building squatted "tent cities" and living from putrid deposits of garbage.

Unspeakable Misery

In many cases, rural families are being forced to "double up" with relatives who have not yet been evicted. When it is recalled that Southern rural families are generally large and that the diets are generally inadequate, one can visualize the intensified misery that comes from this forced adjustment. Fifteen or twenty people may be found living in some three-room shanty,

since the advent of Roosevelt II. It would be rather surprising if pellagra and tuberculosis did not show marked increases because of this crowding of large numbers into insufficient accommodations.

The small farmers are in the position of fowls with their heads already laid on the blocks. Many of them had been counting on the AAA benefits to settle their debts, and although their tenant neighbors never had much ground for such illusions. Since the suspension of the AAA the bankers and merchants have descended upon these small farmers like packs of wolves. The official farm debt conciliation committees are collapsing because the farmers have demanded that the committees pay less attention to the interests of debtors. The committee chairmen, generally lawyers, are now insisting that the farmers arrange "individual settlements" of their debts. A group of farmers in Rais county fell for this line, only to be foreclosed upon collectively.

To date, there have been no "penalty sales" conducted by the farmers themselves, as in the West and Middle West. But the Southern Tenant Farmers Union is constantly increasing its membership in Texas, with the locals meeting underground in the Black Belt. The Texas histories do not mention the fact, but this state has witnessed an unbroken series of agrarian struggles, characterized by the usual brutality of landlords toward tenants.

The Wolf at the Millionaire's Door THE POOR RICH

By JOHN O. WRIGHT

Business is picking up again... where it left off when last heard from just before the nose-dive into the misery and privations of the last six years.

With millions unemployed, factories shut down, bankruptcy abroad, the farmers pauperized, etc. Great truths remained unspoken. It was forgotten that this was the best of all possible worlds; that the rich begot profits as a reward for their initiative, honesty and diligence while the poor got all that was coming to them for being lazy, for cultivating vices instead of virtues, and their incapacity to seize an opportunity to rise in the world. Business' great service to humanity was forgotten. All of its self-sacrifice and nobility. All of its toil and tribulations. All forgotten!

The Unkind Era

Demagogues sang a different tune to the millions out of work, and the millions being pauperized. Fallacy after fallacy was propagated. A New Deal was dangled before those who thought they suffered from the Old Deal. A lot of unkind things were said about Business. But that was long, long ago. The demagogues have done their work, kept the people amused with promises to make them forget how they were being squeezed until profits could start rolling in again. Now it seems that profits are actually rolling in. Business, so long in the background, is raising its voice again to tell all the Bill Joneses, Smiths and you and me who have been deluded by demagogues just where we are, and where we get off.

By way of inaugurating the new year and the "new era," the New York Sun lets loose the Voice of Business in a monster Special Issue. On page 2 of this issue we are reminded of the Supreme Truth of Business:

"It's Your Own Fault"

"You and I know from actual experience that nine out of ten of the poor... remained so because of their refusal to accept their opportunities and because of their own vices. We know that nine out of every ten, rich, middle class or poor, who have made a go of things have done so because of their initiative and honesty."

During the depression a fallacy became widespread that an insignificant minority of the rich owned the world, keeping the millions of Bill Joneses to starve and slave in it. A most dangerous fallacy. So the very first article is entitled: "Two Percent Control of the Wealth! What of It—If They Do?"

This article reminds and teaches Bill Jones not only about the moral abyss between the rich and the poor, but also about "the wide distinction between control and ownership" or, as the subtitle reads: "He Leans, Too, Where Billions Grow and Who Gets Them."

There is a "great difference" between control and ownership. Yes, indeed. Two percent only "control" the wealth of this country. What could be more democratic than such control? One "controller" for every fifty "recipients"? That's better than in the army, to say nothing about jails. This two percent makes billions sprout and passes them out to the Bill Joneses (that's anonymous for you and me). On page 2, Business supplies a chart which proves it, and on page 3, Mr. P. S. Arkwright blurts it out in so many words:

Bill Jones Gets Every Nickel "Another oft repeated fallacy is that 'the workers' share of the national income has been steadily decreasing.' This, too, is untrue. The workers' share in the national income moved from 38% in 1850 to 65% in 1929. In 1931 and 1932, it equalled 75% to 80% of the income actually produced, and was even more in the case of manufacturing and related industries."

There you have it in black and white. Business makes billions grow only in order to distribute them to the poor, lazy, vicious and otherwise immoral working men. Well, indeed, can the spokesmen for business fling back in the teeth of its maligners the charge that Business, a two percent minority, runs the country as it suits its purposes and interests. There are charts and speeches and articles by the score to prove the virtue of Business. And to top it all, Business gets less and less for its remarkable "control" of the country's wealth:

The Poor Rich

"Another oft repeated fallacy is that corporation profits increase faster than workers' wages. This is likewise untrue..." (p. 3)

It is untrue that the poor are getting poorer and the rich richer. Mr. Arkwright has statistics to prove that it is the rich who are getting poorer, while the poor get all (or almost all) the billions.

During the depression a great ad was made about profits. You'd think there was nothing but profit for capitalists. As a matter of fact the "nominal ownership of capital" hardly pays at all. Profits are largely a myth. Bill Jones does not know this. Of course not. Bill is not only immoral and lazy but ignorant to boot. But Prof. Allyn

Young, a great man and scholar, knows all about profit and loss. And Business agrees with Prof. Young, and vice versa:

"Prof. Allyn Young, one of our greatest economists, used to say that he doubted whether, taking all enterprise together, there was such a thing as profit; that losses equaled profit over a reasonable rate of interest" (page 5).

Losses for Bosses

Thus, business makes billions grow where only grass grew previously; Business passes the billions on to the Joneses, and gets nothing in the end for it... Hard to believe, harder to understand, but there it is. The New York Sun has a whole issue that proves it. There are charts testifying to it. Professor Young says so. Experience verifies it. Take the case of the Chrysler Corporation. On page 40, this great corporation submits a public account of how it grew billions for a period of ten years, and what happened to these billions. Labor got billions in wages, Business got millions in profits, and in the end Chrysler's losses just about equalled the profit.

Statistics are very complicated and boring, but statistics prove this to the hilt.

Chrysler's Misfortune

In ten years the Chrysler Corporation grew two and a half billion dollars; and today it hasn't a penny of it left. It was all distributed. And here is how:

1) \$1,790,000,000 went for materials, general expenses and advertising. "The greater part (of this amount) went into jobs and wages of workers in industries supplying the automobile manufacturing industry" (p. 40; our emphasis). In other words, the above sum was largely spent to pay wages "indirectly." Indirect wages, as it were.

2) In addition to this huge sum which went to pay workers "elsewhere," Chrysler paid "directly to Chrysler Corporation's employees... nearly \$490,000,000" (p. 40). Direct wages.

3) On top of this, there "was expended for additional facilities for the increased volume of business \$111,000,000." And, in the nature of things, again "a large part of this \$111,000,000... provided work to many individuals employed by vendors of these supplies" (p. 40). In short, Bill Jones got that too.

4) The taxes took—\$71,000,000. What Bill Jones did not get, his (Jones's) government grabbed, to pass it on to him in the way of schools, hospitals, and other services.

Add these four items, and what do you get? \$2,462,000,000. Out of an income of some \$2,500,000,000, only \$38,000,000, or just about 1 1/2 percent remained for the corporation. Chrysler grew billions, Jones gathered the harvest.

Out of Its Own Pocket

Assuredly Mr. Arkwright (who writes in general on page 3 about the activities that Chrysler reports in particular on page 40) knew what he was saying when he delivered his address at the University of Georgia. If anything, Mr. Ark-

wright was too mild in his estimate of the workers' share in the income actually produced in the manufacturing and related industries. The workers' share in the Chrysler Corporation income is so close to 99.9 percent that it hurts the corporation even to talk about it. The corporation merely gritted its teeth and shut up and proceeded to pay profits. With the \$38,000,000 it had left, the corporation proceeded to pay out to the "bondholders" \$84,000,000, and the stockholders "approximately \$79,000,000." In other words, the corporation paid out a cool \$125,000,000 out of its own pocket. It paid profits at a loss, paying out, according to its own balance sheet (p. 40) some 103 million in profits, thus losing \$125,000,000 in the process. To paraphrase Prof. Allyn, "taking the Chrysler enterprise over a period of ten years, there is no such thing as profit; losses just about equal profit."

Operating for Philanthropy

This just about makes Chrysler a prospective bankrupt. But Chrysler does not complain. No. The corporation proudly points out that these dividends are "paid out of earnings which, through prudent management, the corporation has been able to set aside, after paying the cost of operating the business." (p. 40)

Moreover, according to its own statement, "few corporations in the United States have been able to maintain such consistent returns to investors throughout the last ten years" (p. 40). Obviously, the other corporations in this country are traveling even faster on the road of making profits equal losses than Chrysler. They operate their enterprises, it seems, only to keep pumping billions into the hands of the shiftless Joneses.

Soak the Poor

"Sound finance today obviously calls for the lowering of rates of taxation in the higher brackets and a real stiffening of the rates in the lower brackets accompanied by a reduction of the exemptions. But a combination more unattractive politically can scarcely be conceived. There is danger (heart heart) that if the task is faced at all some device which throws the added burden of taxation less obviously on those with small means will be preferred..." (p. 5)

Justice, to say nothing of sound finance demands that the poor (or as Mr. May mildly calls them "those with small means") who receive the bulk of the billions should pay the bulk of the taxation. But as Mr. May admits, the railings of demagogues say nothing of the greed, selfishness and immorality of the Joneses make it impossible to approach the question openly and on a sound basis. Dangerous subterfuges must be resorted to in stead.

Such are the dangers and miseries and hypocrisies of American Big Business.

We are no humanitarians, but even from that standpoint it would be the height of humanitarianism to put Business out of its misery, and silence its Voice once and for all. It is a big but necessary job. And there is only one way to do it: overthrow capitalism, voice and all, and establish the workers' state. The sooner the workers get down to their own business the better.

READY FEBRUARY

The Third International After Lenin

By LEON TROTSKY

Partial Contents:

A Letter to the Sixth Congress of the Comintern.

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Detroit Motor Strike Enters Its Third Month in Face of Heavy Odds

(Continued from Page 1)

the industry and indicates the preparations necessary to be made by the unions when they embark seriously on this epic struggle. Because the Green-Frey crowd have been wasting time for the last two years, the Motor Products strikers now find themselves isolated in their fight and find it impossible to spread the strike. They are paying for the criminal lethargy and betrayals of the Collins-Dillon-Green gang. The policies of this gang do not merely prevent strikes; they only localize them, isolate them when they do occur and make it easy for the manufacturers to crush these sporadic outbursts. It is an open secret that the A. F. of L. is pursuing a deliberate policy of just "staying" in the field to prevent the formation of any independent unions which would take over the job of organizing the industry. Ten, fifteen years ago this infamous scheme might have succeeded in its aims; unfortunately Green and Frey were born too late. The current is running against them.

Before a serious battle with the manufacturers can be envisaged, a bold, nation-wide organizing campaign must be undertaken involving the Detroit, Toledo, Cleveland, the South Bend and Milwaukee districts, simultaneously. An organizing fund of large proportions must be raised and a crew of experienced organizers placed in the field. The manufacturers will ruthlessly isolate any local strike without regard to cost or loss of profits. Any important strike must therefore stop production of at least one of the "big three."

Dillon to the Bosses' Rescue

Even though the strikers are isolated and find themselves, to-date, unable to spread the strike to other plants, and the manufacturers have the aid of the government officials, the police and the press, the N.M.T.A. would very likely have completely failed in its efforts to break the strike, were it not for the timely and generous aid of the champion union buster in the industry, Francis J. Dillon, Pres. of the United Automobile Workers of America.

The Motor Products strike was first called on Nov. 15th by the Automotive Industrial Workers of America. (Coughlin Union) The 1400 members of this organization walked out solidly to a man; the 200 members of the M.E.S.A. in the tool and dye departments walked out in sympathy and the two A.F. of L. unions in the plant, the Metal Polishers and the Auto Workers, followed suit. The strike was thus 100 percent effective and the Motor Products plant shut down tighter than a drum. The management met with the union representatives and offered some wage increases. The committee insisted upon their original demands. The management arranged a meeting with the union representatives a day or two later to attempt to reach a satisfactory agreement at that time. To all appearances it looked as if an agreement would be concluded in short order and the strike quickly settled.

"Smash the Strike"—Says Green At this juncture the A. F. of L. "Brain trust" in Washington got the "jitters." A few weeks before the three independent unions federated, the next thing heard was an organizing campaign at the Motor Products plant. Now a strike is called, the walkout 100 percent effective, the plant shut down and to all appearances a decisive victory in the offing. The prestige the independent unions would command in the event of victory might shatter all the possibilities for the A. F. of L. Auto International. They recognized in the strike the authentic voice of the workers in the mass production industries crying aloud for a new Unionism, industrial in structure, democratic in form and militant in its policies. If they

could only beat down the spirit and initiative of these workers if they could only wipe out their hopes, then their moth-eaten unionism of a hundred years ago might still survive and with God's aid they might patch it up somehow with Lewis, Dubinsky and Hillman. The word went out:—"Send the A. F. of L. men back to work; smash the independent unions and break the strike." The weaker their position, the more peremptory and domineering became the "papal bulls" of the bureaucracy.

Dillon was in dilemma. Undoubtedly, from Detroit, even he could see the step proposed was risky and fraught with great danger. But what could he do? Commanding no respect in Detroit, he could not afford to lose the support of Washington. Like the steady old wheel-horse that he is, he dutifully, and through somewhat painfully, went through the prescribed paces. On Nov. 20th, a statement appeared in the press over his signature that the "Motor Products strike is the most ill-advised and unpopular strike ever called in Detroit." He predicted that it would "flap" and announced that he would "negotiate his men back to work."

A Disgraceful Spectacle

On Nov. 25th, the A. F. of L. auto union members, apparently in accordance with a prearranged plan, assembled in front of the A. F. of L. Motor Products local headquarters. Shortly before starting time they moved in a mass towards the factory entrance, escorted by mounted policemen, scout cars, and patrolmen. Leading the procession were McDonald and Isard, A. F. of L. organizers and Ed. Hall, General Secretary of the A. F. of L. Auto International. The A. F. of L. men were passed through the picket line while the A. F. of L. officials draped themselves around the entrance and they were through the gate. The strike Bulletin that day characterized this scene as "a new low in working class betrayals."

With the exception of the A. F. of L. men, (300-400 men) the strike front held solid. Dillon failed in his attempt to start a back-to-work stampede. His efforts on behalf of the manufacturers, however, were not entirely wasted. The A. F. of L. men walking through the picket lines created confusion and hysteria in the strike ranks; the solid phalanx was broken. After Lieutenant Dillon had executed the flank maneuver, the manufacturers began wheeling their heavy artillery to the front for an open, head-on attack. All negotiations were promptly broken off with the independent unions; Chrysler and Ford stepped into the picture, the N.M.T.A. took over the leadership of the strike. Approximately a thousand scabs were imported and the police was ordered to stop all picketing.

Changed Conditions

In by-gone days, the A. F. of L. craft unions scabbled on many strikes conducted by independent unions, as part of a deliberate policy to wipe out "dual" unions. Dozens of union officials ordered their men to walk through picket lines. Strikes were thus broken and the officials kept their position and their prestige, apparently, did not suffer. Times, however, have changed. A unionism based upon a minority of skilled craft workers when the supply of skilled labor was limited and unemployment almost unknown, who advanced their own interests at the expense of the whole working class is far different than the new unionism with a membership of mass production workers in industries where skilled lines are practically obliterated and the constant threat of unemployment hangs over their heads.

The independent unions, headed by the Mechanics Educational Society of America, promptly directed a withering fire at Dillon and spread the story of his apostasy to every part of the country, while a steady drum fire was kept up calling for the establishment of a joint strike

committee for the successful conduct of the strike. In two weeks time, the pressure upon Dillon grew unbearable. Resolutions condemning his action poured into the Detroit office from all parts of the country. On Dec. 8th, he packed his suitcases and rushed off to Washington for further advice. Daylor and Parry of the Motor Products Strike Committee left for Washington the same day to lay their case before William Green and to secure if possible the support of the Committee for Industrial Unionism. At a conference Daylor and Parry held with Dillon at his hotel room in Washington, Parry asked Dillon: "Let me ask you a simple question, are you going to bring your men out on strike?"

Dillon replied, "God damn it, No! I never intended to and I do not intend to now!"

Green Retreats Under Fire

But the Grand Schemers at Washington realized things had gone too far. The tide is simply not running with the craft unionists these days. It is slowly beginning to penetrate the skulls of Frey and Green that they cannot do the things to-day which they considered normal years ago. This strike as the battles of the drivers in Minneapolis and the Maritime workers of the West coast, reveals with burning clarity the drive and urge of the workers in the mass production industries for a new unionism. The split in the top ranks of the American Federation of Labor, with one section of it forming the Committee for Industrial Unionism did not inaugurate this movement; the Committee is merely a reflection of the deep and profound revolt, which has started from below in the ranks of the workers themselves against the old and corrupt craft unionism. Green and his crowd realized they must draw back as they were already badly compromised and were facing a break in the leadership of the Auto International itself. With Homer Martin, the Vice-Pres. of the International swinging over to the Lewis camp.

Dillon returned to Detroit and after a little more fumbling and hedging, the A. F. of L. local voted to strike and all A. F. of L. members were called out on the picket line. By this time, however, the situation had gotten out of hand and was completely out of Dillon's control. The "support" of Dillon came two months too late.

Union Launches Counter Attack

The strike is now being conducted by a joint strike committee of the independent unions and the A. F. of L. All strike meetings are held under joint auspices and addressed by the speakers of both organizations. The manufacturer's campaign of terrorization was answered by the launching of an organization campaign by both the independent unions and the A. F. of L. to some of the key unorganized plants in Detroit. Whatever may be the immediate outcome of the struggle, the Motor Products strike has already earned an honorable place in the pioneering work for the New Unionism. If the strike does not accomplish another thing, it will already have recorded a brilliant achievement in uniting the forces of the automobile workers and bringing the day nearer of one powerful union in the automobile and auto parts industry.

On the background of the decline of American economy and its inevitable effects upon the conditions of the millions of workers in the key industries of the country, the events in Detroit became a harbinger of the decisive struggles in store for the near future and their consequences. Only a new unionism, militant, aggressive and class conscious can cope with the titanic scope of the work involved in organizing the workers of the mass production industries. The movement for that unionism has already begun. The Motor Products strike brings the day nearer when that unionism will actually appear.

Labor Skate Disbands Militant San Diego City Labor Council

(Continued from Page 1)

That there are industries in search of a cheap labor market is natural after the strike waves of the past two years. The Real estate agents were able to convince the executive of the Consolidated Aircraft Corp. of Buffalo, who encountered a long and costly strike last year, that San Diego was the place where labor was cheapest and most efficient. This is only in keeping with the tradition of Southern California real estate agents.

The coming of the Consolidated Aircraft Corp. to San Diego late last year whetted their appetites. And casting about them they found a growing Progressive Labor movement which would be harmful to the attractive power of San Diego as a seab city. That additional pressure has been exerted upon the reactionary union bureaucrats can be said with complete assurance.

After having dissolved the Federated Trades Council with a twist of the wrist and not a few plug-nugles hanging around for moral sup-

port, Casey ordered that the delegates be elected in a different manner. It is important to note that the next week, even after Casey had done all the packing of unions he was able (this was considerable) plus intimidation, threats, etc., progressives were returned in even greater number than they had been previously.

The Race with Time

At present Casey is stalling for time, which is made possible by the fact that many of the Progressives still cherish illusions about getting redress through appealing to Green and the Executive Council. Although this illusion is quite natural for relatively uninitiated workers for the Progressives it may prove their undoing.

In time Casey will be able to use all the tricks he has learned from his father, who was a bureaucrat when Joe was an infant, and from Tobin under whom he served to demoralize the rank and file. In time Casey may be able to muster sufficient support from reactionary In-

Akron Barons Concede

(Continued from Page 1)

plant last spring which bottled up all motor production by that company.

The 2,500 workers sat down at the machines in two twelve hour shifts, keeping anyone else from touching them. Women in nearby departments joined the movement.

Company Tries Obstinacy

Of course, the company scorned even talking to a union committee at first. They also gave Sherman Dairymple, United Rubber Workers president, a run-around.

But as the workers stood firm, united 100 percent, with non-unionists and unionists in solid agreement, and as workers in plant 2 began talking of a "sitdown" the company shifted its position.

It met with the workers committee but flatly refused to consider reinstatement of the unionist. The union was just as tough in its refusal to tell the men to return to work until the issue was settled. So the union prepared to keep the workers in the factory during the weekend, meanwhile calling a general meeting Sunday afternoon to consider what action to take.

Naturally, considerable agitation for closing the entire plant and pulling a bona-fide strike began to develop, and the company doesn't have its spring replacement tires produced yet.

Force Wages for "Strike"

Thus the company was forced to agree to reinstate the unionist, although it made its proposition to the union secretary rather than the union committee as a whole in an effort to save its face.

Not only that, but the company agreed to pay every worker who sat down at his machine half of his wages during the entire cessation of work! Obviously this was to placate the hard feelings of the workers towards this autocratically-run company.

The victory brought additional results within a day. Over 100 workers rejoined the union.

The "pace" maker who precipitated the struggle was a company pet sent into the department to build a higher number of tires than the average so that the company could introduce another wage cut by demanding higher average production. This is the typical form of company anti-labor activities in departments.

BULLETIN

By JACH WILSON

AKRON, Ohio, Feb. 1.—Quickly adopting the successful strategy of Firestone workers, plitmen and tire builders at Goodyear sat-down at their jobs last night in protest against a 10 percent wage cut.

Over 250 plitmen started the shut-down that paralyzed all tire production and brought 2,000 workers to their banner within a few hours. Again the movement was spontaneous!

A "rank and file" committee elected by the workers met with Fred Cline, personnel manager and H. T. Gillan, production superintendent but refused to go back to work pending settlement.

The company retaliated by closing the gates to workers coming in at the midnight shift throwing the main parts of the huge factory into darkness.

The Goodyear local shop committee was to meet today to decide the course of the United Rubber Workers. Strong demand that the union lead a Goodyear-wide strike which would involve 15,000 workers is expected to be made.

Internationals which will put pressure on local unions to change the relationship of forces.

However at the present time the rank and file is solidly behind the progressives and if they will learn a lesson or two from Minneapolis, if they will choose the road of boldly combating Casey together with the rank and file, of daring to stand out decisively for a policy keeping the Federated Trades intact, they will find that Casey will have been easily vanquished and the road ahead made clearer.

There are many dangers in the path of the progressives, however, not the least of which is Stalinism. As usual the Stalinists are playing the ostrich with the newly acquired fetishism of "legality" and "constitutionalism", offering nothing to the situation and contributing to the confusion of the militants. They feel that Green upon hearing of the mischief Black Sheep Casey is doing, will immediately look up that clause in the Constitution and straighten every thing out to the satisfaction of the "subversives"! With such preparation upon finding that Green and the Constitution will back up Casey on every point, many of the progressives may receive such a shock as to react incorrectly, alienate the rank and file, and cut themselves off.

However, the ideas of the class struggle are penetrating the ranks of the progressives which, if they take root in time, will assure the San Diego labor movement a fight to the finish with bureaucracy and reaction.

The People's Front as Applied in China - 1927

Hitherto Unpublished Document Reveals
Betrayal of Revolution Through
This Policy

Editor's Note: We publish below, in part, the minutes of the Chinese Sub-Committee of the Executive Committee of the Communist International held in Moscow in May 1927. These minutes have been published for the first time in French by Albert Treint, former member of the E.C.C.I. and leader of the French Communist party.

The reader will clearly see "how things happened." The Stalinist leadership, in its endeavor to safeguard the interests of their bourgeois allies, the landed nobility among the generals, curbed the peasant insurrection, the rising of the oppressed.

The bourgeoisie, after having triumphed over the reactionaries with the aid of the exploited workers and peasants, drowned in blood the revolt of the peasants and the workers' insurrection.

The document below shows the tremendous responsibility borne by Stalin for the defeat of the Chinese Revolution. This document should be of especial value today when the People's Front propaganda of the Communist party and its actual realization in France repeats in broad outlines, if not in detail, the Kuo Min Tang policy in China.

Analytic Report by Albert Treint

The Chinese Sub-Committee was composed of Bukharin, Ercoli, and Treint. Stalin, who was summoned by phone by Bukharin, took a decisive part at the end of the meeting.

Bukharin reported on the situation in China. The peasants are beginning to forcibly seize the land. This is frightening the Wuhan government (Left bourgeois government—Ed.). If we do not curb the agrarian movement, we will lose our left allies and it will become impossible to win a majority in the Kuo Min Tang. On the other hand, by curbing it, we will enlarge our influence in it; and when we will have become more powerful, we will go beyond our present allies and we will also have much more than we desired.

Treint: Maintains that the problem is not whether to sacrifice all the allies of the proletariat but of knowing which one to sacrifice: the insurgent peasants or the left national bourgeoisie. We will no more be able, tomorrow than today, to make the revolution in China by means of the constitutional decisions adopted in the Kuo Min Tang. The bourgeoisie will attempt to annihilate us by force of arms before we have been able to win a solid majority.

The discussion between Bukharin and Treint continued for some time, each of the disputants maintaining his position. Ercoli does not speak. He is obviously restrained, for if he leans towards Treint's thesis he hesitates to oppose the leadership of the Russian party.

Bukharin, finding himself in a critical position, demands that the sub-committee hear Stalin.

While Bukharin is out telephoning, a conversation ensues between Treint and Ercoli, in which the latter goes as far as to say that the policy pursued in China and the methods employed in the International are incompatible with the formation of a revolutionary vanguard.

Stalin arrives. He declares himself in agreement with Bukharin. Treint does not take the real situation in China into consideration. To fail to take a position at the present time against the peasant revolts would be to set the left bourgeoisie against us. That would mean civil war. But the armed Chinese are composed out of mercenaries and we do not dispose of adequate financial resources to have them on our side.

Treint remarks that the mercenary soldiers, by and large, are ruined peasants who will desert to participate in the division of the land if we support the agrarian revolution. It is not a question of paying them with money but of allowing them to pay themselves in kind at the expense of the landed proprietors.

Stalin declares that this thesis is correct in general but that it cannot be applied in the present situation. The left bourgeoisie is still powerful. Its armies will not disband in the twink of an eye and we will then be defeated in civil war before the insurgent agrarians are able to connect with the proletarian insurrection. Stalin reads several telegrams from Borodin showing that the leadership of the Kuo Min Tang has decided to struggle against the agrarian revolution even at cost of a split with the Third International. Stalin concludes: It is not a question of knowing whether the views of Treint are correct in general but of knowing whether they can be applied in the present situation. To fight or to maneuver? That is the question to be resolved. The sub-committee must give a clear answer.

Treint: We must fight!

Stalin: To fight now means certain defeat. By maneuvering we gain time and the possibility of becoming stronger and fighting later on in conditions where victory can be counted on.

Treint: I do not think that defeat is certain today. If we side against the agrarian risings, we will not have the peasants with us later; and the proletarian revolution, which cannot triumph without their support, will be relegated to the Greek Calends.

Stalin: One can maneuver without compromising anything. The agrarian revolution frightens the Kuo Min Tang only in the degree that it directly injures its members as well as the officers of its armies.

I propose to send instructions to Borodin to oppose the confiscation and division of the land belonging to the members of the Kuo Min Tang or to the officers of the National Army.

Treint: A real revolution will know how to regard such "taboos."

Bukharin: Why not? Besides there are no methods of doing otherwise.

Treint: And if, which is inevitable, the peasants in revolt pass beyond the limitations set by Stalin, must we also support the bourgeois leadership of the Kuo Min Tang which will not fail to resort to violence to make its will respected?

Bukharin: We are a revolutionary party and we have no fear of employing violence. We must utilize every method to put our decisions into effect.

Treint: That was the policy of the Marquis de Bonlieu against the French revolution in 1792. It cannot be the policy of our revolutionary International in 1927.

Stalin: Bukharin carries the matter to its extreme logical conclusion. But things will not happen that way. We possess sufficient authority over the Chinese masses to make them accept our decisions. Once again I pose the question: To fight or to maneuver?

Treint: I do not know the situation in China well enough to be certain that it would be impossible to maneuver without suffering a defeat. Let us admit that the maneuver is necessary and possible, which does not appear at all certain, then the maneuver must remain a maneuver.

Ercoli: Of course!

Treint: Then, I demand that we oppose all attempts of the Wuhan government and the Kuomintang by force of arms to make respected the limitations of the agrarian revolution and that very strict instructions in this sense be attached to the directives which Stalin proposes to send to Borodin.

Stalin: We are basically in agreement; but it is useless to send instructions relating to this problem. I repeat that we have enough authority in China over the masses not to need to utilize coercion.

Ercoli: Since Stalin has declared himself in basic agreement, I believe that Treint can place his confidence in comrade Stalin.

Treint: You are the majority, you can decide what you like; but if the supplementary instructions which I have requested are not sent to Borodin, I will make public my reservations before the plenary session of the Executive.

Bukharin: The minority must be disciplined. I demand that comrade Treint renounce his plan (to make public his reservations—Tr.).

Stalin and Ercoli signify their agreement.

Treint: So serious a question is involved here that no force on earth will prevent me from formulating my reservations in such a manner that they will be heard. Or, are you going to employ physical violence against me?

Stalin: Don't get dramatic.

With these words the session adjourned.

Not long after the sending of Stalin's directives to Borodin, Tang Pin Shan, Communist minister of agriculture in the Kuo Min Tang, accepted the command of a military expedition against the agrarian revolution. The scandal was so great that Stalin had to send a telegraphic counter-order. Tang Pin Shan yielded with joy and ease. But the bourgeoisie had taken a step further. The Chinese peasants were defeated and the Chinese revolution annihilated.

A month before, the working class, then master of Shanghai, had refused Chiang Kai-shek's troops entry into the city. Stalin lifted this ban by a telegraphic order. Once inside Chiang Kai-shek closed the halls of the party

Anton Ciliga Describes Wrecking of Yugoslav C.P.; Tells of Opposition Struggle in the Soviet Union

1. Pages From Internal Life in Yugoslavia

In the years from 1925 to 1929 a strong colony of Yugoslavia Communists (about 120) gathered gradually in Moscow. In most cases they were responsible party activists, men with considerable revolutionary record, experienced and tempered in underground activity. These were not emigres (with few exceptions) but in their overwhelming majority men who had been temporarily ordered to Moscow for party work. They arrived in Moscow from their active work in the Yugoslav party and were to return there. In the overwhelming number of cases they were workers.

Among these activists a sharp factional struggle was waged between the supporters of the Right and Left groups of the Yugoslav Communist party. From 1926 to 1928, Moscow "entrusted" the leadership of the Yugoslav C. P. to the Right group (S. Markovitch) but in view of the fact that the more revolutionary elements predominated among those who came to Moscow, the Lefts were always very strong. During the above mentioned period the Right party leadership (the Political Bureau) had managed to compromise itself to such a degree that the irate plenum of the C.E.C. of the party (winter, 1927-28) removed the old Political Bureau and elected another, a Left Bureau (or, rather, a semi-left). But the C.E.C. was reckoning without its host. The host at that time was Bukharin, Gorkich, Manuilsky, and they annulled the decision of the C.E.C. dissolved the so-called Left Bureau, and stole it was utterly impossible to restore the old Right leadership, they did something much worse.

The triumvirate of Bukharin-Gorkich-Manuilsky recruited some sort of a crew that had never had anything in common with the Yugoslav movement, some adventurers from all the five continents, and sent them as fully empowered emissaries ("mandatories") into the country. In order to complete this mockery of the Yugoslav party, this gang was entitled a "workers' leadership"; as a matter of fact, a couple of honest workers were included to serve only as props and victims (e.g. comrade Djuro Djakovic-Bosnich who was later murdered by the Yugoslav reaction). In order to facilitate the conquest of the Yugoslav flock by these Magi from the East, nobody from the Moscow party activists was permitted to leave for Yugoslavia. They did more than that. Anybody who was in the least "suspect" in Yugoslavia itself was shipped to Moscow under various pretexts.

In short, the "mandatories" functioned. They already envisaged themselves as complete victors and what is more important—within a month or so, or a half-year, or a year they, who were people without any background in any sort of a movement, would soon be in possession of a record so necessary for underground activity. And a career a world career in the Comintern would be open to them. Everything would have gone smoothly had their fate depended upon Moscow alone. But, sad to say, Belgrade also has a word or two to say in Yugoslavia.

And in Belgrade a military-Fascist overturn took place on January 6, 1929, and there ensued a bloody Balkan extirpation of every sort of opposition. A genuine underground activity now became necessary and the need was for men capable of going to their doom without the flicker of an eye. The "mandatories" were panic-stricken, terrified. They, like all adventurers, had estimated much too lightly their chances of success and of a career. Now what was in question were not their careers but their heads.

And then there occurred an unheard-of and a most infamous catastrophe. At this critical moment "the best section" of the mandatories left the party, the Y.C.I. and the workers' movement in general to their fate and fled as fast as legs, railways, and airplanes could carry them from Yugoslavia to Moscow. This squad of deserters was headed by the ideologist of the entire "course"—Gorkich. That is the way the "best of them" behaved. Those who were a little worse remained in Yugoslavia and passed into the service of the police. And the worse ones, it turned out, had been provocateurs all the time; they had insured themselves from both sides at the very outset.

Among them was the chief "mandatory"—one Brezovich. It is worth while to dwell a little on him, because Brezovich is not an accidental figure in the present day Comintern. Brezovich, as is well known, had also been a member of the Political Bureau of the Chinese, Japanese, French, and many other parties. At a given moment, the bureaucratic degeneration facilitates the passage to provocateurs. The spirit of bureaucratic Byzantinism reigning throughout the entire Comintern makes it easy for the provocateurs to worm their way to the tops. Brezovich never took any part in the Yugoslav workers' movement. During the world war he was captured by the Russian troops. During the N.E.P. he turned up in the Comintern party, and after the annihilation of the Zinoviev opposition he made a career in Leningrad, becoming a district agitprop (in charge of agitation and propaganda). From there Gorkich-Bukharin-Manuilsky shipped him to Yugoslavia, placing in his hands the entire organizational and technical apparatus of the party. And in 1928 at the Sixth World Congress he was promoted to the Senior Convent (the ranking mem-

bers) of the Congress despite the fact that in accordance with the decision of the plenum of the C.E.C. of the Yugoslav C.P. an old worker had been slated for the post. In order to prepare completely for their machination, Gorkich-Bukharin-Manuilsky organized the matter in such a way as to delay the arrival of this worker to the Congress (the spent days waiting in one of the border cities for permission to depart) while the scoundrel Brezovich appeared in Moscow even prior to the Congress, and in this way, as if of necessity, he was elected to the Convent. As we see, Brezovich's progress indicates a very characteristic lawfulness.

Gorkich saved his hide. He had managed, together with Manuilsky, to pass in time to the service of Stalin. A few others also saved themselves. In their case, the matter was settled without a catastrophe: their careers were not broken off. But, in return, the Yugoslav workers' movement was betrayed into the hands of bestial reaction, it was disarmed and disorganized. In order to cover up their desertion, Gorkich and other leaders of the Comintern afterwards calmly sent tens and hundreds of men to their doom. In 1929-1933 the same thing was repeated in Yugoslavia which had occurred previously, but on a much larger scale, in China, and that which was perpetrated earlier and later in a number of other countries. When the working class will finally call the guilty to account, it will be the day of dreadful judgment—a judgment not so much of the Gorkiches, Manuilskys and Co.—for they are only pitiable flunkys—as of the true masters, the true organizers and inspirers of all the extirpations and defeats of the international revolutionary movement from 1922-23 on: the Political Bureau of the C.P.S.U., the Bureau of the chief bureaucracy.

The unprecedented cowardice and villainess of the "Comintern leadership" after January 6, 1929 aroused a fearful indignation among the Moscow Yugoslav activists, especially among the Left group which numbered over 50. Among them, and at their head were the Trotskyist Opposition group numbering about 10, and working semi-illegally among the "national left." The Yugoslav national left, which arose back in 1921 on the basis of the demand for underground organization and activity and which grew in strength somewhat on the new and peasant questions, was and is still distinguished by its complete "national narrowness."

It is unable and it refuses (fundamentally) to tie up its own questions and struggles with the questions and struggles of other left groups of the former Comintern. The Yugoslav "Lefts" delude themselves with thinking that by such conduct they do not ruin themselves to impotence; and that by

the army of the Ruhr began to disintegrate! Poincare let loose a ruthless repression. About 200 arrests were made: German workers, wives, young girls, civilians, French soldiers and sub-officers were imprisoned.

But fraternization triumphed over the repression!

In Gelsenkirchen, a mutiny took place in a French aviation camp. Ten soldiers were arrested. In Neustadt, the 28th regiment of sharpshooters refused to fire on the German unemployed who had occupied the City Hall. In Duisburg, a patrol of Belgian soldiers placed themselves at the head of a demonstration, singing the Internationale.

In a frenzy, Poincare ordered all Comintern headquarters raided and occupied. The German comrades were sentenced to more than 100 years of prison.

Repression and Evacuation

In the trial at Mayence, after a parody of justice, in true military style, tens of years of prison sentences were passed out (R. Sozeray, 10 years; Harduin, Lemire, Lingat, 2 years; the civilians Beckovic, Ben, Lekhal, Dyshe, Fife, etc.).

But this did not in the least subdue the spirit of fraternization, which did more for the evacuation of the Ruhr than a hundred sittings of the League of Nations.

This fraternization was splendidly organized by the Communist youth of France as of Germany and the Ruhr.

Let us remember their example at this time when the Y.C.I. of today is immersed in social-patriotism and in all likelihood has never even heard of the famous events of the Ruhr.

And let us learn well from the example of our French and German brothers in 1923 for it may not be long distant when we will be called upon to follow in their footsteps.

READ THE NEW MILITANT

In these works are to be found a record of the whole disastrous policy of the Comintern in the last

pursuing this "tactic" they do not give the trump cards to the Rights but prepare their own coming to party power with the assistance of and through the Comintern.

The Opposition group of Bolshevik-Leninists was formed only in 1928 in Moscow after the experience of the Kuisk bread strike, after becoming disillusioned with the Stalinist "self-criticism" and disagreeing with the struggle "on two fronts." This opposition group, as has been said, headed the dissatisfaction which flared up sharply and elementally against the conduct of the "Comintern leadership," and at a general meeting in February, 1928, a resolution condemning this conduct received more than 90 votes as against five who voted for the leadership and who defended the leadership of this representation.

2. The Struggle for the Right to Depart

In May, 1930, a sort of conference of our group took place in Moscow. I came from Leningrad to this conference in Moscow. At the conference we worked out theses and outlined our work. In its view, in all its internal shadings, our group belonged to the extreme left wing of the Bolshevik-Leninists, and on some questions drew close to the Democratic Centralist group. These theses spoke of the necessity of advancing the slogan of a new party after the 16th Congress (in the summer of 1930) which rejected the appeal of the Opposition; of the task of "reform" by revolutionary methods; of the turn from "propaganda to agitation"; of the propaganda and preparation of economic strikes (because the industrialization is being effected at the cost of terrible exploitation of the proletariat); in event of the economic strikes taking place, to advance, subsequently, political slogans as well (the return of the Opposition from exile, and of L. D. Trotsky from abroad).

A few Russian comrades were members of our group (Glybovski, Zankov and others) and we had some contacts with factories and a small apparatus. The group consisted of a live center: of members who did not participate in the center and of candidates; and then there were also sympathizers, "liberals" who helped the group in various ways. At that time I had prospects of sending certain important Comintern material to comrade Trotsky abroad.

Immediately after the conference our group (the center) was arrested. It was established that an individual who served as the contact between our group and the district and the Moscow center had for some time been a provocateur (obviously, in order to escape exile). Members who did not participate in the center and candidates remained untouched because the provocateur did not know them but

tive and reporter of the Comintern, this petty Bessarabian "son of a noble" who took refuge on Soviet shores. . . .

After such a demonstrative condemnation of the Comintern "leadership," the latter assumed a counter-offensive through the medium of a Commission of the "C.E.C. of the C.P.S.U. and of the Comintern" (headed by the notorious former Menshevik, Popov). Forty were censured; twenty were sent into "party" exile; three were expelled for "one year" from the party. A section of our opposition group remained in Moscow (Haebertling, Zankov, Glybovski and others); another section (Dragulich, Dadich and myself) went to Leningrad; a third section elsewhere. This took place in the summer and autumn of 1929.

Instead, a number of innocent bystanders were arrested (several Yugoslavs and one girl, a Swedish Y.C.I'er). They were under suspicion because of some sort of external clue, i.e., they looked suspicious. Instead of a meeting with the representative of the Moscow center, the provocateur organized an interview for me with another agent of the G.P.U. I discussed our theses with him, and certain aspects of transmitting the above mentioned material to comrade Trotsky.

Immediately before the arrest we were seized by alarm, sensing the danger. One of us, comrade Dragulich worked as a lathe-man at the "Elektrosila" plant and was on night shift at the time and therefore escaped arrest that evening; he went into hiding and was arrested only three months later. During this time he managed to take a trip to Moscow and contact, among others, the Spanish comrade Nin and to inform him about the arrest of our group. But we had no previous contacts with comrade Nin, nor, indeed, did we keep up contacts with several others (out of cautiousness); soon thereafter comrade Nin himself was deported from the U.S.S.R. and comrade Dragulich was arrested (during his arrest at night, on a street in Leningrad, the agents of the G.P.U. fired at comrade Dragulich when he attempted to flee from them). As for myself, although at that time I did think it necessary to demand permission to leave, I did not strive energetically enough for it. So many things were still unclear to me: both what is and whether things were heading; how reaction would take shape in the future, and how it had originally come about and what were the laws governing the Russian revolution. . . .

—A. CILIGA.

(Subsequent issues will carry the continuation of comrade Ciliga's article.)

Revolutionary Defeatism in Practice in the Ruhr in 1923

Several years after the war the French industrialists were in possession of iron, but they had no coal. And without coal there is no method of transforming iron into steel.

The iron magnates looked greedily at the riches of the Ruhr (Germany), which had in its soil the very thing which would permit the French steel mills to operate at full blast.

The Comite des Forges (heavy industry monopoly in France) demanded this coal!

These "hidden material interests," cloaked by Poincare with deceptive words about security, peace, the maintenance of civilization, provoked the invasion and the occupation of Westphalia and the Ruhr.

Plan of Action Formulated

The mass of the people accepted this marauding expedition. In the name of the proletariat, the Communist party and the Communist Youth in this period proclaimed its opposition to this new threat of war. In Germany, to the grip of nationalism and misery, the presence of French soldiers could not but ignite new causes of conflict.

The delegates of the French and German proletariat met in Essen (Germany) for action amongst the proletarian masses. They formulated a plan of struggle against their respective governments. The task was not simple, propaganda for fraternization was difficult. It was necessary to struggle energetically against the chauvinist wave.

At the beginning of January, 1923, the French troops, penetrating into German territory, were astonished to read posters on the walls calling upon them to fraternize.

This was the first time in history that the method laid down by Lenin

and the trade unions, imprisoned and tortured the militants. Some of them were even burned alive in the furnaces of the locomotives at Chapel. Stalin's "revolutionary" general had revealed himself to be the Gallifet of the Chinese Com-mune.

Leaflets, posters, meetings, papers, everything was utilized as an antidote to the chauvinist poison.

The army of the Ruhr began to disintegrate!

Poincare let loose a ruthless repression. About 200 arrests were made: German workers, wives, young girls, civilians, French soldiers and sub-officers were imprisoned.

But fraternization triumphed over the repression!

In Gelsenkirchen, a mutiny took place in a French aviation camp. Ten soldiers were arrested. In Neustadt, the 28th regiment of sharpshooters refused to fire on the German unemployed who had occupied the City Hall. In Duisburg, a patrol of Belgian soldiers placed themselves at the head of a demonstration, singing the Internationale.

In a frenzy, Poincare ordered all Comintern headquarters raided and occupied. The German comrades were sentenced to more than 100 years of prison.

Repression and Evacuation

In the trial at Mayence, after a parody of justice, in true military style, tens of years of prison sentences were passed out (R. Sozeray, 10 years; Harduin, Lemire, Lingat, 2 years; the civilians Beckovic, Ben, Lekhal, Dyshe, Fife, etc.).

But this did not in the least subdue the spirit of fraternization, which did more for the evacuation of the Ruhr than a hundred sittings of the League of Nations.

This fraternization was splendidly organized by the Communist youth of France as of Germany and the Ruhr.

Let us remember their example at this time when the Y.C.I. of today is immersed in social-patriotism and in all likelihood has never even heard of the famous events of the Ruhr.

And let us learn well from the example of our French and German brothers in 1923 for it may not be long distant when we will be called upon to follow in their footsteps.

READ THE NEW MILITANT

"The Press Is the Collective Organizer" --Lenin

One of the most powerful weapons of a revolutionary Party is its press. Without literature which expresses the ideas and program of the party very little substantial progress can be made. On every important issue confronting the American working class such as the war danger, trade union problems, unemployment, the Soviet Union, the Party must get its program before the working class.

Especially today with the bankruptcy of the two old internationals, the second and the third, it is necessary to bring the revolutionary doctrines of the Fourth International before as large an audience as possible.

The war in Ethiopia, which threatens to engulf the whole of humanity, poses before the working class a life and death struggle. The social patriotic position of both the Socialist and Communist parties in the face of the coming war necessitates redoubled effort on the part of the Fourth Internationalists to meet the tide of social chauvinism which will sweep the nation at the outbreak of war.

For the task of educating the vanguard in the principles of revolutionary Marxism a strong press must be built which will issue pamphlets and books on the fundamental problems of the day.

Pioneer Publishers is making a beginning in this direction with the publication of THE SELECTED WORKS OF LEON TROTSKY, at popular prices within the reach of every worker.

The publication of this material upon which the movement for the Fourth International is based, will be of incalculable value to the Party in its work of preparing the American workers for the struggles to come.

In these works are to be found a record of the whole disastrous policy of the Comintern in the last

ten years; the struggle of the Russian Communist Party; the suicidal policy of the Stalinist bureaucracy with regard to the peasantry; the disagreements over such burning problems as National Minorities, Industrialization, the alliance with the Kuomintang which destroyed the communist movement in China, the Anglo-Russian Committee, the catastrophe in Germany, etc.

The first volume of the SELECTED WORKS OF LEON TROTSKY. The Third International After Lenin—fully annotated, will be ready in January. It will be a large volume of 400 pages, cloth bound, and will sell for the phenomenally low price of \$1.50.

Every worker who is interested in obtaining this great work is urged to send in his advance order immediately to Pioneer Publishers, 100 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

LEWIS ROSS THE TREASURY

John L. Lewis gave another evidence of his "progressivism" by steamrolling a \$13,000 increase in pay for himself from \$12,000 to \$25,000 in the closing session of the miners convention. Other cronies of Lewis on the executive Board also had their rake-off doubled.

This sentiment of the rank and file toward this grand steal was grimly expressed by an Indiana delegate, J.W. Norrish: "We have miners that are going barefoot, isn't the present salary plenty to sustain any one in a standard of decency and health."

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SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 8, 1936

The Wall Is Cracking

AFTER long years the wall behind which Stalin perpetrates his infamies on his revolutionary opponents and critics is beginning to crack and the terrible truth is making its way to the international working class. The escape of the heroic Tarov established for the first time a direct line of communication from the solitary cells and concentration camp. Now Ciliga, former member of the political bureau of the Communist party of Yugoslavia has emerged from the living grave to report that foreign communists as well as Russians are hounded, persecuted and imprisoned if they venture to disagree with Stalin. The revelations concerning the "on of Trotsky and his wife reveal that the "genial leader" celebrates the "irrevocable victory of socialism" by seizing relatives of those political opponents who are out of his reach and holding them as hostages. If indeed he is still holding them and has not done away with them, General impressions of the Stalinist terror against the Bolsheviks are now being supplemented by detailed facts. It is our task to make these facts known to the class-conscious workers, the real friends of the Soviet Union, and thereby to hasten their intervention.

The most timely and appropriate step that can be taken now is to agitate for the sending of an impartial commission to the Soviet Union to investigate the conditions of the revolutionary political prisoners there and to make a public report of their findings. The Sunday Worker explained that Tarov's accusations have already been refuted by "impartial observers" from foreign countries. That, of course, is a fake. The glowing reports of interested "Friends of the Soviet Union," who make up their reports in Moscow hotels and never go near the solitary confinement cells and concentration camps, are not worth the paper they are written on. We speak of an authoritative commission of reputable people who are known for their integrity and incorruptibility as well as for their publicly expressed pro-Soviet attitude. Will such a commission be permitted to enter the Soviet Union and interview the prisoners? If not, the mere refusal will be a confession of guilt which every class-conscious worker will understand.

Along with the agitation for a commission to visit the Soviet Union we must demand the alleviation of the conditions of the prisoners and do something to provide material support for the persecuted victims of Stalin's terror and their families. Money is needed for comrade Tarov to ensure his safety in Europe. Means must be found to relieve the hardships of the Bolshevik prisoners and exiles who are deprived even of the necessary crust of bread by their vengeful tormentors. The revolutionary prisoners in Stalin's jails and concentration camps are the richest capital of the revolution. The conservation of their lives is for the international proletariat an act of self-defense. Honest, class-conscious workers of all tendencies have an interest at stake in this matter of the Soviet political prisoners. They ought to cooperate in organizing this work and pushing it forward.

For the Unity of Unemployed

PERMANENT mass unemployment brings new problems and new forms of labor organization. In the years since the beginning of the crisis the necessity for distinct organizations of the unemployed and part time workers has become increasingly evident, and it is equally evident that such organizations, in order to function with the maximum effectiveness and to promote the class solidarity of the workers, must be an integral part of the general labor movement.

The necessity of this close relationship and cooperation between the organizations of the unemployed and the established trade unions has been especially emphasized by the launching of the federal public works program and the part-time employment of a great number of workers previously unemployed. This cooperation, in turn, is greatly facilitated by the strong organization of the unemployed and part-time workers and their unification everywhere in a single body on a permanent basis.

The unification of the unemployed movement is undoubtedly the next step in the line of progressive development in this field. Whatever the original reasons for the formation of separate organizations of the unemployed there is no justification now for further division. The interests of the unemployed and of the labor movement in general imperatively call for unity.

The unity negotiations between the National Unemployed League and the Workers Alliance of America have offered the best prospect for the combination of all the organized unemployed in a single national organization. The unification of the two largest and most compatible organizations would undoubtedly lay the basis for a general assimilation of the various independent local and state bodies and the Unemployed Councils and provide a powerful stimulus to the further organization of the unorganized. A united national organization thus constituted would reinforce the trade union movement and contribute to the strengthening of the position of all the workers, employed and unemployed.

The failure of the WAA and the NUL up till now to come to an agreement for the unification is all the more to be regretted in view of the immense new possibilities that would be opened up before a united movement. The fact that general agreement exists as to the policies of the unemployed movement reduces possible disagreements to questions of organization and administration, questions which in the

pasture of the case, while important, are decidedly secondary.

In the face of the urgent need for unity, which overshadows all other considerations, leaders who haggle endlessly over these points for reasons of personal ambition or narrow organization patriotism stand self-condemned. This method of struggling for "leadership" is futile anyway. In a broad democratic movement—and the unemployed movement by its very nature cannot be anything else if it is to grow and thrive—those individuals will eventually arrive at the posts of leadership who are qualified to lead. Even organizational maladjustments which may be accepted by the more conscientious leaders for the sake of unity will eventually be rectified in due time in the normal course of development.

We especially urge the leaders of the National Unemployed League, among whom are members of the Workers Party, to take this broad view of the situation and to push forward the unification. This course should be taken even at the cost of organizational concessions demanded by the WAA which may be out of line with the relation of forces between the two organizations. That is the way to serve the interests of the unemployed masses at the present juncture. In any case, the members of the Workers Party in both organizations, as the champions of labor solidarity and the opponents of splits in the economic movement, are duty-bound to fight for the unity of the NUL and the WAA against any who may try to obstruct it and to insist that it be consummated without delay.

The New Labor Press

THE labor awakening signalled by the waves of militant strikes under the Roosevelt administration is beginning to find expression in another form which has its own significance. Headed by the Northwest Organizer, weekly organ of Local 574 at Minneapolis and the brightest trade union paper in the country, in one locality after another new trade union papers representing progressive and militant unionism are springing up. The last few weeks have witnessed the appearance of three other new papers.

The Unionist, published by the Union of All Workers at Austin, Minn., where it dominates the big Hormel packing plant, emerges from its old form as a mimeographed bulletin into a full-sized printed paper. Youngstown Truck Drivers Local 377, following the example of its famous brother local at Minneapolis, brings out a small paper, The Union Guide, to fight the frame-up persecution of its leaders and to promote the cause of progressive unionism. At Toledo, Local 4 of the Mechanics Educational Society, fresh from a victorious strike in the auto accessory plant, is bringing out its own paper, The Industrial Unionist.

Despite technical and editorial shortcomings these new labor papers are all distinguished by one quality that marks them off sharply from the traditional old-line monstrosities of conservatism and dullness humorously called the "labor press": the new papers are alive. They breathe the spirit of struggle and militancy. They contain live news of the struggle in their own localities and elsewhere. And running through all of them like a red thread is to be seen a line which is irreconcilably opposed to the line of the conservative and reactionary labor papers which are so often run as small rackets and instruments of betrayal.

The new trade union papers are harbingers of the coming day when the new unionism, the authentic movement of militant American labor, will come into its own and speak in its own voice. A real labor press is a power. In time of strike and stress even the smallest local sheet can be expended into a daily with the most telling effect, as was demonstrated at Minneapolis during the great strike. The publication of even a small paper often requires great efforts and sacrifices from a comparatively small group of militants. We know this to be the case with several of the new papers we have mentioned. But the results are certain and the objective is worth all the effort ten times over. We wish success to all the new labor papers we have enumerated and to others which, it is to be hoped, will soon follow in their path.

Socialist Call and Daily Worker

THE Trotskyist frame-up of the Stalinists and their slender system in general got a severe jolt from the editorial in the Socialist Call in which Trotsky's standing as a revolutionist and his right to criticize the Stalin regime are vigorously defended. The Call bluntly states that the Daily Worker owes Trotsky an apology, and then adds an ironical postscript: "Are we to assume that the Stalinists, too, have lost any idea of journalistic propriety?" That can safely be assumed.

The position taken by the Socialist Call on the controversy over the Soviet political prisoners distinguishes it favorably from the reformist Socialist press of Europe which suppresses all references to Stalin's persecutions of the Bolsheviks—they know all about it and have no objection—as well as from the New Leader and the Forward which utilize the revelations in order to discredit the Soviet Union in the manner of Hearst. The Call takes a pro-Soviet position and, at the same time, defends the right of revolutionists to criticize the bureaucracy.

But one remark in the editorial, if taken literally, strikes a decidedly false note: "We are not concerned with the truth of the statements in these (Trotsky's) articles." It is possible that this is meant simply to separate the use of the Stalinist frame-up—which the Call condemns out of hand—from the accusations of Trotsky and Tarov. The questions should be separated. But the second is far more important than the first, and revolutionists cannot remain indifferent to it.

The persecution of Bolsheviks strikes a blow at the Soviet Union. Those who believe Tarov's story should raise their voices in protest. If one doubts the truth of Tarov's statements he should call for an investigation by an impartial, pro-Soviet committee to establish the facts. But to say that one is "not concerned" with the truth of the accusations—that is what is really meant—is to express indifference to one of the most burning problems of the Soviet Union, the fate of the genuine revolutionist within its borders. No serious revolutionist in any country can maintain such an attitude.

"revolutionist" is the following, delivered passionately and earnestly: "We Communists will never give up our American Flag to Al Smith's Liberty League, or the Hearsts, and we always have an American Flag at our meetings in remembrance of the Bill of Rights which assures life, liberty and happiness to all." (!)

Avail yourself of the combination New Militant, New International subscription offer. 52 issues of the paper and 12 issues of the magazine can be had, through this offer, for \$2.00.

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A Cry of Protest from A Siberian Exile Camp

Letter of 13 Bolsheviks, Written in 1934, Comes to Light for First Time

We publish below an authentic document, shocking in its revelations of the tortures to which the Stalinist bureaucracy daily submits the best Russian and foreign revolutionists, when the latter come to the U.S.S.R. We make this letter public (written in Jan., 1934) only after great delay because one of the comrades, with whom it deals, has only recently managed to make his way abroad. But the letter retains its full force today because two out of the three Yugoslavians mentioned, and hundreds and thousands of other revolutionists are still in prison and exile in the same conditions so candidly described in this letter of protest. (I.C.L. Press Service.)

To Akulov, Attorney General of the U.S.S.R., Moscow:

On November 23, 1933, the Yugoslav comrade Ciliga, who spent three years in the political solitary at Verkhni-Uralsk, made an attempt at suicide, in the offices of the central bureau of the G.P.U. by slashing his veins. The agents of the G.P.U. succeeded in bandaging the comrade whose blood flowed freely, despite his resistance, and of saving him from death by medical care, although he did lose a great deal of blood.

This attempt at suicide took place at the central offices of the G.P.U., where Ciliga had been taken and after his sudden arrest while he was under medical treatment at Krasnoyarsk, in order to forcibly transport him from Krasnoyarsk to Yenisseisk, even before his treatment was finished. This tragic attempt at suicide by a revolutionary Communist, former member of the Political Bureau of the Yugoslav C.P., who for a number of years carried on his shoulders the full weight of Yugoslav reaction, was not the result of a sudden outburst of despair and of weakness of character, but an act of deliberate protest of an active fighter, deprived of the possibility of participating in the revolutionary struggle, the raison d'être of his life.

The entire past of comrade Ciliga and the system of repressions and persecutions with which the G.P.U. had surrounded him, demonstrate the truth of this contention.

Hounded by Bourgeoisie and Stalin Three Yugoslav Communists, comrades Ciliga, Dedich and Dragulich who had been able to withstand the repressions of the Yugoslav bourgeoisie, came to the U.S.S.R., which they considered, like so many hundreds and thousands of other proletarian revolutionists abroad, to be their socialist fatherland. These three comrades were active functionaries of the Yugoslav C.P. Dedich had been the secretary of the District Committee of the party in a large work-

ers' community. Dragulich was a member of the Central Committee of the party and Ciliga a member of the Political Bureau and on the staff of the central legal organ of the party. All three were hated for good cause by the Yugoslav government, all three could expect the most vicious terror from the Yugoslav bourgeoisie.

These comrades, who found a cruel exploitation of the proletariat in the U.S.S.R. and who had become convinced of the betrayal of the leading group, of its betrayal of the proletarian revolution, joined the opposition and soon shared the fate of the Russian Communists who carry on an unceasing struggle for the proletarian revolution and who, in the U.S.S.R., are also punished for it as they are in other countries by prison, by condemnation to life in concentration camps, by moral and physical abuse, by exile to the remotest corners of Eastern Siberia, to the province of Naryn, to the favorite places where Czarist Russia loved to send its prisoners.

The Hunger Strike

The three comrades, sentenced in 1930 to three years imprisonment were transferred to solitary confinement at Verkhni-Uralsk and cut off not only from the proletarian movement of their own country but also from their families and friends. What the Yugoslav authorities failed to do, was accomplished by the government of Stalin and Molotov. Comrade Ciliga and the two other Yugoslav comrades, became the victims of the Soviet prison system, a system of provocation calculated to the meanest detail, which in the Spring of 1931 in the large Communist collective in the political solitary of Verkhni-Uralsk, numbering 176 persons, led to a hunger strike of 18 days duration as a protest against the shots fired through the window of a prisoner (Bogayev) who was seriously wounded. Ciliga and his comrades who participated in the hunger strike, together with many Russian communists who suffered all sorts

of humiliating beatings, were placed in chains and the water hose turned on them, as was the custom in the solitary of Verkhni-Uralsk.

Arbitrary Extension of Sentences

Ciliga and his comrades were becoming acquainted with a new reality, existing only in the U.S.S.R. and unknown to the Communists active in bourgeois-fascist Europe. In the U.S.S.R. every prisoner, on the termination of his sentence, may see it prolonged for a new indefinite period: for a term one, two, three years or more without the prisoner being indicted, heard or judged in any fashion, whatsoever. There are many examples of Communists, who through the practice of the Russian prisons have had their sentences prolonged perpetually. The prison term of the Yugoslav Communists (three years) expired in May 1933. Seriously suffering from isolation from the Communist movement of their country, the three Yugoslav Communists decided at this very moment to demand at any cost, the right to return to Yugoslavia, where, despite the danger which threatened them, they could function in the ranks of the struggling proletariat. The comrades demanded to be sent to Yugoslavia and announced that they would struggle to obtain this right by every means without shewing the most extreme methods like the hunger strike and suicide. The reply of the G.P.U. was the order to transport them to another political solitary, in order to remove the possibility of their securing support in their struggle from the large important Communist collective, imprisoned for years in the solitary at Verkhni-Uralsk.

Ciliga's Heroic Protest

Comrade Ciliga was separated from his friends (the fate of the other Yugoslav comrades is not known to us) and thrown into a dungeon of the prison at Cheliabinsk, where he carried on a hunger strike lasting 23 days to obtain the right to return to his home in his country. But the leading group in the U.S.S.R., which betrayed the cause of the revolution in his country, is at the same time indifferent when it comes to strengthening the ranks of the international proletariat by intrepid, strong and tested revolutionists. Moreover, it prefers its own government methods in regulating their affairs to the Communists who struggle against the international bourgeoisie.

In reply to comrade Ciliga's hunger strike the G.P.U. informed him that his sentence would be extended two more years. Following this comrade Ciliga impatiently demanded his freedom, or else he would commit suicide as a protest

against the extension of his sentence. The G.P.U., fearing that the international proletariat might find out about the death of the Yugoslav Communists, tortured in the prisons of the U.S.S.R., freed comrade Ciliga and sent him into exile to far off Eastern Siberia.

Siberian Exile

But that in no way changed the situation of comrade Ciliga, since he was placed in the same conditions of absolute isolation as in the political solitary. Under the present Soviet regime exile means only that they continue their estrangement from life, but in different conditions. Separation from friends, from family, the impossibility of carrying on correspondence, which is intercepted by the local agents of the G.P.U. and in the greatest part destroyed or disappears without a trace. Repeated raids, frequent arrests without reason or charges—all of this makes of the places of exile, concentration camps with just a shred of freedom. And comrade Ciliga, sent into the waste lands of Eastern Siberia, and seeing no other prospect than of being transferred to a still more distant corner, finally tried to carry out his threat of suicide.

"We Hold You Responsible..." In making these facts known to you, we draw your attention to the fact that the life of comrade Ciliga is still in danger, although this time his attempt at suicide failed. Since the main demand of comrade Ciliga has received no satisfaction, we send you this warning and we hold you fully responsible for the system of provocations of the G.P.U. and of its intent to physically exterminate the Communists among whom comrade Ciliga is one of the victims. You are entirely responsible for the subsequent fate of comrade Ciliga who belongs to the international working class and who must be given the opportunity of returning to its ranks. We declare that the international working class will one day know the fate of comrade Ciliga and the other Yugoslav Communists although the treacherous policy of the leading group thrusts them into the remotest places. We call upon you to issue an order to the G.P.U. to put an end to the systematic persecutions against the Yugoslav Communists, comrades Ciliga, Dedich, Dragulich and to give them permission to go abroad, since they are illegally and forcibly held in the U.S.S.R.

SIGNED: Bohinski, Volkov, Gourovskaya, Delinachvili (?), Korkina, Ida Lemelman, Plomer, Rapoport, Simbirski, Solimkov, Shapiro, Fedorov, Chiklin.

Yemisseisk, January, 1934.

February Issue of New International Out Soon

The February NEW INTERNATIONAL will be out soon.

Among the material contained in this issue, the article on the Stalinist movement will probably attract the most immediate attention. Written by one of our Russian comrades, N. Markin, the facts presented are fully authenticated by references to information that appeared in the press of the Soviet Union. In each instance exact data is given, presenting on the whole a picture of this movement not previously known in this country, which should be of special interest also to all the readers of the NEW MILITANT.

An interview with Leon Trotsky, appearing in this issue, will no doubt be considered by many readers as its special feature. We can readily agree. The interviewer is a member of the British I.L.P., who recently made a visit to Norway, and in the course of his discussions with comrade Trotsky put a number of questions to which he received specific and quite elaborate answers. While the questions and the answers were concerned in the main with problems facing the I.L.P., they are all of much more than mere partisan interest since they touch upon some of the most fundamental aspects of tactics and strategy of the revolutionary movement.

Comrade John West takes up in this issue the question of organic unity. Since the Seventh Comintern Congress this question appears to have been transferred into the

realm of reality; the Stalinists, at any rate, have become ardent proponents of organic unity with the Socialist parties. While the actual consummation of such organic unity may still be doubtful and not at all solved by the mere formula of unity that usually appears so attractive to the average worker, it devolves upon the Marxists to give the answer to this Stalinist proposal. This is what comrade West has undertaken to do in his article. His analysis is presented with usual thoroughness.

An article by comrade Swaback is devoted to the question: Does the A. F. of L. Face a Split? No doubt this subject is of serious importance as well as to be, at this moment, of more than ordinary interest to our readers.

Among the other material carried in the February issue of the NEW INTERNATIONAL two articles deserve special mention. One of them, written by Felix Morrow, deals with the spirit of the American Constitution and the other is a continuation of the discussion by comrade Novack on the role of the American intellectuals.

We present in this issue also a new contributor, comrade Erich Wollenberg. During a number of years, but prior to the Stalinist "third period," he was the leader of the military sector of the German Communist party. His contribution to the February issue analyzes the question of Just Wars in the Light of Marxism.

Fur Strike Called Off

(Continued from Page 1)

riers swallow the contract. The echoes of class-collaboration resounded throughout his entire speech; a strike, he declared, means suffering for the workers, ruin for the bosses and is bad for the industry (!) generally. Don't worry, he consoled the workers, some day we'll have a Farmer-Labor party and it will reform the rotten capitalist system.

Members of the Progressive Unity Group and other rank and file workers criticized the agreement and the leadership of the union responsible for it. They pointed out that it was presented to the membership as an accomplished fact and there was nothing to be done but to accept it since the leadership had not prepared for a strike. It was common knowledge in the fur market and well known to the bosses (see their organ, "Women's Wear") that the leadership of the union did not intend to strike and this, of course, made the bosses all the more arrogant.

The Stalinists' Record

In the six months the Stalinists have been at the helm of the United Furriers Union, they have induced a spirit of apathy among the workers and suppressed all sparks of militancy in their ranks. They re-introduced a system of craft locals instead of the industrial form of organizations which the right wing leaders dared not do in their hold-over moments. They made deals with unprincipled individuals, surrounded themselves with an apparatus of yes-men, including some Old Guard Stalinists, a widow dressing for their actions. The prestige of the Stalinists as a militant force in the trade union movement is today little but a dim memory. The furriers must recognize in them a force for evil only, a brake on the workers' struggle, ready for anything including class-collaboration indistinguishable from any of the old line A. F. of L. bureaucrats. Even the red paint has worn off. They must draw the proper lessons for the future.

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SHADES OF LENIN!

BOSTON.—Ushered in by a hysterical campaign in the Hearst Boston American, appealing to all patriotic Bostonians to prevent the meeting, the people of this city were astounded by a spectacle of patriotism and flag-waving under the guise of a Lenin memorial meeting held recently by the C. P. at Symphony Hall.

In a truly American setting, without a single decoration of Communist origin, District Organizer Frankfeld read a twenty-minute speech, whose theme was that

throughout the land there were no better, more loyal Americans to be found than in the flock of Stalin. In introducing the following speaker, a C. P. member, he carefully addressed him as "Mr. Moore to the amusement of the audience.

The high note of the meeting was a talk by that eminent American patriot, Earl Browder, who essayed the despicable and pathetic task of trying to justify the social-patriotism of the C. P. as sanctioned by Lenin! Among many other remarks of a similar stripe by this

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20,000 Oppositionists Expelled From the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in Recent 'Cleansing'

Forces of the Fourth International Grow in the Strongest Fortress of Stalinism; "Purging" of Critics Conducted by G.P.U. Behind Backs of the Membership; Prepare Another Mass Ousting for Spring

By LEON TROTSKY

A new cleansing is being conducted in the so-called Communist party of the Soviet Union. This time it bears the modest label of a "check-up on party credentials." The difference between this purge and all those that preceded it lies in the fact that it is being effected without even the nominal participation of the party itself; no general meetings, no personal confessions, no public denunciations, no corroborating testimony. The checking machinery operates entirely behind the scenes; for, you see, this is merely a matter of "credentials." In reality approximately 10 percent of the party has been expelled as a result of this modest technical check-up. The check-up of party candidates has not been completed as yet. But already, many more than 20,000 have been ejected from the ranks of the party. Let us recall, incidentally, that this was almost the numerical strength of the entire Bolshevik party during the period when it led the proletariat to the conquest of power.

The Categories of Expelled

The January 2 issue of Pravda breaks down the figures of the expelled into the following main categories: "From Trotskyists, Zinovievists, opportunists, double-dealers, alien elements, sneak-thieves, adventurers down to spies of the foreign agencies." The list, you will observe, reproduces the general formula of all Thermidorian amalgams. It would be utterly naive to become "indignant" over the coupling of Trotskyists with sneak-thieves and spies. Every regime at loggerheads with the people persecutes, on the one hand, the revolutionists and on the other the criminals. From time immemorial these two categories lived side by side in the prisons of the Czar, as they live today in the prisons of the bourgeoisie of the entire world. Kerevsky in his own time swore again and again that the Bolsheviks were in collusion with black hundred gangs and German spies. Stalin remains entirely true to tradition. Instead of growing "indignant" over the statistic amalgam, let us analyze it more closely.

First of all we note the striking fact that from among the more than 20,000 expelled, the "Trotskyists" are officially assigned the first place. Does this imply that they are so large a group numerically? Or is it that the bureaucracy, after liquidating "the remnants and splinters" of Trotskyists no less than ten times, still continues to consider them as its most dangerous enemy? Both. We shall shortly prove on the basis of official statistics that the number of the expelled Bolshevik-Leninists during the last cleansing alone (the latter part of 1935) amounts to no less than 10,000, and, in effect, a great many more. The bestiality of the repressions is ample indication of the extent to which the bureaucracy fears this "category."

The Chief Opposition Force

The Trotskyists and Zinovievists are commonly lumped together in a single category by the official accounts. The Zinovievists always represented a purely Leningrad grouping, in other parts of the country they consisted of only scattered individuals, and they never had an independent political physiognomy, let alone their instability. Thus we obtain six categories of the expelled: 1) Bolshevik-Leninists; 2) Zinovievists; 3) "opportunists" (recorded here more for symmetry and camouflage; the individual reports do not mention them at all as a rule); 4) double-dealers and alien elements (former White Guards, etc.); 5) sneak-thieves and adventurers; 6) foreign spies. With slight variations these categories are repeated in the district reports, correspondence, leading articles, etc.

Before passing to the analysis of the question of the numerical strength of the Bolshevik-Leninists, we wish to point out that not a single listing of the categories of the expelled or any of the commentators, we have examined, contains any mention either of the Mensheviks or the Social-Revolutionaries. Both these parties are politically non-existent. Their reactionary policy in 1917, as comrade Tarov

has recently so correctly pointed out, has barred them from all approach to the new generations in the city and country. And as the Yugoslav comrade Cilliga, yesterday's captive of Stalin, has stressed on several occasions, the only serious opposition in the country is that of the Bolshevik-Leninists. In other words, the opposition to Bonapartism in the Soviet Union flows not from the principles of petty-bourgeois democracy, but from the conquests of the October revolution, and marches under its banner. Let us keep this fact firmly in mind, for it is of colossal importance for the future.

After all the preceding purges and campaigns of physical exter-

mination it seems almost incredible that among the various categories of the expelled—not hundreds, not thousands, but a minimum of 200,000—the Bolshevik-Leninists should be listed in the first place. How many of them were there? The Soviet press refrains cautiously from citing any totals on this score. Only in individual articles, and remarks dealing with provinces and districts do we run across direct or indirect (most often indirect) mention of the number of the expelled "Trotskyists." This is the data we propose to dwell upon.

In the Dnyepor-Petrovsk Province Khatayevich, secretary of the Dnyepor-Petrovsk province, reports in his article that during the check-

(Continued on Page 3)

Rebel Spirit Stirs Akron Gum Miners

Successful Sit-Down Strikes Impel Militant Action in Rubber Unions

By JACK WILSON

AKRON, Ohio, Feb. 10.—In a powerful display of organized strength that amazed and alarmed the fire companies, thousands of rubberworkers joined in various spontaneous "sit-downs" at the Big Three plants here during the past two weeks which had serious possibility of spreading into an industry wide strike until the workers' demands were mainly met.

These "sit-downs" began at Firestone which involved 2,000 workers and brought complete victory of the Union as explained in the previous issue of the New Militant.

The "sit-down" idea spread to Goodyear where another 2,000 workers supported the refusal of the tire entering room to take a wage cut. Although the company failed to rescind the cut, they did not dare carry out a written order to spread the cut to plant 2 as the workers prepared to shut down the plant under leadership of the Goodyear local of the United Rubberworkers of America.

Then, tirebuilders at Goodrich sat down Friday night because one of

(Continued on Page 2)

Find WPA Head Guilty Of Murder

Workers Jury Unanimous in Verdict; NUL, WAA Leaders Speak

By JACK WILSON

TOLEDO, Feb. 9.—Several hundred W.P.A. workers, who braved sub-zero blizzard weather here, were aroused to a fighting pitch today at the disclosures of the inhuman circumstances surrounding the death of Alonzo Walker, W.P.A. worker who was permitted to freeze to death on a W.P.A. project here three weeks ago. The open trial of the W.P.A. administration for murder was conducted by the W.P.A. Workers Union this afternoon at the Rot Davis auditorium.

The trial was held in connection with a mass protest meeting to demand better conditions, hours and wages on the W.P.A. Arnold Johnson, executive secretary of the National Unemployed League, and Gerry Allard, central Illinois chairman of the Illinois Workers Alliance and leader of the state hunger march to Springfield, Ill., last summer, were the guest speakers.

The Physician Testifies

Some incredulity was apparent at first when Art Preis, union president, acting as prosecuting attorney stated that he was going to

(Continued on Page 2)

Trotsky Cables Denial to AP on Daily Worker Lies

Denounces Repressions Against Bolshevik-Leninists by the Stalinist Bureaucracy

Editor's Note: On January 28 Leon Trotsky sent the following cable to the Associated Press from Honefoss, Norway:

Hearst Press published the article about political persecution in the Soviet Union pretending that it was written by me. Friends called me requesting to know the truth of the matter through the medium of the Associated Press. I never gave any article to the Hearst press with which I have no relations whatsoever. The articles which were published or used without my knowledge (in case they really were articles of mine) are naturally not at all directed against the Soviet Union but only against the growing despotism of the ruling clique. During the last month and weeks I have received extremely important news from authentic sources concerning the terrible repressions against political prisoners whose fidelity to the Soviet Union is beyond doubt and whose only "crime" consists in criticizing the ruling bureaucracy.

A short time ago Dr. Anton Cilliga, former leader of the Yugoslav Communist party, returned from the Soviet Union where he spent more than five years in prison and exile as punishment for his original attitude of the leadership of the Comintern. To

obtain permission to leave the Soviet Union Cilliga resorted to a hunger strike and was subjected to forcible feeding. He slashed his wrists but was prevented from suicide. Thousands of expelled members of the ruling party who protested against the growing inequality or the introduction of army officer titles and the marshal-order, suffer under similar conditions.

Zinoviev and Kamenov, intimate collaborators of Lenin, are now imprisoned for a terrorist crime with which they had nothing whatsoever to do. Kamenov, former chairman of the Political Bureau of the Communist party of the Soviet Union, is in a cell together with 12 others. Last year an additional five years was tacked on to the original five-year sentence for his alleged participation in planning a terrorist assassination of Stalin.

The restrained and absolutely objective information related by Cilliga, Tarov and others prove the increasing antagonism developing between the bureaucracy and the population and prove the need of the bureaucracy to resort to sharpest repressions in the interests of self-preservation. To say this frankly is to do a real service to the people of the Soviet Union.

(signed) LEON TROTSKY.

Mooney Appeals For Aid

Funds Needed to Fight Activities of Calif. Frame-up Crew

County Jail No. 1, San Francisco, Calif. February 1, 1936.

Mr. James P. Cannon, New Militant, New York City, N.Y.

My dear Cannon: On Monday, February 3, the hearing on my petition for a habeas corpus writ will be resumed before the referee appointed by the California Supreme Court. Once more that monstrous serpent—the Mooney-Billings frame-up will crawl from its bed of slime, raise its ghastly head, display its fangs and inject its deadly poison into the bloodstream of public opinion in the hope of paralyzing it so that we may be held in prison until death.

This hearing is bringing our struggle to a new crisis where we need your moral and financial help more than ever before.

We have proved that all the material evidence, all matters of identification as to our participation in the crime was pure and unadulterated perjury.

We have proved that the District Attorney and the Police Department had conscious knowledge of that perjury when they presented it to the court that convicted us.

We have proved that they deliberately suppressed and concealed vital evidence that would have conclusively established our innocence.

This hearing is of vital importance not because there is much hope the California State Supreme Court may grant my writ, but because it is the final step in carrying the case forward to the United States Supreme Court where there is real hope for favorable action.

An Organ of Reaction We know with positive knowledge that the Supreme Court of California itself has from the beginning been part and parcel of this monstrous frame-up.

Judge F. W. Henshaw, Justice of the California State Supreme Court for more than twenty years, was driven from the bench in shame as a result of disclosures brought about through the Mooney defense.

He accepted a bribe of almost a million dollars for his decision in the Fair Will Case. The Denmore photograph report disclosed Justice Henshaw as the intellectual guiding evil genius in the Mooney frame-up.

The California State Supreme Court in the 1930 hearing on Warren K. Billings application for a pardon, declared that there was no frame-up, that all the perjurers told the truth in 1916, and their later recantations and confessions of perjury were the result of the convenience of our defense committee.

The minority opinion of one of its members, Justice William H. Langdon, constitutes the greatest indictment ever written of any Supreme Court majority opinion.

The California State Supreme Court represents the same powerful financial and industrial reactionary forces that framed us because of our loyal devotion to the trade union movement. That Court still carries on.

Frame-up Crew Still Active Judge Henshaw, Detective Swanson, Jury Foreman MacNevin and Chief of Police White of the Pacific Gas and Electric Company are all dead. But the living frame-up crew will spread their poison through the newspapers of the nation during the month of February, crying out anew for our blood.

(Continued on Page 2)

New York Dressmakers Force Bosses to Terms

Miners Convention Hurls Defi at Green Ultimatum

Complete Solidarity with Industrial Union Movement Spurs Organization in Other Industries

By ARNE SWABECK

The A. F. of L. "will not tolerate within it an organization challenging the supremacy of the parent body." This ultimatum against the Committee for Industrial Organization, Wm. Green delivered in person to the United Mine Workers convention and when he got the answer he deserved, he protested and insisted that his remarks had been "unfairly" interpreted as an ultimatum.

In the answer given, the seven hundred delegates voted unanimously to support the Committee for Industrial Organization and to support its policy of industrial unionism. They voted authorization to the officers to withhold per capita tax payments to the A. F. of L. should such action be deemed necessary.

This was the high point of a remarkable convention. It was known in advance that its decisions would have an important bearing upon the outcome of the present conflict in the A. F. of L. over the industrial union issue. The convention, therefore, received the undivided attention from all sections of the labor movement and, needless to say, not the least from the A. F. of L. top bureaucracy.

Crushing Defeat for Green

Wm. Green faced a supreme test. His Executive Council had demanded that the C.I.O. dissolve. He appeared before the miners' convention in the role of a patriarch presiding over the great family of trade unions, in which, he said, some of its members were in "open rebellion." Although he undoubtedly used all his powers of persuasion, he did not leave a very powerful impression. The delegates listened to him in stony silence, broken now and then by a chorus of boos. John L. Lewis on the other hand utilized to the fullest extent all his showmanship talent.

Conscious of their strength, the coal miners in this convention decided also to extend the union to embrace all workmen "in and around coal processing plants." This, when carried out, would add

lending so much greater effect to the decisions made. In this respect the convention was magnificently staged.

When Green had finished his address, John L. Lewis asked those delegates who had changed their minds because of the address to stand up. Two men stood up. Following this Lewis asked how many believed the C.I.O. should be dissolved. A lone delegate stood up. To the final question how many believed that the policies of this convention should be carried out, all delegates arose amid handclapping and cheers.

After this demonstration of unanimity, Lewis was able to turn to Green and exclaim: "I trust, sir, you will carry back to your organization the answer of the United Mine Workers."

Miners Branch Out

Indeed, the coal miners had given an answer thoroughly in accord with their splendid tradition as militant unionists. They spoke as members of the most powerful organization in the A. F. of L., whose expression of opinion must be accepted in earnest. No doubt the coal miners feel confident that the strength of their union has been restored; counting over 500,000 members, the union now embraces about 85 percent of all the coal miners in the country. Most typical of the recent gains is the fact that the whole of the state of West Virginia is now organized, where formerly, and particularly in Logan County, the terrorism of the coal operators and their henchmen in governmental offices for years kept the union out.

The union leaders state that the complete preparations made for this strike and the enthusiastic demonstrations and mass meetings held last Friday, when the entire membership stopped work and paraded to Madison Square, Garden and other halls, had a wholesome effect on the bosses and was a determining factor in winning the agreement.

Meat Packers Minneapolis Launch Drive Unions Join In Industry Lewis Set-up

Affiliate with CIO; Fight for Unrestricted Industrial Charter in AFL

MINNEAPOLIS, Feb. 2.—The progressive unions in the packing house industry have joined forces with the national movement for industrial unionism through the formal launching of the Committee for Industrial Organization in the Packing House Industry. This action was taken by the delegates to the conference at Cedar Rapids, Iowa, on February 1 and 2. The actions and recommendations of the conference delegates are to be submitted to the membership of the participating local unions for approval. It is anticipated that such approval will be quickly granted and the Committee instructed to proceed immediately to its tasks.

The Committee for Industrial Organization in the Packing House Industry will direct its attention immediately toward the work of securing the affiliation of other packing house unions. All independent unions and A. F. of L. unions in the industry will be contacted by the committee. Contacts will also be sought among the unorganized packing house workers and those belonging to company unions.

The first action of the committee will be to establish a research committee for the purpose of securing statistical information necessary to clearly demonstrate the need for unity of action in the industry. The information, together with other educational material will be circulated throughout all packing house workers. In the near future an official news organ will be established by the committee. Visiting committees will be sent out from time to time by the local unions, and as quickly as circumstances will permit, organizers will be sent into the field by the com-

(Continued on Page 2)

22 Locals Take First Step in Conference; 574 Represented

MINNEAPOLIS, Feb. 2.—The Industrial Union Conference called by Local 685, Miscellaneous Workers, convened Sunday morning at ten o'clock at 520 Hennepin Avenue. The meeting was opened by Swan A. Assarson of Local 685. Assarson briefly expressed the aims and objectives of the conference, pointing out the inevitable drift towards industrial unionism that was taking place and stated that no matter how much we attempted to avoid the question it would finally have to be settled one way or the other. He then read the proposed agenda which was as follows: Election of Chairman, election of Secretary, election of Credentials Committee of three, and Resolutions Committee of five, discussion by delegates, report of committees, other business and adjournment. Rubin Letz of Local 183, Laundry Workers, was elected chairman and Hillard Smith of 382, Auto Mechanics, was selected as secretary.

The Credentials and Resolutions Committee was then elected. After some discussion by delegates, the Credentials Committee reported that there were 44 delegates present, representing 22 local unions.

The following organizations were present, with delegates: General Drivers No. 574, Electrical Workers No. 160, Electrical Workers No. 292, Asbestos Workers No. 34, Petroleum Workers No. 19802, Twin City Federal Workers No. 1313, American Federation of Actors, Building Laborers No. 563, Upholsterers No. 61, Woodenware Workers No. 1859, Sheet Metal Workers No. 34, Laundry Workers No. 183, Miscellaneous Workers 685, Photo Engravers No. 6, Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen.

(Continued on Page 3)

Strength of Union Forces New Contract

Report Gains on Major Issues of Conflict With Employers

After weeks of negotiations breaks in negotiations and threats of strike, the bosses' association, recognizing the strength of the union, have agreed to a contract with the Joint Board of the Dressmakers, I.L.G.W.U.

While the details of the agreement are not yet public, it is understood that all gains made in the 1933 general strike are retained and in some cases improved. The main question at issue was the setting up of adequate machinery to prevent the rubbing of workers by chiselling contractors. "Settlement of prices on the jobbers' premises; the unit or scientific method of setting piece rates" are reported as agreed to.

At the present moment final finishing touches are being added to the agreement. Meetings have been arranged by the bosses' associations to ratify the terms. The union is in search of halls large enough to seat their entire membership for ratification meetings. While union demands for the 30-hour week and general increases in the minimum wage rate have not been met, it is expected that following the report of the negotiating committee headed by President Dubinsky and Vice-President Hochman, the terms will be accepted.

The union leaders state that the complete preparations made for this strike and the enthusiastic demonstrations and mass meetings held last Friday, when the entire membership stopped work and paraded to Madison Square, Garden and other halls, had a wholesome effect on the bosses and was a determining factor in winning the agreement.

Mayor LaGuardia is attempting to claim some credit for the settlement but the dressmakers, looking at the results of the mayor's "mediation" in other cases where unions were weak, give the credit to their own solidarity and 100,000 dressmakers can't be wrong!

Laundry Strike Remains Solid In 9th Week

The militant strike of Bronx laundry workers, organized in Laundry Drivers' Local 810, now in its ninth week, is still effectively crippling operation of the plants. Despite police terror and the strike-breaking tactics of city relief authorities, the spirit of the strikers, their wives (organized in ladies' auxiliaries) and families is high and they are determined to win.

The police have pursued a policy of arresting as many strikers as possible, holding them on every conceivable charge, in order to strip the picket lines of man power. To date over 150 arrests have taken place on charges ranging from disorderly conduct to kidnapping. Counsel fees and bail are draining the union treasury and support is gravely needed.

The shortage of strike relief funds has compelled many of the workers to turn to Home Relief authorities for aid. Without exception their applications have been rejected since they refused to scab. But the action of city relief officials, police and reactionary judges has been unable to break the ranks of the strikers.

Last Friday the union called a conference of labor organizations to obtain aid for the strikers. The union is asking all sympathizers and workers to refuse to give their laundry to the following companies: ABC, Bond, Stork, Snow-White, Sterling, Sun, Sunbright, North American, New York (Chester), Planet, Pretty, De Francis, Regent, Jumell, Manhattan, Mirrolite, Westbury, etc. bridge and Starlight laundry companies.

Rebel Spirit Stirs Akron Gum Miners

(Continued from Page 1)

The union men were not given a fair wage allowance when he was transferred to another machine.

A tirebuilders committee went from department to department rallying workers to their banner and thus entire production was stopped within an hour. This involved 1,500. Another shift came in at midnight and jobbed, doubling the number refusing to work.

A committee of two union men from each of the four shifts was elected by the workers to confer with the management. The company quickly agreed to give the worker his allowance and the men went back to work.

However, it was discovered that the company wasn't going to pay any of the workers money for the time lost during the slowdown so the entire factory again quit work.

Threats by the company to forcibly move the workers from the plant were met with jeers and the plant was defied. Although the plant normally is closed over Sunday the workers prepared to remain inside until their demand for half pay was met.

When the company saw that the workers were going to keep the plant closed at all costs and would not let anyone work, it agreed to pay all the men except the tirebuilders half pay.

The tirebuilders, to show that they were willing to sacrifice for the sake of fellow-workers, accepted the proposal but the other workers refused it for over two hours although union leaders urged them to accept.

The union committee was "tricked" into accepting the proposal and recommending it to the men, some of them said later, but not many were disturbed because it was seen that a mistake this time could and would be rectified in the near future.

During the entire time of the slowdown, active union members, enthused by the fight of their leaders in the negotiations, signed up hundreds of non-union men into the bona-fide union.

Union Grows After Struggle

The union at Goodyear grew after the slowdown but for just the opposite reason which brought the great increase of membership at Firestone and Goodrich locals.

Goodyear workers realized clearly that it was their lack of organization, of leadership that brought the tirebuilders defeat. Failure of the union leadership itself to utilize the situation quickly enough also left the workers without confidence and so they went to work when the Goodyear company assembled its prize strike-breakers, the Flying Squadron to do the work.

They joined the union because together with the other union workers they make a solid front and so were able to plan a 100 per cent slowdown at plant 2 which the company was afraid of. That's why the order to carry out a wage cut is still in the superintendent's office and will remain there for a while.

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By LEON TROTSKY

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Miners Union Conference Hurls Defi at Green Ultimatum on CIO

(Continued from Page 1)

about 100,000 workers in by-product and gas and chemical plants to the organization. But the craft union officials already claim jurisdiction over skilled mechanics working in these plants. This, however, may be considered only a minor matter in view of the general conflict around the industrial union issue. While this specific action will play its part, it is the attitude of the miners' convention in regard to this larger question confronting the trade union movement today that will serve to sharpen enormously the present conflict in the A. F. of L.

No doubt John L. Lewis has also emerged considerably strengthened in the union leadership since this convention. In its most extreme form this was indicated by industry and uncritical statements such as those made by delegates from Logan County, West Virginia who compared Lewis to Moses, who "led us out of the land of Egypt." But in its real essence the strengthening of the position of John L. Lewis can be motivated only by the readiness of the rank and file coal miners for industrial unionism and to accept progressive ideas. They understand the issues involved in this fight and they have proved that they are ready to make it.

In the Grand Style

John L. Lewis, however, understands also how to make the best use of his strengthened position. We need mention only the incident of the contemplated boost in salaries for the leading officials, which by the way, became a mere incident only after Lewis had had the opportunity to gauge the real sentiment of the delegates present.

The committee on officers report brought in a proposition to increase the officers' salaries by 100 percent, which would elevate the remuneration for Lewis from a "paltry" \$12,000 yearly to \$25,000. The sentiment to this proposal was well expressed by an Indiana delegate, J. W. Norris, who said: "We have miners that are going barefoot. Isn't the present salary plenty to sustain any one in a standard of

decency and health." A turbulent debate followed with a demand for a roll-call vote. But the opposition was steam-rollered; both Pat Fagan, who was in the chair at the time, and later John L. Lewis ruled this demand out of order and declared the committee's report, including the projected salary boost, adopted. The following day, however, Lewis cleverly manipulated this question to his own advantage. With a grandiloquent gesture he declined to accept the salary increase. The other officers hurried to follow in his footsteps.

Autonomy and Roosevelt

A turbulent debate ensued also on the autonomy question. In this is involved the right of the district organizations to elect their own officers against the present practice of the general officers instituting what is called provisional governments, by appointment of officials who are to work under the supervision of the general officers. On a roll-call vote this practice was sustained more than two to one. Lewis won an easy victory, but surely not, in this case, a victory for progressive ideas.

Similarly Lewis carried the day with ease lining up the convention practically unanimously for support of Roosevelt—to "go forward with Roosevelt," fighting under his banner for re-election. Undoubtedly the ease of these victories must in a large measure be attributed to the all-overhadowing issue of the fight for industrial unionism in which the delegates by their determination to support the position taken by John L. Lewis and the Committee for Industrial Organization were easily swayed to swallow a good deal more than would otherwise have been the case.

Clash with Craft Unions

On this major issue none of them made any mistake. They were able to judge also from practical experience. Last year, for example, a number of the higher, and particularly reactionary, craft union officials attempted to have the Guffey coal bill amended so that skilled mechanics, working in or around the mines, would be taken out of

the jurisdiction of the U.M.W.A. Needless to say, the miners became thoroughly aroused by this attempted raid.

This, however, is only one small example of the conflict between craft unionism and industrial unionism that is now extending deeper into the whole of the movement in every instance where actual union advance is projected. The Oil Workers Union, also represented on the Committee for Industrial Organization, recently obtained an election under the National Labor Relations Act in a campaign against a company union. Here again the higher craft union officials stepped in and attempted to have the National Labor Relations Board recognize the craft unions who claimed jurisdiction over the mechanics in this field instead of the Oil Workers Union.

Radio Workers Bolt

It will be remembered that the A. F. of L. Executive Council meeting, held in Miami recently, rejected the appeal of the radio workers' federal unions for a national charter based on the industrial form of organization. The radio workers have since decided to ignore the council's decision and to proceed to organize industrially regardless of whether or not this means expulsion from the A. F. of L.

There are similar indications that the automobile workers' union will go ahead, defy the A. F. of L. decision to segregate skilled mechanics and refuse to let the craft union chiefs raid the industrial jurisdiction which this union has already written into its constitution.

It is thus clear that great forces are already set into motion in the fight for industrial unionism. In increasing measure these forces will look toward the miners' union for leadership. And if the recently concluded convention is to be taken as an indication, the United Mine Workers is becoming conscious of its new role. Fundamentally this is the light in which the results of this convention must be viewed in order to get a full and complete understanding.

pointed out the permanency of unemployment, how the federal government uses unemployed relief as a vote-catching device, the uselessness of the projects and work under the present set-up. He emphasized the necessity for the W.P.A. workers to work together with all the other unemployed and the need for establishing complete cooperation between the trade unions and unemployed organizations.

The presence of Allard and Johnson speaking together on the same platform, although spokesmen for two different national unemployed organizations, is regarded here as of the greatest significance for the establishment of unity between the National Unemployed League and the Workers Alliance of America within the very near future. Scores of local W.A.A. members attended the union meeting despite the fact that the union is affiliated with the Lucas County Unemployed League area.

WPA Official Found Guilty

(Continued from Page 1)

prove that Walker was permitted to lie on the ground helpless in freezing weather for a period of six or more hours with the project officials refusing to give him any assistance. The acting prosecutor then proceeded to read a number of notarized affidavits, the sworn statements of Walker's widow and orphan daughter, workers on the job and other witnesses. The climax of this startling but conclusive evidence was the presentation of a written and signed statement by Dr. Phillip M. Johnson, a physician of long standing in the community who attended Walker before he died. The statement was as follows:

"This is to say that I was Alvin Walker's family physician for many months. I took care of him in his last illness. Here are some of the things he said to me before he died: 'I was so cold I fell to the ground. I begged the foreman to send me home, but he walked away. I lay on the ground until about 4:30 P.M.' His death was caused by extreme exposure to cold. (Dr. Johnson's emphasis.)"

Verdict Is "Guilty"

Gerry Allard, acting judge, then called upon any representative of the W.P.A. administration present in the audience to assume the role of defense attorney. Although the administration had been publicly invited to present its side of the case at the trial, no representative was in attendance. The judge then appointed Ted Selander, union executive-secretary, to act as defense counsel. He proceeded to give all the statements on the case given to union committees by the administration. The audience laughed derisively throughout the presentation of these statements at the cold-blooded stupidity of the lies and twistings of the administration, although everyone agreed that Selander was honestly attempting the personally unpleasant task of a fair and conscientious defense. The audience, acting as jury, ended the hearing with a thunderous and unanimous verdict of "Guilty!"

Allard, in his address, spoke of the necessity of organization on the jobs, stated that he had learned a great deal about the form and activities of the W.P.A. union which he was going to attempt to have carried out in Illinois, and invited representatives of the union to an I.W.A. conference to be held shortly. He ended his remarks with an impassioned plea for unity among the unemployed organizations and called for the quick establishment of one big unified unemployed and relief workers national organization.

Urges Unity of Unemployed

Speaking on the national unemployed situation, Arnold Johnson

Two Pamphlets

"THE ROAD FOR REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISTS"

War and the Workers is written by John West. He needs no introduction to you. The Road for Revolutionary Socialists is written by Fred Zeller. He is the acknowledged leader of the French Socialist youth.

Fred Zeller was expelled from the Socialist youth organization by the agents of Leon Blum and his Old Guard some time ago, together with twelve other youth comrades. The young Socialists, however, remained supporters of the revolutionary position presented by Fred Zeller and his co-workers. They remained supporters in the continuation of the struggle for this position. How this struggle has been carried on and how comrade Zeller and his co-workers came to a revolutionary position, is described in this little pamphlet. The introduction is by Leon Trotsky.



"WAR AND THE WORKERS"

The pamphlet, War and the Workers, presents a searching analysis of the nature and causes of modern war. It deals with the problem of sanctions, neutrality, and the rôle of the League of Nations. It presents a scathing indictment of the various forms of pacifism and social-patriotism and outlines a concrete program of struggle against imperialist war.

The price of this pamphlet is 10c per copy; in lots of ten or more, 7c per copy. The price of the Zeller pamphlet is 5c per copy; in lots of ten or more, 3c per copy. Here is an opportunity. Take advantage of it.

C. P. Union Reneges On Office Workers

How the Stalinists work in the trade unions, how they substitute their own factional interests for the general interests of progressive militant trade unionism is brought out once more by their activities in connection with the lockout of eight office workers of the Mergon Corporation. This company which produces doll and toy parts, has both an inside factory and an office. The workers in the factory are members of a Stalinist Metal Workers Union outside of the A. F. of L. The office workers were members of the Office Workers Union, also a Stalinist organization, but when this union liquidated they joined the B.S. & A.U. (Bookkeepers and Stenographers Union) which is affiliated to the A. F. of L.

The issue arose in connection with the discharge of two members of the office staff for their union activity. The rest of the office employees immediately showed their solidarity and demanded the reinstatement of the discharged workers. The bosses refused to reinstate them and demanded of the remaining office workers that they sign a pledge agreeing to remain at work should the factory workers strike when their agreement expired. This the office workers refused to do and were immediately locked out by the boss.

Discouraged Strike Action

In view of the fact that last year the office workers had agreed 100 percent to strike if and when the factory workers struck when the latter were negotiating their present agreement, the rôle of the Stalinist Metal Workers' Union in this situation becomes doubly treacherous. Instead of receiving help from the metal workers' union as they had expected, the locked-out workers were told that for them to strike at present would embarrass the factory workers since this was the slow season and because their agreement with the Mergon Corp. does not expire until July.

In addition, the leaders of the Metal Workers Union sought in every way to put pressure on the Bookkeepers Union in order to prevent them from calling a strike against the Mergon Corp. They have even tried to discourage the locked out workers from picketing. In a conference between the Bookkeepers Union and their organization they went so far as to say that if the union would not call a strike, they would see to it that the Stalinists in the Bookkeepers Union would "vote right," meaning that they would throw their support to the present leadership of the union.

Unfortunately for the Stalinists, the present leadership of the Bookkeepers and Stenographers Union is not ready to bargain away the principles of progressive unionism in return for votes. It is not going to permit its members to sign a "yellow dog" contract in order to oblige the Stalinists. It insists that the locked out workers be reinstated. Its policy is a clear-cut militant one of strike action.

Membership Fights "Yellow Dog"

This policy of strike was presented by the Executive Board to a special membership meeting of the Bookkeepers and Stenographers Union attended by five hundred workers. At this meeting the Stalinists were forced to retreat. Sharp criticism was leveled against the leadership of the Metal Workers Union for its attempts to prevent the strike in order to further their own narrow factional interests as opposed to the general progressive policy of waging a militant fight against the "yellow dog" contract. They did not dare at this meeting to defend the leadership of the Metal Workers Union. All they did was to whine that on the eve of a strike such an attack divided the ranks of the workers. This argument was effectively ridiculed. Various speakers from the floor pointed out that it was vital for the membership to know all the facts in connection with the impending strike. When the motion to declare the strike was put, it was unanimously carried by the 500 workers present.

The strike is now on. A mass picket line has already been thrown around the plant. The Bookkeepers Union in its fight is appealing for support from the rest of the labor movement. The B.S. & A.U. further calls upon the workers in the factory to participate in this struggle and see to it that no scabs are permitted to work. The strike must be won. The attempt on the part of this corporation to get its office employees to sign a "Yellow Dog Contract" shall be defeated!

Mooney Calls Meat Packers For Support Launch Drive

(Continued from Page 1)

about the Mooney-Billings frame-up. Charles Goff, in 1916 a sergeant, now a captain of police, is daily doing everything within his power to seal the frame-up forever by refabricating the necessary evidence to hold together the foul conspiracy against us.

These framers are tenaciously defending their foul conspiracy and are renewing with all the vigor of their beings the rank and file accusations against us to bedevil the real issues. No depravity will be too low for them to stoop to in justifying the dastardly deed that has robbed us of the best years of our lives. James Brennan, assistant under Fickert and active prosecutor who railroaded innocent twenty-two-year-old Warren K. Billings to the penitentiary for life, last year introduced into the California Legislature a resolution calling upon the Governor to commute our sentences to time served, thus branding us forever as "ex-convicts", "time-expired felons", "convicted murderers". That cowardly, tricky maneuver would have ended forever any hope of redressing this monstrous wrong in court.

It is only through the splendid support that you have given through these many years that we are still alive and fighting for freedom and vindication. It is only through your generous, loyal, financial help that we have been able to continue exposing this frame-up to the world. We need funds desperately to carry through the present move we are making. We must immediately prepare a complete transcript of the hearing proceedings of over fifteen thousand pages to enable my attorneys to prepare their brief for the United States Supreme Court. We are compelled to pay for that transcript, the California Supreme Court having refused to pay such expenses for us. I know you will do your utmost to strain a point at this time to give us desperately needed financial assistance. With your continued aid I know we shall crown our struggle with victory. Without your aid we are helplessly lost.

With profound proletarian appreciation of what you have done for me through these many desperate years, I send you warmest fraternal and militant trade union greetings.

Very Sincerely,
TOM MOONEY
31821

Direct all funds and communications to: Tom Mooney Molders' Defense Committee, Box 2475, San Francisco, Calif.

(Continued from Page 1)

mittée. The A. F. of L. Committee For Industrial Organization in Washington, D. C. will be contacted, and at all times the work of the industrial union movement in the packing house industry will be closely co-ordinated with the national movement for industrial unionism.

The Committee For Industrial Unionism in the Packing House Industry does not pretend to set itself up as a central body for the federation of packing house unions. The only requirement which it lays down for affiliation is a sincere desire for the building of industrial unionism in the industry. The principal rôle of the Committee will be to carry on an educational campaign to prove the need for industrial unionism and thus to bring organized pressure to force the American Federation of Labor to issue an unrestricted industrial union charter for the packing house industry.

The date on which this objective will be realized is governed by the developments in the national movement and by the intelligence and sincere effort which the packing house unions apply to this work. There will, however, be immediate gains for the local unions through the benefit of closer cooperation in the day by day struggle against the packing house employers.

The next conference of the Committee For Industrial Organization in the Packing House Industry will be held in Austin, Minnesota, on Saturday, February 29, and Sunday, March 1. Further information may be secured through Joseph Voorhees, Austin, Minnesota, and Lewis Clarke, Cedar Rapids, Iowa.

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Our Revolutionary Heritage:

The Corn Rebellion

By Leighton Rigby

If American workers generally are unaware that in 1917 three-quarters of a million men were preparing to march on Washington and wrest the reins from the "Big Stick" and his war birds, it is only further proof that the domain of patriotism is a disenchanted realm indeed. Press files yield little concerning the Corn Rebellion; inspired histories make no mention of it; and even the venerable Dr. Beard passes it without a word. But the memory must not be lost in the darkness of the late war.

There are two reasons for the failure of the movement: timid and irresponsible leadership, and unsuitable circumstances for success. The first cause, if recognized as a fact, needs no elaboration. The second is also understandable when we consider that capitalism was firmly in the saddle, by virtue of a wartime "boom," and was further fortifying its position by deep jabs with the needle of patriotism. Even though it failed to materialize, however, the proposed march on Washington gives us reason to know that the Draft Act of 1917 was not "accepted by the people of every section."

Opposition to War

Before the press, movies, song writers and spell-blenders could build up the maximum of war hysteria, there was much trouble throughout the land. I.W.W. organizers, unsound, perhaps, but ambitious, were busy on the West Coast and in the East. Thirteen hundred objectors were deported from Bisbee, Arizona, and herded into a stockade at Hermanas, New Mexico. Forest fires and bombings were blamed on those who opposed the war, whether the blame was well placed or not. Lack of organization alone prevented unrest and doubt from assuming real significance.

After the exposed portions of the country became ill with war hysteria, there still remained certain parts of the U.S. where the disease was unknown. One of these included several counties in Oklahoma and parts of neighboring states. That section provided the locale for the Corn Rebellion.

In accounts I have read of the reception of the Draft Act in Oklahoma, too much emphasis has been put upon the backwardness of the people involved. This condition has been offered as the main excuse for the mobilization against war service. Without a doubt, the fact that newspapers were not generally read and movies were seldom seen did tend to retard the growth of the war spirit among the tenant farmers of Oklahoma. But how backward were they, really?

The Burden of Oppression

It must be remembered that these people were oppressed by urban money lenders who often demanded—and got, if crops were sufficiently good—four or five times the conventional rate of interest. Also, there was little good land at the disposal of poor tenant farmers. Good crops were rare on the scrubby soil that was left after investors had taken the choice land. And there was an important result of this oppression: the poor farmers became daily more class conscious and were convinced that a capital-

ist war concerned their fiscal interests not at all.

This class consciousness naturally turned the people toward the doctrine of Karl Marx. In several of the counties affected, the Socialist vote in 1914 was over one-third of the total cast. I do not mean to infer that this, in itself, meant a definite revolutionary trend. I merely state that if being "backward" means lacking the quality of cheering the spirit of progress while being oppressed by that same progress, these people were backward. I prefer, however, to think those people backward who are oppressed and see no glimmer of hope for relief.

The Working Class Union

Toward the middle of 1914, the Working Class Union was organized in Arkansas. The original purpose of this organization is not known to me, but as the entrance of the U.S. into the World War came nearer, the W.C.U. began to advocate overthrow of the capitalist government in Washington. Leadership was poor from the start, but by 1917 some 35,000 farmers in Oklahoma and surrounding states alone were able to embrace the broad pattern of the Working Class Union.

The strategy to be used in connection with the march on Washington was briefly this: on a given day, the local chapters would gather and march to a specified point where they would be joined by other groups of the district. This army would set out for Washington. Along the way, the size of the army would be enlarged manifold by the addition of new recruits and previously readied groups, e.g., among the I.W.W. Barbed wire cattle and roasted green corn would constitute the food supply.

It is true—the leaders, the fiery orators were idealists, unsound in theory, and they were also timid. Their smooth flow of words had won many to the banner of the W.C.U., but after this was done, they either demonstrated their utter incompetence to lead or ran away.

The Battle and Its Outcome

After several false starts, in August of 1917 the W.C.U. in the Oklahoma district began to mobilize. No great numbers came to one spot, but several small groups were formed. At the behest of civil authorities several poses of less "backward" urban citizens were organized to bring the "draft dodgers" to the bar of "justice." There were a few skirmishes, but without good leadership, the case of the tenant farmers was a hopeless one. Only at Holdenville, where two members of a posse and one W.C.U. member were killed, were there serious casualties.

Several hundred members of the W.C.U. were made prisoners, and nearly a hundred were later sentenced to prison, federal or state. Those who were set free received advice in the matter of patriotism from kindly and "enlightened" judges.

The Corn Rebellion was put down. It was bound for failure from the first. But it stands as proof that class conscious American workers will not willingly fight for the interests that oppress them and beat them down.

Expel 20,000 Oppositionists from C.P.S.U. In Recent "Cleansing" Under G.P.U.

(Continued from Page 1)

ing of the documents in his capacity, 3,648 people were expelled from the party, 8 percent of the entire organization. During the check-up, it appears, that "we succeeded in uncovering not only isolated individuals but entire counter-revolutionary Trotskyist-Zinoviev groups skulking in the ranks of the party." Khatayevich does not supply their number. But he does cite other figures: "3,500 White Guards, kulaks, members of Petina, Makino and other bands; 300 sneak-thieves and speculators who wormed their way into the party with forged documents." (Pravda, December 26, 1935). These two groups together comprise 1,800. In addition the article also refers obscurely to "foreign spies who penetrated into the party"; but here the reference can only be to individuals, not more than a score at the most. Subtracting the above-mentioned categories there remains to the share of Trotskyists and Zinovievists, as well as oppositionists of all types, not less than 1,000. Or to Khatayevich perhaps hiding some other categories of the expelled? Which ones? Why? But even if only a half or a third of the above number falls to the share of the "Trotskyists," even then we get a very imposing number (500 to 1,000). Naturally, this number is still purely hypothetical in character.

The Black Sea Region

In the same issue of Pravda, in a small item we find that in the Asov-Black Sea region, 4,324 people were expelled, 7 percent of the total number checked. The check-up revealed that "in several city organizations there existed counter-revolutionary Trotskyist-Zinoviev groups (the "Krasny Aksept" plant, the regional agricultural department, the fruit and grapes trust)." This brief item does not state what proportion of the expelled these groups composed, but it does admit that even after the check-up "unexposed enemies" continue to crop up in the regional organizations.

20% "Trotskyists" in West-Siberia

In the West-Siberian region, 3,376 members of the party were expelled (11 percent) and 1,335 candidates (12.8 percent). Secretary Elkie writes in Pravda: "Among the expelled the largest number are kulaks and White Guards from Kolchaks armies—these constitute almost a third. Then come the Trotskyists and Zinovievists." (Dec. 23, 1935). According to this statement, the Bolshevik-Leninists take the second place numerically. All the expelled, with the exception of the White Guards, fall into not more than four categories. If the ex-

pelled were divided equally among these categories, each would number more than 900. Yet Elkie himself states that the Trotskyists and Zinovievists comprise the largest group numerically next to the White Guards. Therefore, there cannot be less than 1,000 expelled Bolshevik-Leninists in the West-Siberian region alone, or approximately 20 percent of all those expelled. Says Elkie, "From the total number of Trotskyists and Zinovievists expelled from the party about one half worked in the educational institutions. . . . The Trotskyist-Zinovievist garbage (!) took particular pains to pervade the ideological sector, seeking to utilize it for propaganda." The reference here is obviously to new party members, from the student working class youth. We may concede that Siberia is an exception as regards the high percentage of Bolshevik-Leninists; the youth is being obviously subjected to the influence of the exiles (the same phenomenon, we might add, was to be observed under Czarism as well.)

Where Repression Is Strongest

In the Kharkov district out of 50,000 members, more than 4,000 were expelled. Secretary Zaitsev breaks down into categories only 2,356 cases of expulsion, checked by the highest organs. Among these are: 907—kulaks and White Guards; 594—moral degenerates and breakers of discipline; 420—sneak-thieves and speculators; 120—bourgeois nationalists; and, finally, 100 Trotskyists. This time we are given quite a definite figure, and, moreover, without any mention of Zinovievists. If we take into consideration the fact that in Kharkov, the satrapy of S. Kossior, Petrovsky and Co., the physical extermination of the Opposition has been going on since 1923, with a bestial ruthlessness so thorough that its fame has spread throughout the entire Soviet Union, then even the modest number of 120, comprising more than 5 percent of the expelled (2,356) seems truly astounding.

It is all too clear that the bureaucracy has not and cannot have the slightest motives for exaggerating the influence of the Bolshevik-Leninists. That is why we must look upon the figures that have been issued to the press as a minimum. Moreover, since 1924, the Stalinist clique has preferred to expel oppositionists as "moral degenerates" and even as "White Guards." There can be no doubt that precisely the most influential and active Bolshevik-Leninists were expelled under these very categories: it is all the easier to make short shrift of them in the concentration camps or en route to exile.

20,000 Expelled

If we take the West-Siberia coefficient, then we would arrive at a number of not less than 40,000 expelled "Trotskyists" and Zinovievists for the entire Soviet Union. We have already stated why this number must be considered as too large. But even if we take the deliberately minimized Kharkov percentage of the expelled "Trotskyists," i.e., over 5 percent, then out of the 200,000 expelled, we would get more than 10,000. It finally, we take the average between the West-Siberian and Kharkov figures, then we get 20,000. In all probability the latter number would be closer to the truth.

The enormous political significance of the above data is clear enough to anyone. A question remains: Why does the bureaucracy, on the one hand, keep the total secret, while on the other, it makes public partial data which is sufficiently clear for general orientation? The answer is very simple: the bureaucracy crawls out of its skin to avoid giving publicity to the Bolshevik-Leninists, while at the same time it is compelled to broadcast a warning: Beware! "They" are many! "They" are growing! In any case, there is no longer any talk about "remnants" and "handfuls still to be crushed."

New Purge in Preparation

The Bolshevik-Leninists were and remain the most irreconcilable enemies of the bureaucracy which seeks to perpetuate its position as a ruling caste. Small wonder that the Stalinist clique assigns the first place in its amalgam lists to the "Trotskyists." They have earned this honor by their entire struggle. The very nature of the most recent purge testifies in the best and clearest possible way to the growth of their influence. The bureaucracy can no longer make short shrift of its enemies by means of the terrorized party, or even publicity before it. The public purge has been replaced by a star-chamber, i.e., it is transferred entirely into the hands of the G.P.U. Of course, the expelled, too, are placed in the same hands—for physical extermination. This method is so well adapted to the interests of the bureaucracy that Stalin has immediately projected a new cleansing: from February 1 to May 1 of the current year. Old party cards (these, it appears, have become "tattered") must be exchanged for new ones, and the instructions of the C.E.C. contain a rigid proviso that during the replacement of party cards, the secretaries, i.e., the organs of the G.P.U. must once again check the entire party personnel and issue new cards only to those who have

earned "confidence." Perhaps six months later we shall learn how many new Bolshevik-Leninists will thereby be promoted from the party to the concentration camps.

The Power of Our Program

The above cited data may perhaps appear utterly unexpected to many. We have purposely done all our computation before the reader's eyes so as to exclude the possibility of any suspicions of subjectivism or bias on our part. The whole gist of the matter lies in the fact that under the influence of the Stalinist press and its agents (like Leonid Fisher and similar gentlemen) not only our enemies but also many of our friends in the West have imperceptibly become accustomed to the idea that if any Bolshevik-Leninists still exist in the U.S.S.R., then they are almost all in hard labor camps. No! That is not the case at all! The Marxist program and the great revolutionary tradition cannot be rooted out by means of police measures. To be sure, in the U.S.S.R. the Bolsheviks find it harder to work today than in any other country in the world (of greatest interest in this respect is the fresh testimony of the Yugoslav comrade Ciliga). Nevertheless, the functioning of the revolutionary mind is not suspended for a single day. If not as a doctrine, then as a mood, as a tradition, as a banner, our tendency has a mass character in the U.S.S.R. and today it is obviously drawing to itself new and fresh forces. Among the 10 to 20 thousand "Trotskyists" expelled during the last months of 1935, the representatives of the older generation, the participants in the movement of the years 1923-1928, comprise tens, perhaps hundreds, but not more. The basic mass—all are the new recruits. Moreover we must not forget that the above data applies only to the party. But there also exists the V.C.L. with its many-millioned youth! It is precisely in their midst that unrest assumes a particularly aggravated character. It is right-fully difficult for rotting revolution to learn Leninism in the U.S.S.R. But without any doubt their level is incomparably higher than the level of the Stalinist "party." The great tradition lives on. In secret places lies hidden the old oppositionist literature. On the shelves stand the books of Marx, Engels and Lenin (they dare not proscribe them as yet). The Soviet papers are compelled to publish news of events in the entire world. The international literature, under the banner of the Fourth International, is already a very rich one today. Our ideas and slogans penetrate into the Soviet Union through a thousand channels—in part,

through our Russian Bulletin. Thus the precious primacy of revolutionary thought is being made secure. Under the lash of the bureaucracy, and not without direct provocation on the part of the Yagoda, Medvedev and others, isolated elements of the youth take to the path of despair and hopelessness. The Bonapartists avidly seize upon terrorist acts in order to justify their bloody repressions of the Opposition: this method is as horrid as the ancient sordidness of privileged despots. But the main section of the revolutionary youth does not tear loose from its class to take to the road of individualistic adventures. The program of the Fourth International even though it does not promise instantaneous miracles does point the only correct and unconditionally certain way out. The growth of the Fourth International on the world arena strengthens and inspires our friends and followers in the U.S.S.R. We can state with certainty that despite the thirteen years of bonapartism, calumny, and pogroms, unsurpassed either in violence or cruelty, despite capitulations and betrayals, more dangerous than the persecutions, even today the Fourth International already has its strongest, numerically largest, and most tempered section in the U.S.S.R.

L. Trotsky

Jan. 11, 1936.

P.S. Insistent mention of "spies of foreign agencies" expelled from the party during the purge deserves particular attention. Such cases are of course entirely possible. But they, by their very nature, can only be rare exceptions. An ordinary secret circular letter would have sufficed to take care of forwarding the information. But why do the newspapers keep harping about spies? The Stalinist press could never have presumed to be so bold without special instructions from above. But what is the purpose of the issued order? It can be correctly divined. During the years of Stalinist autocratic rule in the U.S.S.R. not a few foreign Communist-Oppositionists have been shot. A far greater number is languishing in solitary confinement, concentration camps and exile. Ever more news about this is penetrating abroad. Of exceptional value are the reports of A. Ciliga who recently tore free from the Stalinist chains. The bureaucracy must in some way parry these revelations, by arming its foreign lackeys with at least some semblance of an explanation. There would be nothing astonishing were the agents of the Comintern to proclaim all the foreign communists shot and arrested in the U.S.S.R. as "spies of foreign agencies." These villains, however, will not pass scot-free. The working masses will hear the truth. The organizations of the Fourth International will be at their posts.

L. T.

International has also adhered officially to the bloc with the bourgeoisie. So much the worse for it. As far as we are concerned we prefer clarity. In Spain, genuine revolutionaries will no doubt be found who will mercilessly expose the betrayal of Maurin, Nin, Andrade and Co., and lay the foundation for the Spanish section of the Fourth International!

January 22, 1936

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The Treachery of the Spanish "Labor Party of Marxist Unity"

By LEON TROTSKY

The Spanish organization of the "Left Communists," which was always a muddled organization, merged, after countless vacillations to the right and to the left, with the Catalan Federation of Maurin into a party of "Marxist (?) Unity," or a centrist program. Some of our own periodicals, misled by this name, have written about this party as though it was drawing close to the Fourth International. There is nothing more dangerous than to exaggerate one's own forces with the aid of . . . a credulous imagination. Reality will not be restrained thereby from bringing cruel disillusion!

The newspapers report that in Spain all the "Left" parties, both bourgeois and working class, have made an electoral bloc on the basis of a common program, which, in the nature of things, differs in no way from the program of the French "People's Front" and all other fake programs of the same type. Here we find "reform of the tribunal of constitutional guarantees" as well as rigid support of the "principle of authority" (!) as well as the "freeing of justice from all influences of a political and economic order" (the freeing of capitalist justice from the influence of capital.) And more of the same. The program has in it the rejection of the nationalization of land by the bourgeois republicans members of the bloc but "in return," along with the customary cheap promises in favor of the peasantry (credits, higher prices for agricultural products, etc.), the program declares for the "recovery (!) of industry" and protection for small industry and petty merchants. Then follows the inevitable "control over banks," which, since the bourgeois republicans, according to the text of the program, reject workers' control, involves the control over banks . . . by the bankers themselves, through the medium of their parliamentary agents, like Azana, and similar gentlemen. Finally, the foreign policy of Spain will be laid down

Political Betrayal

A few months ago there was published in Madrid, Juan Andrade's book "The Reformist Bureaucracy and the Labor Movement," in which along with quotations from Marx, Engels, Lenin and other authors, an analysis is made of the causes underlying the degeneration of labor bureaucrats. Juan Andrade forwarded his book to me twice, each time with glowing dedications, in which he calls me his "leader and teacher." This fact, which under different conditions would have only made me happy, compels me at present to announce all the more decisively in public that I never taught any body political betrayal. And Andrade's conduct is nothing else but a betrayal of the proletariat for the sake of an alliance with the bourgeoisie.

In this connection, it is in place to recall that the Spanish "Left Communists," as their very name indicates, posed on every appropriate occasion, as irreconcilable revolutionaries. In particular, they thunderously condemned the French Bolshevik-Leninists for entering

the Socialist party. Never! Under no conditions! To enter temporarily into a mass political organization in order to carry on an irreconcilable struggle in its ranks against the reformist leaders for the banner of the proletarian revolution—that is opportunism; but to conclude a political alliance with the leaders of a reformist party on the basis of a deliberately dishonest program serving to dupe the masses and cover up the bourgeoisie—that is treason! Can there be any greater debasement and prostitution of Marxism?

I.L.P. and Spain

The "Party of Marxist Unity" is a member of the celebrated London Bureau of "Revolutionary Socialist Parties" (the former I.A.G.). The leadership of this Bureau is now in the hands of Fenner Brockway, secretary of the Independent Labor Party. We have already written that, despite the antiquated and apparently incurable pacifist prejudices of Maxton and others, the I.L.P. has taken an honest revolutionary position on the question of the League of Nations and its sanctions. Each of us has read with pleasure a number of excellent articles in the New Leader. During the last parliamentary elections the Independent Labor Party refused to give even electoral support to the Laborites, precisely because the latter supported the League of Nations. In itself this refusal was a tactical error. Wherever the I.L.P. was unable to run its own candidates, it should have supported a Laborite against a Tory. But this is incidental. In any case, even talk was excluded of any "common programs" with the Laborites. Internationalists would have combined support in elections with an exposure of the crawling of the British social-patriots before the League of Nations and its "sanctions."

We take the liberty to put a question to Fenner Brockway: just what is the purpose of the "International" of which he is the secretary? The British section of

"Unity"—with Whom?

But let us return to the Spanish party of "Marxist Unity." How ironic is the name "Marxist Unity" . . . with the bourgeoisie. The Spanish "Left Communists" (Andrade, Nin, Juan Andrade and others) have more than once tried to parry our criticism of their collaborationist policies by citing our lack of understanding of the "special conditions" in Spain. This is the customary argument put to use by all opportunists—for the first duty of a genuine proletarian revolutionist lies in translating the special conditions of his country into the international language of Marxism, which is accessible even beyond the confines of one's own country. But today there is no need of these theoretical arguments. The Spanish bloc of the top of the working class with the left bourgeoisie does not include in it anything "national," for it does not differ in the least from the "People's Front" in France, Czechoslovakia, Brazil or China. The "Party of Marxist Unity" is merely slavishly conducting the same policy that the Seventh Congress of the Comintern foisted upon all its sections, absolutely independently of their "national peculiarities." The real difference in the Spanish policy this time lies only in the fact that a section of the London In-

ternational has also adhered officially to the bloc with the bourgeoisie. So much the worse for it. As far as we are concerned we prefer clarity. In Spain, genuine revolutionaries will no doubt be found who will mercilessly expose the betrayal of Maurin, Nin, Andrade and Co., and lay the foundation for the Spanish section of the Fourth International!

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«My Escape from Stalin's Prison» By A. Tarov

Record of a Worker Bolshevik

A few words about myself. I was born in 1896. My father was a mason, my mother, a house-keeper. I went to work at the age of 14, first as a locksmith, and then as a pressman.

Joined the Communist Party in 1917. Served on all fronts during the civil war in Trans-Caucasia: first as a rank and file soldier in the Red Army, then studied military science in the training school. Became a commander and worked in the army as organizer and leader of communist detachments.

Since 1921, in accordance with the decision of the party, I did party work as instructor and organizer, under the C.E.C. of the Trans-Caucasian C.P. I always worked among the rank and file of the party.

In 1923 I was ordered by the party to take courses in the Communist University. I attended the university three years, was kicked out for an Oppositionist speech, and sent back. But I still continued to work in the party, first as a secretary, later I held a responsible post in the central apparatus.

During the discussion of 1927, the bureaucratic upper-crust could no longer tolerate seeing me in the Central Committee and I was packed off into the trade union field. Here I served as chairman of the workers' committee of railroad construction crews. In 1927 I was expelled from the party for carrying on Oppositionist activity, and later removed from my post.

Arrest, Exile and Prison

On September 24, 1928, I was arrested as a Bolshevik-Leninist. That same night many comrades of the Opposition were also placed under arrest. Inasmuch as on the next day the relatives and friends of the incarcerated Oppositionists massed by the hundreds at the doors of the local G.P.U., the bureaucracy was compelled, that very day, to free three quarters of the arrested Oppositionists, holding only 31 people, myself among them.

We remained one and a half months in the G.P.U. cells. Towards the end of December we were exiled to Kazakhstan—(Klail-Ordoo). Once there we were dispersed in the towns of Kazakhstan: I was sent to Akmolinsk; comrades Dandurov to Adzhar; comrades Fanozi and Garyakin to Semipalatinsk; comrade Seta Nazaryan to Petropavlovsk; comrade Danilev to Chemkent. (In Tiflis, seven more Georgian comrades joined us: comrades Kakaya Melebe, Khukhrya, the names of the others I do not recall).

In Akmolinsk I found L. Ginzburg, S. Andreichin, D. Arshavsky, A. Snokoznev, Artu Nurdjiam and two other comrades from Leningrad whose names I cannot recall. From Oseti there came to join us comrades Zhanitnev, Khugayev, Zolayev and Xenia Djikayev; from Baku came comrade Gansany, from Georgia, comrades Shevachev, Kivraya, Gogmadze and Tsintsadze; from Odessa, comrade Shura Kretzyski.

Capitulators Returned to Prison
In 1930 many capitulated, and there remained only 11 of us in Akmolinsk. But the capitulators are now sitting in jail for having carried on Oppositionist activity. For example, at present in the Ver-

khni-Uralsk solitary are incarcerated former capitulators, L. Ginzburg, Popov, Pavlov and others—25 in all. They are kept apart. The prisoners' commune in the solitary refused to accept them as members because they are for the "General Line", and only against the existing internal regime.

On January 22, 1931, the anniversary of Lenin's death, the entire Akmolinsk colony of the Bolshevik-Leninists was arrested at night. Among those arrested were the following comrades: Snokoznev, Zhanitnev, Khugayev, Xenia Djikayev, Zolayev, Gogmadze, Kieraya, Tsintsadze, Gasinov, Zinov and his wife (Kira) and myself. (On the night of their arrest, Zinov and his wife, Kira capitulated).

On the next day we were transported from Akmolinsk to the Petropavlovsk prison. In Petropavlovsk we were placed in infected cells. Together with us were also incarcerated four comrades, local worker-communists because they were members of the Opposition. I remember only one name, that of comrade Chekanov. Two of them were exiled, one to Arkhangelsk, the other to Western Siberia; the other two were sentenced together with us to three years in prison.

Infected Cells
In the Petropavlovsk prison, in the infected cells all the comrades with three exceptions (comrades Khugayev, Djikayev, and myself) contracted spotted typhus, one after another. They were transferred to the city hospital. Fortunately there were no mortalities. The moment they passed their crisis, the convalescents were shipped to the prison infirmary. On the seventh

month after our arrest we were transferred to the Verkhni-Uralsk solitary.

Just at that time, in the latter prison, the incarcerated Bolshevik-Leninists, to the number of 450, called a general hunger strike in protest against the prison regime and the arbitrary treatment of the Bolshevik-Leninists by the administration.

Ice Water

Prior to this first general hunger strike, as far back as 1930, the prison administration, with warden Bizukov at the head, used to issue orders to spray the Bolshevik-Leninists with ice water (this, in winter, in Siberia!).

The order was executed. During the hubbub, while our comrades attempted to plug up the vents in order to keep the water from their cells, the agents of the G.P.U. aimed the hose directly into the eyes of the comrades, as a result of this comrade Pograsyan lost his eyesight.

And in April, 1931, a guard fired his rifle through the bars of a cell.

The Honor Roll

I list below the imprisoned Oppositionists in the Verkhni-Uralsk solitary whose names I am able to recall:

(1) Dingelstedt; (2) Elzin; (3) Solntsev; (4) Klukov; (5) Gorodetski; (6) Kostya Kingayev; (7) Misha Khugayev; (8) Bazaryan; (9) Redazhkov; (10) Aaron Papelmester; (11) Moses Papelmester; (12) Alsha Papelmester; (13) K. Popov; (14) Popova; (15) Rosa Smirnov; (16) Rosa Rozova; (17) Lena Danilovich; (18) Babayan; (19) Tsintsadze; (20) Socrates Gervorkyan; (21) Tsintsadze, Jr.; (22) Solovyan; (23) Khambulatov; (24) Garmilov; (25) Melnizze; (26) Minsyan; (27) Mirhatze; (28) Pavlov; (29) Zolayev; (30) Pedovchenko; (31) Zhanitnev; (32) Khugayev, 3rd; (33) Kopytov; (34) Kassel; (35) J. Drapkin; (36) Gerdovsky; (37) Stopalov; (38) Gazaryan; (39) Pograsyan (now blind, but still in prison); (40) Davlatov; (41) Davtyan; (42) Dimitriev; (43) Stelinsky; (44) Demchenko; (45) Saakyan; (46) Essayan; (47) Sasoun; (48) Avryan; (49) Yakovlev; (50) Volodya Smirnov; (51) Valentin Smirnov; (52) Avedisa; (53) Golubchik; (54) Zankov; (55) Sasarov; (56) Peter (a cosack); (57) Spitalnik; (58) Pestel.

Then there were three comrades

Across the Border

One fine day I changed my clothes, rode to the railroad station, boarded a train and bade farewell to the G.P.U. of Andri-

jan. Sitting at the car window I gazed at the agents of the railroads (G.P.U. who always line the platform when the trains are about

to leave. They stand with very solemn faces as if on parade).

As soon as the train pulled away from the station I tore to pieces the document issued to me by the G.P.U. From that moment, I ceased to be an exile.

I arrived at Ashkabad. My original intention was to cross the frontier over the Ashkabad mountains. But it proved unfeasible. Gangs of bandits were infesting the hills. I was advised not to try it. So I kept on riding. And when it was no longer possible to go by train, I walked on foot. After many years of close confinement, the marvellous beauty of the scene took my breath away, but I had to keep going.

The administration began to act a little less barbarously only after the general 18 day hunger strike of 450 Bolshevik-Leninists in the Verkhni-Uralsk solitary. But toward the end of 1931, on the occasion of Stalin's rabid attack on Rosa Luxemburg (I forget whether it was on November 20 or 21) we were subjected to a general search at night. The G.P.U. agents rushed into the cells at night and searched every nook and cranny. In the dark a desperate brawl ensued between the imprisoned Bolshevik-Leninists and the administration. Bizukov the warden of the prison received a substantial wallop on the jaw. Many of us were tied hand and foot and dragged from the cells.

Hunger Strike

The administration began to act a little less barbarously only after the general 18 day hunger strike of 450 Bolshevik-Leninists in the Verkhni-Uralsk solitary. But toward the end of 1931, on the occasion of Stalin's rabid attack on Rosa Luxemburg (I forget whether it was on November 20 or 21) we were subjected to a general search at night. The G.P.U. agents rushed into the cells at night and searched every nook and cranny. In the dark a desperate brawl ensued between the imprisoned Bolshevik-Leninists and the administration. Bizukov the warden of the prison received a substantial wallop on the jaw. Many of us were tied hand and foot and dragged from the cells.

The Local Population

The shore of the river is my road. It leads to the village hills. After 25 versts, I come to Mussulman villages. The inhabitants are poor but they have the faces of freemen. They are badly dressed, but vigorous and merry people. They consider the Soviet power to be their own, but, in their opinion, somebody keeps hindering them, the toilers, from getting the boons of the Soviet system. They blame the spoliators and thieves who pillage the Soviet wealth and prevent the toilers from building Socialism quickly. They spoke freely about everything.

One woman said: "How can our leaders fail to understand this! Now, for instance, they proposed to us that we plant this year twice as much in these hills as we did hitherto in peace time. And in order to fulfill the plan, we began to till both our pastures and meadows. And now look, you see the result before your own eyes. Our hills have become bare, so skinny the bones alone remain. In the old days we used to grow little but we got a good deal, we fertilized the land and got good crops. To us, mountain people, pasture-lands are important. Our village used to have 1,500 cows, and 12,000 sheep. Now, only 80 cows and 350 sheep. How can we live well? And what can we grow in these hills except lentils? Is it possible that these wise people do not understand this?"

The Villagers' Opinion

"How can they?", broke in another woman very indignantly. "These people with fly-white hands think that if we plant lentils we'll get cream butter. If they did not butt in, our kolkhoz would have five times more than it has now and the State would get five times as much as it got hitherto. The kolkhoz is a good thing, particularly for us poor people, but the State says—everything belongs to me, a piece of bread is enough for you."

At the present time I am aware of the following colonies of exiles: a large one in Akmolinsk, where comrade Musa Joffe (the wife of the noted Soviet diplomat, A. A. Joffe who committed suicide—Ed.) is; one in Brunze (comrades Zhanitnev, Kolya Tsintsadze and others); in Uralsk—comrade Jenny and her husband (I forgot their last name). Comrade Jenny gave birth to a son in May, 1933, in the Verkhni-Uralsk solitary.

various dominions are treated as colonies of England.

American Capital

In these nations the basic industries are almost all carried on by U. S. capital. United Fruit handles most of Central America—not only the orchards (the chief industry), but railroads, communications, etc. Standard Fruit exploits the orchards of Mexico. The oil fields of Mexico, Venezuela, Bolivia, are chiefly in U. S. hands. The silver and copper, and gold mines of Peru and Mexico are owned and run by Cerrito da Pasca and the Hearst interests. General Motors, Ford and Chrysler provide the automobiles and trucks, and build factories in Canada and assembly plants in the other countries. The sugar industry of Cuba is owned through the great New York banks. The U. S. Utilities and Communications companies operate the power, light, and communications systems. Roads and government works have been built in the period since the war primarily through the huge exportation of U. S. capital—passed on to the U. S. investors in bonds now mostly in default or fantastically depreciated. Every interstice of the economic structure of these nations is plugged with U. S. capital.

In addition, quite naturally, the basic political policies of these nations is controlled by Washington. The gloved and friendly hand of "the good neighbor" is supplemented whenever necessary by the iron of battleships and marines.

Growth of U. S. Influence

The present relationship between the U. S. and these nations has, of course, been developed over a long period of time, indeed for more than a century. Its first grandiose prophecy was the announcement of the Monroe Doctrine itself, in 1823. This, however, was much more than the young nation could have swallowed by itself in that period. It was made possible only because at that time it fitted into the plans of England, then jockeying in the European arena against the Holy Alliance of Prussia, Austria, and Russia. Since then the hegemony of the U. S. has been steadily built up, developed not by the words of diplomatic notes and public speeches, but by the actual relationship of forces among the contending powers. England has always remained the principal contender, and her superb skill and tradition in such matters, added to her dominant

position during the 19th century, gave her often the advantage—particularly in such longer term projects as the building of railroads (Argentina, Chile) and in getting the chief trade in "hardware" for English manufacturers. Before the war, Germany came rapidly forward, and threatened both England and the U. S. in South America. But defeat in the War sent Germany a long way back. England remained and continues, and now Japan emerges more and more clearly, aggressively thrusting her cheap textiles and miscellaneous manufactures into the South American market.

Looking Forward to War

The U. S., the most vigorous and powerful nation of the rotting capitalist world, looks to the future. U. S. imperialism sees the war approaching. And already it aims to utilize the war crisis to strengthen its stranglehold on the Americas, to reinforce its own colonial system. From this as a basis, its eyes go out to the potentialities of the war itself: to the chance of re-establishing a splendid isolation, until the warring powers approach mutual exhaustion, and then step in to decide the issue, and to hold the whip hand on a world scale.

U. S. Marxists must follow with increasing care the course of the U. S. "Pan-American" policy, and the events within the Central and South American countries. Above all, relations between the revolutionaries of these nations and those of the U. S. must be greatly and rapidly strengthened. In the majority of these nations, as even a brief survey proves, the revolutionary struggle is identical with ours: in the most direct sense it is precisely the struggle against U. S. imperialism. Their victories, consequently, are our victories, and we are defeated in their defeats.

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your subscription has EXPIRED. We urge you to send in your renewal by return mail, thus insuring the receipt of your copy without interruption.

The woman considered me a communist. They were not afraid of communists. The only thing they feared was the Political Department. The latter is the absolute master of the village, and rules everybody and everything in the village.

The villagers were all preoccupied with the question of the work-day. They were not interested in anything except matters relating to the kolkhoz. They did not view as their own affair everything relating to the kolkhoz. In their minds, the kolkhoz is a state enterprise managed by the Political Department, while the kolkhozniki are merely laborers, working in the kolkhoz and receiving a meager ration for their work-day. The tabulation of work-days is on display on a wall in the village reading room. The men and women in the kolkhoz crowd around the tabulation to find out who has the most work-days to her credit. They were all pre-occupied with this and, I might say, with this alone.

Came the last and decisive day. It was noon. I clambered atop a small mound, covered with fruit trees and began assiduously to study the locale. I fixed the position of the border patrols. A macadam road cut across the gardens close to the river bank. The patrols paced the road. I had to seize the opportunity—a few minutes—to make my way to the river and plunge into the water. It was impossible to take my things along.

Concerning the Mensheviks

The centrists today do not attach any particular political importance to the existence of the Russian Mensheviks. The latter have compromised themselves in the eyes of the broad masses of the toilers by their behavior during the October revolution. And it is very difficult to restore by means of phrases the pre-revolutionary authority of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party. That is why they are not much of a danger to the Stalinist regime. Our youth sees nothing revolutionary in the Mensheviks. Especially the Georgian Mensheviks. The youth see in them only the return to capitalism.

The authority of the dictatorship of the proletariat is great in the eyes of the toilers of the U.S.S.R. Stalin hides his counter-revolutionary face precisely behind the authority of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The exploited classes so warmly acclaim the dictatorship of the proletariat because otherwise it would be impossible to expropriate the capitalists.

In the Verkhni-Uralsk solitary there were 16-28 Mensheviks, the majority Georgians. I underscore Georgian Mensheviks because in contrast to others they hold views that are peculiar, and deeply chauvinist and have nothing in common with internationalism. They were set free; only four remaining. During the hunger strike of the Bolshevik-Leninists, on the 14th day they announced a twenty-four hour hunger strike as a protest against the arbitrary treatment of the Bolshevik-Leninists by the prison administration. I happened to engage in conversation with two Georgian Mensheviks. I came away with the conclusion that they are now gratified that one of "theirs", Djugashvili (Stalin), is in power. I also had a discussion with a Zin-

The river was broad and the current rapid. I threw away my sack and bag. I put on a military costume, but not the boots, and barefoot (I kept only my civilian costume) I walked into the open, and proceeded calmly towards the bank. No sooner did I reach the river, quickly stripped off the uniform and was about to lie on my civilian costume when a cry came from a distance: "Halt! Halt!"

With the civilian clothes in my hands I plunged into the water. The patrols, without being aware where the cry was coming from, raised an alarm and began firing. I swam under the water, keeping under as long as was possible. Whenever I stuck my head out for air, I heard rifle fire. The clothes became waterlogged and hampered my progress. In the meantime the current was rapidly carrying me away. Below was the "foreign" rock-bound shore—the river in flood tide—and should the current carry me further down I would have no chance to get to that shore. I found myself compelled to abandon my only suit, with my money in its pockets. I clambered out on the "foreign" shore, in my underwear. For a long time I lay among the reeds. I could observe the Soviet patrols approach the river bank and pick up my military uniform—they obviously thought that it was some border-patrolman who fled away. And then I found myself once again sitting in jail, this time "foreign" one.

He told me that the Zinists are also entering the Second International, and he himself is a former social-democrat. During the conversation, he expressed the opinion that the Menshevik social democrats committed an unpardonable mistake in the 1917 revolution, i.e., they failed to conduct a decisive policy for the conquest of power and fought against the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Of the Mensheviks, Zinists, Dashnaks (members of the Armenian nationalist party Dashnak-Tsutium) and others whom I ran across in exile and prison, I can say that they are not dangerous to the Stalinist regime. The Russian Mensheviks have not yet discarded their old shirts, as the social democrats abroad are trying to do. These old personalities are not harmful to Stalin. He arrested them together with the communists in order to throw a screen around his counter-revolutionary actions toward the latter. Today, Stalin is surrounded by the worst anti-proletarian elements.

In jail I met also communists who were incarcerated although they were in agreement with the "General Line." They were against the existing internal regime. (It never enters the mind of these bourgeois that a given regime is the result of a given policy.) The Mensheviks at least expressed their protest against the brutality practiced upon the Bolshevik-Leninists by a one day hunger strike. The followers of the "General Line" did not even do that. They did not even issue a verbal protest, but kept sitting quietly alongside us. The Red Army soldiers who, on the orders of the administration, fed us by force—even they taunted the "General Liners" for such cowardly behavior.

Mpls. Unions Join Lewis

(Continued from Page 1)

510, Barbers No. 61, Bartenders No. 152, Cap Makers No. 1895, Auto Mechanics 888, Lathers No. 190, Plasterers No. 65, Plaster Tenders No. 111.

A telegram from John L. Lewis was read to the delegates. In the telegram he expressed regret for not being able to attend and cited as his reason for non-attendance the fact that the United Mine Workers convention was now going on in Washington, D. C.

On a motion by V. R. Dunne, all delegates were pledged to go back to their organizations and secure permission to sign the organization's name to a new call that will go out shortly for a broader conference on the same question. Between the conferences it was decided to set up a semi-permanent committee who would carry on the work.

A committee of seven was elected. It will be known as the Continuation Committee for Industrial Organization. This was perhaps the most important action taken at the conference as it will set up here in Minneapolis a center and clearing-house for industrial union activity. The first meeting of the committee will be Sunday, Feb. 9.

During the discussion that took place, around the question of industrial organization versus craft unions, it was shown by many delegates that there is a crying need for a more efficient type of work organization that can be organized under the craft

union set-up. The Resolutions Committee reported to the body with three resolutions, in all of which they recommended concurrence.

No. 1, introduced by Building Laborers, 563, asked for support in their strike on the Sumner Field project, adopted; No. 2, introduced by Upholsterers' Union, 61, asked for support for the Struwwer strikers and called upon the entire trade union movement to call a public meeting in their behalf, adopted; No. 3, introduced by Local 382, Auto Mechanics, called for the reinstatement of 574 in the Drivers' International, adopted.

Attention of the delegates was called to the coming state-wide WPA conference which will be held in General Drivers Hall, 257 Plymouth Ave. North, Saturday and Sunday, February 8 and 9. All unions were requested to send delegates.

The Resolutions Committee, in conjunction with the Continuation Committee was instructed to draw up a statement setting forth the aims and objectives of the conference to be released to the public press. The meeting adjourned at 4 o'clock.

STRIKE DANCE

Strikers at the Rothstein plant in Boro Park are running a dance and entertainment on Saturday, Feb. 22 at 8:30 P.M. in the Grand Ballroom of the Boro Park Y.M.H.A., 14 Ave. and 60 St. Assemblies of Boro Park Labor Conference for the benefit of the strikers.

HIRE WITH LUMEN CLUB

To Tibbets Brook Park Sunday February 16 Starting from Woodlawn Station 11 A.M. Friends and sympathizers are invited to come along.

U. S. IMPERIALISM AT WORK

Roosevelt Carves A Latin American Empire

By JOHN WEST

Certain recent developments in the foreign policy of the Roosevelt Administration have been receiving less than the attention they deserve. I refer specifically to a new stage openly announced by Roosevelt in his Annual Message to Congress. In that address, Roosevelt lavished a considerable oratorical effort in painting contrasting pictures of dark, war-laden, tyrannical Europe, on the one hand, and the enlightened, happy and peace-enriched Americans on the other.

The possible immaturity of the picture is not important. No doubt, to an imperialist spokesman, such minor disturbances as the Chaco War (the peace treaty has not yet been signed), revolutions in Cuba, violent strikes, insurrections and dictatorial coups in Venezuela, Brazil, Chile, etc., are entirely compatible with peace as imperialism understands peace. But Roosevelt was of course speaking for more than the sake of rhetorical effect.

An "American League of Nations"?

The remarks in the Annual Message are being rapidly followed up. Feelers have gone out, looking toward a general conference of the Pan-American nations. The Administration publicity has been vague and inconclusive in stating the purpose of this conference. One report has it that an "American League of Nations" will be proposed. Another states merely that it will attempt to coordinate the various treaties between the American nations in order to provide for a general treaty system guaranteeing peace on these two continents. A third suggests a revision of the Monroe Doctrine from its present status as a "unilateral" policy of the U. S. alone to a "multilateral" declaration of policy on the part of all the American nations.

The particular character and possible results of this proposed conference are not decisive. What must be understood is that American imperialism at this time sees it fit and proper to restate publicly to the world its traditional contention that the exploitation of the

American continents is the privileged and special function of the bourgeoisie of the U. S.; and that in the "New World" all others must come a bad second.

The time is indeed propitious. Europe is occupied with grave internal crisis. England, besides being directly involved in the immediate European crisis, faces widespread disturbances throughout her colonial empire. Japan is going steadily forward in her announced policy of reducing the Far East to her province, and at the present moment neither England nor the U. S. is yet ready to challenge Japan openly. What, then, could be more appropriate than a reminder to the rest of the world from the U. S. that in the struggle for the redivision of the world—now entering the stage of armed conflict—the nations of the Americas are a closed sphere? And, when the reminder is accompanied by the greatest military and naval budget in the peace-time history of any country, it gains much more than abstract significance.

World Interests of the U. S.

It must not be imagined that by announcing proprietorship in the Americas, the U. S. is giving up interests in the rest of the world. The ravenous needs of U. S. finance-capital are not so easily satisfied. The U. S. requires also its outlets elsewhere, especially in the Far East. Japan cannot be allowed to march indefinitely without opposition—either through guns or some more "friendly" diplomatic arrangement. But the present stake in the East is not yet so high as that in the Americas; and the U. S. is not at present required to take action. Leading influence in the Americas, however, is a constant, enduring and minimum requirement for U. S. imperialism.

The pale liberals, who like us to believe that the U. S. is not an imperialist nation in the full sense of the word, are fond of pointing to its lack of colonies—in contrast, for example, to Great Britain—in its respect for small nations, its rejection of "territorial ambitions" in noble opposition to the greedy tyrants of the Old World. Such a view is extremely useful to the

war-makers, who know that they can enlist the masses in support only of such high-sounding and idealistic purposes as the defense of democracy, freedom, the rights of the weak. And such a view is as false and treacherous as all the other phases of the betrayers.

Colonies of U. S. Imperialism

We must not be deceived by forms. A colony is not a colony, in the basic economic meaning, merely because it is called so. Many names are used: dominion, mandate, "free state," sphere of influence, "union," even kingdom and empire, are all, for example, names which England employs. A colony means in the economic sense a territory relatively undeveloped industrially which is under the economic domination of some powerful nation, which is exploited primarily by the bourgeoisie of that nation. Such economic domination carries with it inevitably a greater or lesser degree of political domination. When the government of the dominant nation controls the basic direction of the policies of the subject territory, particularly in the sphere of "foreign relations," that territory is a colony in political as well as economic fact, no matter what name may be used, no matter what the "legal" standing.

In the basic sense, Mexico, the nations of Central America, many of the Caribbean islands (e.g., Cuba, Porto Rico, Santo Domingo) and to a lesser degree many of the South American countries (especially Venezuela, Peru, Colombia, Bolivia), and even Canada, are part of the colonial system of U. S. imperialism.

This is a fact well known to U. S. capitalists and to the U. S. government. It is obviously revealed, in one direction, by the heavy government subsidies to the U. S. shops operating within this system, and by the extension of Pan-American Airways with the help of much greater subsidies than those given to any other air line. The War Department analyses of the relative strength of the great powers in material resources necessary to carry on the next war treat these territories as colonies of the U. S. in exactly the same sense that the

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Mass Action Forces Amnesty In Spain

Dutch Gov't Clamps Down on Revolutionary Party, RSAP, for Anti-Imperialist Campaign

Fourth Internationalists Strike Back as Police Raid Homes, Party Printshop, Confiscate Issue of 'Nieuwe Fakkel', Party Organ

Dutch imperialism is cracking down on our sister party, the Revolutionary Socialist Labor Party of the Netherlands. Court procedure has been instituted against the party and its organ, De Nieuwe Fakkel and copies of the February 1 issue have been confiscated. The printing office of the party has been searched as have the homes of officers and some of the active members.

The R.S.A.P. replied to this attempt of the Dutch reactionaries, supported also by the so-called "Democrats" in the Colijn cabinet, by putting its "Emergency Apparatus" into action and promptly getting out a special two-page issue of February 1, number 87-A to replace the confiscated No. 87. At the head of this extra edition of the Nieuwe Fakkel stands the defiant challenge to the reactionaries: "The working class: 'I was, I am and I will be!'"

The immediate occasion for the

attack of the Netherlands Department of Justice on the Nieuwe Fakkel was an article appearing in the January 24 issue and dealing with the poverty, starvation and tuberculosis in the East Indian possession of Dutch imperialism. Like every other imperialist government the Netherlands government is extremely nervous about the danger of revolt in colonial possessions which, as capitalist cronies up, must be exploited ever more extremely and brutally. The government accordingly is sensitive to revelations of this extreme exploitation and repression in the colonies. Besides, articles of this kind tend to draw together into alliance those two foes of imperialism, the exploited colonial peoples on the one hand, and the exploited proletariat in the home country, on the other hand. By no means, therefore, must information of this kind be permitted to see the light of day.

The cartoon in the extra edition of the Nieuwe Fakkel represents a caption in which "Freedom of the Press Lies Buried." The decorations in the margin consist of reproductions of the Dutch equivalent of the dollar sign. The caption of the cartoon quotes ironically a well-known Dutch folk song which speaks of the people "living free and blithe on Holland's precious soil."

Only Shadow of Democracy Left

The leading editorial states: "Of democracy in the Netherlands scarcely a shadow remains after two and a half years of the Colijn government. We have never expected anything else. In a crisis the Dutch bourgeoisie has broken with its past. With unseemly haste it has come forward with its program which nullifies the results of the capitalist crisis on the shoulders of the broad masses. The bourgeoisie is asking help from the government by way of loans, on the one hand, and reduction in unemployment insurance and other social benefits for the masses, on the other hand.

"At the same time the class government also takes political precautions. Traditions of freedom and toleration, yes, indeed! But everything has its limit, and these limits are now reached when the bourgeoisie, finding itself in ever deeper perplexity, becomes frantic."

Burying the Bourgeois Tradition

This editorial then recalls the struggle of the Netherlands against Spanish oppression in the 17th century, the battles against Napoleon in the beginning of the 19th century and other historic occurrences to which the liberals of the Netherlands have looked back for generations with pride. "But the sons of the battles for freedom in the past who speculate on what they call national recovery know no greater concern today than the complete annihilation of the rights and liberties which a rising and strong middle class once struggled to obtain."

"Despite the swift attack from a nervous imperialist cabinet, the Nieuwe Fakkel is here! Without any loss of time support was rallied to our 'Emergency Apparatus' and 6,000 copies of this special issue run off and their distribution begun." The editorial calls for renewed financial support, renewed activity of the party in all directions, and for the revolutionary overthrow of Dutch imperialism.

Vigilantes Prosecute Militants

Leader of Cal. Tar-Feather Mob Sues Victims for Assault and Battery

By ERNEST BESIG
Director, A.C.L.U., N. Cal., Feb. 16

SAN FRANCISCO.—A California vigilante mob, headed by a man known as "Tar-Feather," has been made defendants in a \$2,500 damage suit filed in the Superior Court of Sonoma County. The complaint, which was filed by the Tar-Feather mob, charges that the plaintiffs, who include Fred Cairns, alleged leader of the mob, and Harold G. Campbell, said to be a resident of Belvedere, Cal., are defendants in a two federal court damage suits brought by Nitzberg and Green, which followed an attack on the Tar-Feather mob on August 21. Federal Judge Roche recently denied Cairns' motion to dismiss Green's suit and a new motion to transfer the case to the Sacramento federal court will shortly come on for a hearing.

The complaint in the present suit alleges that Cairns and Campbell went upon the highways in Sonoma County of August 21 for the purpose of detecting and apprehending such persons as might be plaintiffs' presence engaged in the commission of crimes and offenses against the persons or property of residents and tax payers of said county. It is claimed that while they were on the streets of Santa Rosa, Green and Nitzberg "did pull, push, jerk, jostle and strike" plaintiffs, threatened to

(Continued on Page 4)

FRISCO CENTRAL LABOR COUNCIL CALLS FOR RELEASE OF MINI

SAN FRANCISCO.—A resolution calling upon the California parole board to release Norman Mini and his seven fellow prisoners was passed unanimously by the Central Labor Council last week.

Norman Mini, overworked in the jute mill at San Quentin, collapsed on the job last week. Latest reports indicate that his condition is not critical.

The eight Sacramento criminal syndicalism prisoners, sentenced from one to fourteen years, come up before the parole board on February 25th to have their sentences set. They have been in jail about a year. San Francisco's Labor Council called upon the board to set the sentences at the minimum.

The action of the central body was taken in labor circles here as a repudiation of Paul Scharenberg, reactionary secretary of the state federation, who recently attacked the National Sacramento Appeal Committee's fight for the prisoners.

Another Enemy of Labor Enters Presidential Race

Landon "Balanced Budget" at Expense of Workers, Unemployed and Poor Farmers

By JAMES EVANS
An evasive little Kansan politician is getting a great deal of publicity nowadays. Whenever one picks up a capitalist newspaper, there is some mention of Governor Alf Landon as a presidential possibility. Landon is continually compared to the somewhat lamented Coolidge, who was certainly anything but a walking brain-storm; but who had the good fortune to serve as chief executive while American capitalism was enjoying a temporary boom.

If Landon should be the Republican nominee, every attempt will be made to capitalize upon popular discontent by his campaign managers. Some slogan such as the "Back to normalcy" cry of 1920, or the "Keep Cool with Coolidge" motto will be used to trick the eleven million unemployed into voting Republican. Landon himself will be portrayed as the greatest executive genius who ever hanged on empty dinner-pots for votes. At the same time, he will be praised in the Chamber of Commerce as the man who balanced the budget in Kansas.

No Friend of Labor
This man, Landon, is no friend of the workers. I have lived in Kansas, and I know that the main accomplishment of the genial Alf when Landon assumed office in 1933, the wages of all state employees were immediately reduced 25 percent. The dismissal of an equal percentage of these employees resulted in a stretch-out system for those remaining on the jobs. The precedent created by the Governor caused a sharp drop in wages and private employment all over the state.

(Continued on Page 4)

Fickets Blockade Akron Co.

Threat of Injunction as Lines Stay Solid in Walkout

BULLETIN

AKRON, Ohio, Feb. 21.—Good-year tire plants remained idle here as large mass picket lines blocked all gates and kept scabs at bay. Officials, unable to break through the line, in action for four days, have applied to the courts for an injunction. Sheriff James T. Flower declared his readiness to violently smash through the lines in case of a favorable court decision.

By JACK WELSH

AKRON, Ohio, Feb. 16.—Rubber workers at Goodyear threatened to strike this week unless the company took back seventy-five plant workers laid off last week, thus bringing the crisis through the tire industry to another open flare-up.

Already the company was forced to swallow its statement that 137 workers who lead the latest "sit-down" at Plant 2 last Friday were permanently fired.

The plant, which ordinarily runs on Saturday and Monday, was closed Saturday by the company until Tuesday, 6 a.m. In the hope that the workers could be pacified in the meantime.

Instead, workers flocked to the headquarters of the Goodyear local of the United Rubber Workers of America, and joined solidly into the growing movement to stop lay-offs and wage cuts once and for all through a strike.

Calling the Bosses' Hand

The last "sit-down" was joined by 2,000 firebuilders at Plant 2 and drew sympathetic "sit-downs" from all other departments which have another 2,000 men.

When the company threatened to fire the entire third shift department, a rubberworker took the floor in the factory and told the personnel manager, Fred Gilmer, "You've been ordering us workers around for a long time, now it's our turn."

The company announced that 137 men on that shift, "fire leaders" were fired, but when the entire plant made preparations to strike on Saturday, the company of itself called the company union together and "negotiated" a settling of the men.

One for All, All for One!

A union committee meets Monday at 1 P.M. with the management to demand the rehiring of the 75 men. If the company refuses, the rubberworkers at a mass rally Monday night will vote on shutting down the plant Tuesday morning.

At a rally Sunday afternoon, over 1,000 workers voted their sentiment for strike by cheering speakers.

(Continued on Page 4)

Government Compelled To Release 30,000

Following the stormy upsurge of the Spanish masses, which marked the most dramatic return to self-confident activity to be witnessed in the world labor movement in years, the Aznar government was today compelled to sign an amnesty decree which will effect the release of some 30,000 class war prisoners.

The thousands of men and women confined to capitalist dungeons in Spain were victims of the revenge taken by the ruling class for the heroic uprising of the masses in October 1934 in defense of their rights threatened by the clerical-fascist reaction.

The imposing demonstrations which forced the amnesty are an encouraging indication that the Spanish masses are unwilling to allow their militant sentiments to be wiped out by parliamentary illusions disseminated by their leaders following upon the impressive electoral victory over the reaction.

Nearly two years of reactionary

oppression have failed to quench

the revolutionary spirit of the

Spanish workers and peasants.

Last Sunday's general elections, the

first opportunity the masses have

had to register their irreconcilable

opposition to capitalism, resulted

in an overwhelming vote for a new

social order. While the bourgeois

reformist character of the program

of the "Peoples Front" for which

the votes were cast is an anti-

climbing commentary on the leaders

of the workers' parties who elected

it, the significance of the election

to the masses was expressed by

their coming out on the streets to

make the first fruits of their victory

by freeing all political prisoners.

The resurgence of the pre-

revolutionary spirit of 1931 is obvious.

Then, too, a coalition of bourgeois

republicans and Socialists formally

held power. One present condition

is that, by entering a coalition for

the elections, the bourgeois repub-

licans gained for themselves the

lion's share in parliamentary rep-

resentation. In 1931 the bourgeois

republicans had a comparatively

small number of deputies; the So-

cialists were the largest single

force in parliament. The present

agreement for the election gave the

Republican Left of Aznar and the

Republican Union of Martinez

Barrios a majority of the deputies.

On the first returns the bourgeois

Republicans had 110 deputies, the

Socialists, 81. Thus the workers'

parties voluntarily subordinated

themselves to their bourgeois al-

lies, who represent an insignificant

section of the Spanish population.

The resurgence of the Spanish

proletariat has drawn into political

life for the first time the masses

of the Syndicalist and anarchist

workers and peasants, who prin-

ciple abstained in all previous elec-

tions. The women also came out in

unprecedented numbers. The tem-

per of the masses is indicated by

the fact that during the election

campaign Largo Caballero had to

assure his audiences that the coal-

ition with the bourgeoisie was merely

a "tactical expedient" and that

the election would be merely a step

ping stone to a Soviet Spain. How-

ever, reports from Spain indicate

that the Socialists are planning to

support their bourgeois allies in

the new cabinet. In any event Cab-

allero will have to repudiate the

"Peoples Front" electoral program

before the Socialist leadership can

take the road of struggle.

While the capitalist press carries

alarms reports from Spain that

capitalists and aristocrats are fear-

ing the country, the Spanish cap-

italist press editorialists, as reported

here in the Spanish-American press,

indicate little fear of anything more

than a parliamentary overturn.

Even the organ of the Catholic

leader, Gil Rodas, confines itself to

a demand that the present cabinet

THE STALIN FRAME-UP MILL AT WORK

Editor's Note: The following letter was sent by L. D. Trotsky to Olaf Schefel, connected with the newspaper "Soerlandet," one of the organs of the Norwegian Labor Party, now being violently attacked by the Norwegian Stalinists for daring to defend Trotsky against the slander campaign of Stalin-Yagoda. The contents are self-explanatory.

January 30, 1936
The local Stalinist paper "Arbeideren"—central organ of Stalinist C.P.—has just published a dispatch that Trotsky is waging a war against the Soviet Union, in an alliance with Hitler, the American newspaper magazine, a world famous thing and ally of Hitler. According to this dispatch, I published a series of articles in the Hearst press under my own name. One day before the "Arbeideren" published this sensation, I received a cable from New York from my friends there, dealing with the fraud perpetrated by the Hearst. I sent immediately the following cable to Cannon in N.Y.: "PUBLICATION OF TAROV ARTICLE BY HEARST COMMON-PRESS GANGSTERISM STOP! PRESS IMPUDENCE OF HEARST NO EXCUSE FOR CRIMES OF STALIN CLIQUE STOP! GAVE

STATEMENT TO ASSOCIATED PRESS UNOBSIGNED

At the same time I gave a statement to the A.P.

It is most highly interesting that the small "Arbeideren" was immediately attacked by cable from N.Y. about my alleged articles, i.e., the fraud perpetrated by Hearst. It is self-evident that the other papers of the Comintern were even more amply instructed on this matter, so that they could do their best or worst. This shows that involved here is not only Hearst's press trust, but another and much more important trust.

To make my thoughts clear to you, I will cite another instance: On July 20, 1931 a Polish newspaper "Kuryer Codzienny" gave a prominent display to a leading article allegedly signed by me. This article was a forgery connected from a few small quotations from an article of mine combined with several of the cruelest invectives and suppositions by the forger.

The Moscow Pravda immediately published an enormous facsimile reproduction of this article under the heading: "Piusinski's New Aid." At the same time this article was printed somewhere in "New York City" by an anti-revolutionary newspaper. There you I sent a

brief note to Pravda demanding a retraction of its own report, in order not to dupe the Russian workers and peasants. In any case, in the Bulletin of Russian Opposition of which I am the editor and in many other papers, I not only disavowed this matter but also proved that the "Kuryer Codzienny" obtained the forgery through an agent of the G.P.U. (GON ORDERS FROM MOSCOW, in order thus to obtain sensational material for a campaign of slander.

Matters are not much different today. The revelations of Tarov and Gilza are highly embarrassing to the Stalinists for they involve not theoretical or political devices, but hard and irrefutable facts. These facts come all the less prejudicially to the Stalinists because in the course of the recent months ACCORDING TO THE DATA IN THE MOSCOW PRESS not less than 10,000 (in reality many more) Bolshevik-Leninists have been expelled from the party—i.e., naturally, placed under arrest, and sent to concentration camps, exile etc.

Are we perhaps dealing here with the enemies of the Soviet Union? You may rest assured that in the hour of greatest danger when 99 per cent of the so-called "Friends of the S.U." and perhaps a greatly

half of the Soviet bureaucracy will betray the October Revolution, these men who were arrested will be its truest defenders. Their "crime" precisely lay in their desire to save the October revolution from infamy and degradation, namely, they were against the social inequality that is growing day by day, against the intolerable pressure on the workers, against the introduction of ranks into the Red Army headed by the Marshals, etc.

To parry these unpleasant revelations Moscow must find some means of diversion, for they are in position to operate with facts and political arguments. They tried to influence me in the Kirov affair. They failed, because the terrorist act of Nikodimov, directed by the G.P.U., took a very serious turn. The bullet was fired before Yagoda and Medved could place under arrest the organization on their themselves controlled. Then they tried the matter of the Zeller postcard. Again, without much success. From now on they intend to let it be known that whoever speaks against the abominable crimes of the Moscow bureaucracy is a brother-in-law of Hitler. It is self-understood that the world revolution will try to put to use every revelation.

Even when the mild Maxton casts a sharp word against the Labor Party in Parliament, the Laborists applaud ironically. A few grounds for Maxton to keep quiet? In order that reaction be unable to make use of the villainies of the Stalin clique, the villainies must cease and not the revolutions.

I do not know whether Hearst lifted certain of my articles directly from the Russian Bulletin or whether his "assistant" who may well be an "assistant" of the G.P.U. at the same time has concocted some sort of a series of articles for him. The gist of the matter is hardly altered thereby. I will try to present Hearst for fraud or bribery theft. But this will not alter anything. Hearst's rationality is not a mitigating circumstance for the crimes of the Moscow Bonapartists.

Since the "Arbeideren" also mentions of my personally in its newest exposure, I am supplying you with this information which is completely at your disposal. You can make any use of it you may deem necessary.

At the same time I am sending a copy of this note with the self-same aim to the foreign editor of the "Arbeiderblad."

The only direct lies issued by the workers' parties were exhortations to their followers not to create disorder. When the workers in many cities attempted to translate the victory immediately into action—releasing the 30,000 political prisoners rotting in the dungeons, re-electing Communist and Republican deputies were into the streets to urge the masses to disperse.

Stalinist publicists here and abroad spoke of the Spanish situation as a "revolutionary crisis." This is correct enough. But such an estimate calls for decisive mobilization of the proletariat for a revolutionary offensive, instead of the parliamentary criticism of the "Peoples Front." However the Daily Worker cable from Moscow of February 18 shows that the So-

(Continued on Page 4)

Left Wing Group Gains in Phila Needle Trades Union

Stalinists and Lovestoneites Support Administration; Sabotage United Front

PHILADELPHIA.—Local Phila. ILGWU passed thru one of the most exciting elections ever held in its history. This election, an emergency election granted by the G.E.B. in order to eliminate, if possible, a bitter factional fight between two office-seeking elements, which threatened the very existence of the organization.

The conditions of the workers in the shops, as a result, were going from bad to worse. All sorts of union violations were taking place. Wage cuts, lengthening of hours, discrimination against active and militant workers was a daily occurrence, but the officials were too busy establishing their power in the office to do anything.

The Stalinist "Rank and File Committee" together with the Lovestone "Progressives," were supporting the administration against the remnants of the old Reisberg regime, who sought to regain control of the union by assuming the role of fighters for better conditions for the workers in the industry.

Although, when Reisberg was manager, he fought bitterly against groups, his followers imitated the left wing and organized themselves into a committee, held meetings inside of the union, and instructed their members to carry out their policy. Hence, their members, who were in the majority in the cotton local Executive controlling also the delegation to the Joint Board, kept up a continuous struggle against the other faction which dominated the majority of the Joint Board. In spite of the fact that the Cotton Local is the largest local, it is a minority on the Joint Board, since representation on that body is not on a proportional basis. The fight in the Joint Board finally reached a point where the cotton delegation walked out of its meeting and the other faction took advantage of the situation to expel them.

A Disgraceful Squabble

The Reisberg group immediately got to work in the cotton Executive and sent a committee to the G.E.B. which was to meet in Cleveland. A few days later a membership meeting of the cotton local was broken up and police were called in. The Stalinists and Progressives added to the general disorder, by lining up with the manager, who refused to permit the chairlady (a Reisberg follower) to open or conduct the meeting.

The general membership, ignorant of the squabble, did not participate in this disgraceful performance, many left in disgust.

Meanwhile, a new group has sprung up. They called themselves the "Militants." Although many of the members are not only new to the movement, but to unionism, the group already shows promise of a future genuine left wing.

"Militants" Issue Leaflet

A leaflet was issued by the group exposing both factions, that were bringing ruin and demoralization into the union, calling on the workers to get rid of these cliques, by demanding new general elections on a more proportional basis. The leaflet aroused great interest. Simultaneously, the "Rank and File" committee handed out a circular, in which they further showed their line-up with the administration by asking for the election of a new cotton delegation to the Joint Board as the only solution.

However, because of the interest aroused among the workers in the shops, the "Militants" were urged to get together with other progressive elements on the basis of their leaflet.

A conference was called in which the "Militants" and the "Rank and File" Committee participated. The Progressives were invited but did not show up.

The "Militants" proposed a united front to demand general elections, as a means of ridding the union of the two right wing and reactionary factions and to establish a real progressive leadership and policy in the union.

"Impractical"

The "Rank and File" delegation replied that it was impractical to make such demands, since the constitution provides for elections every two years; the administration had only been in office one year and they were not ready to agree that it should be kicked out. They were the lesser evil, in spite of wage cuts, etc. Get rid of the main evil, the Reisberg faction, by electing a new joint board delegation. Besides, a general election would certainly not be granted by the national office. No agreement was reached and the conference was disbanded.

A few days later a telegram was received, granting new general elections. A committee appointed by the Cleveland G.E.B. to investigate the critical Phila. situation found that an emergency existed in the union and since the constitution provides for such cases, special elections were granted.

Although the majority of the joint board offered some resistance, the election machinery was immediately set into motion by the G.E.B.

B. committee who were here to supervise the proceedings. Everything was put through very quickly eliminating the time periods set by the constitution.

New Conference, New Attack

Some of the members of the "Militant Group" still under the illusion that somehow the Stalinists and "Progressives" were sincere, urged the group to make another attempt at united front. This was done and this time they were invited to a "conference" initiated by the "Rank and File" Committee. At this meeting the "Militants" discovered that the Stalinists and Lovestoneites had combined. All former enemies were forgotten, no more differences were between them. They had indeed combined not against the right wing and its disastrous policies, but against the "Militants."

No sooner was the meeting opened than the "Militants" were put on trial. They were asked why they had formed a separate group. The delegation was fully aware of the reason for this question. Already branded as "Trotskyites" everywhere especially by the Stalinists and if they did not state this openly the "Militants" were well aware of the meaning of this question. They therefore refused to be provoked into a discussion insisting that the question before the body was the coming elections, that time was pressing, that a united front must be set up in order to defeat the right wing. Thereupon an attack was launched upon the leadership of the "Militants" in order to drive a wedge between the new members and those who had helped organize the group.

This attack which consisted of the typical lies and slanders of the Stalinists and their Lovestoneite henchmen had the opposite effect from the one intended. These new members left with the feeling that these people no longer represent a healthy left wing policy in the union and a new left wing movement must be built.

The Stalinist Line-up

The following night, at a membership meeting of the cotton local, with great ballyhoo, the Stalinists levied a majority on the "Elections-Objections" committee and for a time it looked as if they would sweep the elections. A tremendous campaign ensued. In the few days before the elections, slates were handed out and the line-up of the groups was exposed to everyone.

The Stalinists and the Lovestoneites were definitely lined up with the faction in control of the office, which in many respects is more reactionary than the Reisberg group. The cotton local issued their slate bearing the very interesting title "Vote for the People's Candidate."

On the day of the elections the whole C.P. machinery was mobilized behind their candidates. Workers were told not to vote for the "Militants." But the results of the elections brought out some very interesting figures.

"Militants" Gain

In spite of lack of forces to do the necessary work and other obstacles, such as the newness of the group, the "Militants" running independently, received one-third of the vote, electing two members to the executive of the cotton local where they hold the balance of power. The elections further demonstrated the correctness of the analysis of the "Militants" in their offer for a united front.

The "Rank and File" and "Progressives" with all their work and deals with the office faction, just managed to squeeze through some of their candidates, including the business agent of the Cotton local. But they constitute a minority in the Cotton Executive since the Reisberg group was able to elect all their candidates, the Executive consisting of nine Reisberg supporters, two "Militants" and eight Stalinists and their followers.

The former administration was reelected, of course, with the help of the "Rank and File" and their followers and are therefore stronger than ever. The situation remains as before. Already the Stalinists are talking of liquidating groups.

A genuine left wing must be built in the needle trades and the "Militant" group has taken the first step in this direction.

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Social Patriotism Routed in Debate Between YCL-YPSL on War Question

Shamefaced, apologetic, ever on the defensive, recognizing the unpopularity of its position before an audience of revolutionary youth, Stalinism clutched at a wordy veil to hide its social patriotic ugliness at the debate on war held in St. Nicholas Palace on February 14th.

Its representative, Gil Green, National Secretary of the Young Communist League, had the onerous task of defending pacifism, reformism, and chauvinism against a champion of revolutionary policies in the struggle against war, Ous Tyler, spokesman for the Young Peoples Socialist League. What an ironic twist of history! How strange to see the organization emerging from the split of 1919 speaking in the tones of Kautsky and the spirit of Noske and Scheidemann! How gratifying to see an organization still formally tied to the Second International proudly raising the banner of Liebknecht and Lenin!

Second Edition Social Patriots

Listening to Green as he read a prepared speech, utterly lacking in fire or forcefulness, the writer could hardly escape the impression that no one was more unconvinced than the speaker himself. We say this not out of generosity or condescension with Gil Green—for revolutionists there can only be against those who use the words of Lenin and Marx to mobilize the masses for imperialism war on the side of finance-capital. What is interesting for us is that the social patriots of the second edition lack even that modicum of sincerity and conviction displayed by their infamous forebears of 1914. They, at least, thought that in defending the capitalist fatherland they were defending the socialist institutions, the trade unions, the party, the cooperatives. Their contemporary prototypes know that they are defending only Stalin. What an inglorious end of Lenin's Comintern!

Tyler job was therefore an easy one and as he lashed at Stalinism with the whip of revolutionary Marxism, Green could only whine and plead: "Don't be impractical... and fatalistic... and passive... please let's unite." He only neglected to add his main concern: "They are watching me in Moscow." Unite the defenders of sanctions with the opponents of sanctions, the defenders of the capitalist fatherland with the internationalists, the spokesmen of class peace and coalition governments with the partisans of civil war with the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeoisie, the lion with the lamb, the fire with the water!

The debate begins. Wound up the phonograph Green lides from contradiction to contradiction. The record might be called: The Dance of the Confused Social Patriots. The tune starts in a low key, for his first notes are the only true ones: It is hate to have them heard: Capitalism is the cause of war, only its abolition will also end war. But immediately the key is changed: "Yea, war can be stopped."

united action of the tollers can stop war." How? By cavolution, by overthrowing the system that breed war? No, "that is the passive, negative attitude of the Yipsels which flows from a fatalistic attitude. We need a practical attitude, one which utilizes every means for peace."

What are these means? The class struggle pursued to its goal, class war which will strike a death blow at imperialism war? Hardly. Pacifist methods and a pacifist program: "Against the R.O.T.C., withdraw U.S. troops from China, abolish the Monroe Doctrine, for disarmament, for the prohibition of subsidies to arms manufacturers, against gag-laws, for the popularization of the achievements of the Soviet Union and the rallying of the tollers for its defense." A good program with everything but the class struggle in it, choked with illusions, calculated to promote war in the shortest possible time.

In Case of an Alliance...

The pacifist twaddle of his chest, Green got down to "cases." All talk about a possible military alliance between the Soviet Union and the imperialist U.S.—music of the future, "incredible," but suppose the "incredible" does happen, what will be the policy of Stalinism then? Listen to Green: "In such a war our primary aim is to insure the victory of the Soviet Union... and this defense of the Soviet Union demands more than merely turning the imperialist war into a civil war." Implicit in this remark is the support of the capitalist government of this country in the event of such a war. What else can it mean, especially when Green took pains to characterize the war of 1914-1918 as an imperialist conflict, and the approaching one as a struggle between imperialism and socialism. What else can it mean when Green pointed out that the principal means of struggle in such a war would be not "strikes or revolution because it is impossible to answer war with a strike or revolution"—but the "expulsion of the predatory aims of U. S. imperialism."

Realizing that he was approaching the danger zone, Green began to shift the issue. An impassioned defense of military alliances followed, even Lenin is quoted. Not whether the working class should support its own bourgeoisie if allied with the Soviet Union, but whether the Soviet Union can utilize imperialist contradictions, this was how Green distorted the issue. And his quotation from Lenin: the letter to the American workers where the latter defends his utilization of the military assistance of the French officer, de Lubersac. Of course, he overlooked the other quotations from Lenin in which he mercilessly lashed the traitor for supporting the capitalist fatherland on the pretext that the Soviet Union was in danger.

Tyler's Speech

In comparison with this rambling, dodging, and hurdle-jumping, Tyler's speech was easy to follow:

THE MANAGER'S CORNER

One of our subscribers, who signs himself "Anti-Fascist," wrote to us the other day as follows:

"Enclosed find the renewal of my subscription to the New Militant. I'm sorry I haven't been able to renew it sooner, but the Daily Worker's 'left' endorsement of Hearst's latest raid on the working class press, impelled me, as a left wing Socialist, and one, therefore, anxious to defend whatever proletarian liberties remain to borrow the money post-haste, in order to contribute at least that bit on one front, against this combined attack on the organized working class."

No comment is required on a letter of this character; it speaks for itself. It is a fine example worthy of emulation. That we have a number of comrades who are eager to support our press and to work actively for its extension is verified also by the participation in our subscription drive. We have now almost reached the 600 mark. But, as we have said before, we are still a good distance from our goal.

Two of our party branches, branch 8 in New York City and the Salt Lake City branch, have reached their quota of new subscriptions. Branch 1, New York City, has turned in not less than 81 new subscriptions, coming very near toward reaching its quota of 90. The branches in Philadelphia, Los Angeles and Austin, Minn., are similarly reaching near toward their quota.

This is all very encouraging; but there is also a negative side to our report. For example, some branches have not yet succeeded in obtaining a single new subscription. In this respect Allentown heads the list and what is worse, this is a branch with very good mass contacts and consequently with very good possibilities to obtain new subscriptions. Other branches which have very good contacts and very good possibilities

ties not at all utilized, or at least not sufficiently utilized are the Pittsburgh, Detroit and Toledo branches. Their returns in the drive for new subscriptions are still entirely too low to appear very encouraging.

The standing in the subscription campaign to date is as follows:

City	Quota	Turned in
Albion, Ohio.....	20	9
Albert Lea, Minn.....	10	—
Allentown, Pa.....	30	—
Austin, Minn.....	10	8
Berkeley, Cal.....	10	5
Boston, Mass.....	25	7
Charleston, W. Va.....	5	—
Chicago, Ill.....	50	18
Cleveland, Ohio.....	25	9
Columbus, Ohio.....	10	—
Detroit, Mich.....	25	2
Dickson City, Pa.....	5	—
Fargo, N. Dakota.....	10	—
High Point, N. C.....	5	—
Kansas City, Mo.....	10	2
Los Angeles, Cal.....	25	15
Minneapolis, Minn.....	75	17
Mount Carmel, Pa.....	5	4
Newark, N. J.....	20	4
New Castle, Pa.....	10	—
New Haven, Conn.....	10	2
New York City.....	400	306
(Branch 1)	90	81
(Branch 2)	40	11
(Branch 3)	75	41
(Branch 4)	30	13
(Branch 5)	20	15
(Branch 6)	15	11
(Branch 7)	15	3
(Branch 8)	10	12
(District)	100	119
Philadelphia, Pa.....	20	14
Pittsburgh, Pa.....	25	1
Pleasantwood, Mont.....	10	—
St. Louis, Mo.....	10	10
Salt Lake City.....	10	2
San Francisco, Cal.....	20	4
San Diego, Cal.....	10	4
Springfield, Ill.....	5	—
Toledo, Ohio.....	25	2
Utica, N. Y.....	5	—
Washington, D. C.....	10	—
Youngstown, Ohio.....	10	1
Cities not listed.....	45	44
Total.....	1,000	486

in the basic issues of the debate his position was clear and unambiguous. It was as it should be when revolutionary policy confronts social-patriotism. First, the great lesson of 1914, of which he said, in truth, that the C.I. had forgotten, or rather was repeating its worst mistake. In that war he declared the social democracy had betrayed, by supporting the fatherland under the guise that this fatherland was protecting the interests of a "small nation." He pointed to the British socialists supporting their government because of Belgium, the Russian socialists because of Serbia. Now the C.I. had appropriated this policy by substituting the name of the Soviet Union. How shall war be answered once begun: by class struggle action leading up to strikes and revolutionary civil war.

"What will the Communists be doing?" he asked. They will be for the war if the Soviet Union is involved. And in the interests of this policy they will be compelled to break the strikes carried on by revolutionists since these will impede a successful outcome to the war. The logic of the Stalinist position will lead them to vote for a war with Japan, to vote for the military budget and they will become Jingo No. 1.

An the Soviet Union. Here Tyler made a telling point. In 1918 the American Socialist Algeron Lee had voted for a liberty loan in the New York Board of Aldermen on the grounds that a revolutionary regime had been established in Russia and since both America and Russia were at war with Germany it was necessary to support this measure in the interests of Russia. This drew a severe rebuke from the S. P. But, wouldn't Green favor such an action as Lee's, wouldn't he be opposed to the measure?

He continued, laying bare the fake of a war of democracy versus Fascism. In case of war, the "democratic" nations would turn Fascist, or at least all civil liberties would be suppressed as the experience of the last war showed. A quotation from Marty, a leader of the French C.P. was read which clearly established this dictatorial tendency on the part of "democratic" capitalist governments. "Anybody," Tyler concluded the policy "who raises the question of a war between a democratic France and a Fascist Germany is either a faker or a fool."

Wars for national liberation are another alibi that the Stalinists use to explain their treacherous policy. Tyler correctly countered with Lenin's position, that no capitalist nation in the present epoch can conduct a progressive war, that the characterization of the central European nations as oppressed nationalities and Germany as the imperialist aggressor would lead the C.I. to support of the capitalist governments of Czechoslovakia, Austria, Bulgaria, Rumania, Latvia, etc., etc., etc.

"Beacon or Burden"

Finally the issue that proved to be the high point of the debate. In his first presentation Green had demagogically played on the Soviet tendencies of the audience by asking Tyler whether he considered the Soviet Union a beacon to the international working class or a burden. Tyler properly jeered this Stalinist artifice to turn the debate off its proper tracks and put him on the spot. But, in all truth, it must be said that Tyler's answer was only partially correct.

He asked whether the A. F. of L., the craft unions and the German social democracy, respectively were beacons or burdens. How was it possible to pose the question that way? What Tyler failed to say was that the Stalinist bureaucracy must be differentiated from the Soviet Union as such just as the trade union bureaucracy must be from the trade unions; that the Stalinist bureaucracy is more than a burden, it is a brake, a reactionary influence on the international working class and upon the Soviet Union; that the Soviet state must be distinguished from its bureaucratic incubus. This was implicit in all his foregoing criticisms and attacks on the policy of the C.I., but he failed to make the point as crystal clear as it should be.

All of the major arguments of Tyler had been put in the form of questions to Green, who in turn danced around them in each of his two rebuttals. But twice as he rose to speak shouts of "answer the questions" came from many parts of the hall. His mouthed replies, his mandarin appeal to sentiment about the "communists in jail," his abuse of Lenin's ideas for social-patriotic purposes were properly nailed by Tyler. In the latter's one rejoinder in the debate his hammering on the questions was so strong that Green was forced to admit that in case of a Soviet-American alliance in a war with Japan the Stalinists had a "two-fold aim" neither of which would be to overthrow the American bourgeoisie. And the answers to the questions: "Time alone will prove who is correct."

"Our Line's Been Changed Again"

The Daily Worker has taken its cue. Hathaway is making up for lost time—his job as editor of the Daily is at stake. So all the scribbles are mobilized for a daily fire against the Left Socialists and the "Trotskyists." Orders are orders—and they are to be found in the current issue of the Communist International (January 1936).

Kuusinen's report to the presidium of the Executive Committee of the Comintern, "No Grounds for Self-Satisfaction," is a criticism of the mistakes and shortcomings in the application of the Seventh Congress line on the united front. "In the past years, many Communists replaced business-like (!) criticism of Social Democracy with mere denunciation. Now it happens that the necessary serious business-like criticism is replaced by silence."

Even worse than silence is the charge against the Daily Worker. Kuusinen cites the Daily's praise of Otto Bauer as a leader for working class unity; its suggestion

that the American S. P. follow the road of Bauer and the progressive forces among the Socialists including the Russan Mensheviks. The Daily "gave way... to opportunist 'backsliding' which has nothing in common with the recommendations of the Seventh Congress on differentiated tactics" when it made a hero out of John L. Lewis.

The critic further informs the readers that the "Trotskyite danger" demands "constant vigilance and activity. This is especially true for Denmark, the Scandinavian countries in general, in Holland... and it is necessary in other countries to react more actively than hitherto to Trotskyite slander, for such slander, though issued at first by Trotskyites themselves, is frequently spread by all kinds of 'Left' Social-Democrats and Socialists." For example, adds Kuusinen, Otto Bauer repeats the "lander" of Boris Souvarine against Stalin. This speech is the source for the new campaigns.

Hathaway Made the Scape Goat

Kuusinen's criticism of the Daily Worker is elaborated upon by "R." in a review of the October issues of the paper. The reviewer states that "the (Socialist) Call is rarely criticized" and then rips Kuusinen's criticisms on Bauer, etc.

However, the chief aim of the review is to establish that the line of the Daily on the Lewis movement—criticized by Kuusinen—was not the line of the Central Committee of the Communist party. In a word, Hathaway's line was in conflict with that of Browder and Foster!

The reviewer quotes Browder and Foster on the Lewis movement and adds: "But this policy as stated by Comrades Foster and Browder was not carried out by the Daily Worker."

Simple! Not quite! The Daily articles under attack were in the October issues (the last article cited is of October 26). Foster and Browder's "line" was presented one month later (printed in the Daily, Nov. 28 and 29, respectively).

St. Gottwald Attacks 'Trotskyite' Dragon

K. Gottwald, Czechoslovakian Stalinist-patriotic chief, is the latest of the brave knights of Stalinism to undertake a scurrilous attack on "Trotskyism." The attack takes the form of a plea to Otto Bauer to keep clear of "Trotskyism"—with which he is already apparently tainted!

"Is it not clear that anyone who is found in the neighborhood of Trotskyism, is open, whether he wants it or not, to the danger of being lost forever to the working class cause?"

Is it not clear that Otto Bauer, in his own interests, ought to ponder this question very seriously?" asks Gottwald, who is interested in Bauer's welfare.

The occasion for the article is Bauer's review of Boris Souvarine's book on Stalin wherein he speaks critically of the Soviet regime and of the "personal dictatorship of Stalin." (Souvarine is not a "Trotskyite." See review of his book in "N. I.", December 1935.)

This immediately reveals Bauer's "Trotskyite counter-revolutionary poof!" Admiration for Stalin's work—expressed by Bauer—is not sufficient, cries Gottwald, either you accept "unconditionally" everything going on in the Soviet Union or... you are a counter-revolutionary Trotskyite!

Let us appear to be exaggerating, we will quote some choice bits from the revived religious theory of the "indivisible whole."

"The entire Soviet Union of today is one indivisible whole the indivisible accomplishment of many millions and tens of millions carried out under the guidance of Lenin and Stalin. And this is how it must be taken, as one indivisible whole, and not eclectically on the lines of: 'I like this and I don't like that'." (Emphasis in original.)

And further: "... Stalin and the Soviet Union are indissolubly bound together."

Is Bauer a "Trotskyite"? No one but the most recent recruit of Stalinism can answer in the affirmative. Bauer's attitude toward the Soviet Union is in fundamental agreement—and has been practically since the Russian Revolution—with the Russian Mensheviks. It is nothing new. It is, as it has always been in sharp conflict with "Trotskyism," that is, Leninism.

On the main problem before the international working class today, the struggle against imperialism war, Bauer is in fundamental agreement with the Stalinists, for example on support of imperialist governments allied with the Soviet Union to war. The Bauer-Zycomki theses on war were reprinted without criticism in the "Communist" (November, 1935). The only criticism the Stalinists could sub-

No evidence is given to show that there was a conflict between the Daily line and the Central Committee in October!

But what happened by Nov. 28 to make Foster and Browder so critical of Lewis? Most likely, Kuusinen's criticism of the Daily delivered on November 20 had already reached the Central Committee!

The aim of the review can be seen when "R." writes:

"It must be stated that the examples given from the Daily Worker are departures from the line of policy, and do not characterize the activities of our Central Committee, the party as a whole or even most of the work of the Daily Worker. The Central Committee must, however, take measures to strengthen the carrying out of the Seventh Congress line in the Daily Worker."

Hathaway is made the scapegoat! Another verse can be added to the song: Our line's been changed again!

sequently level at these theses was, not against its essential features but its reference to the "terroristic dictator ship" in the Soviet Union.

In reality however it is not Bauer who is under attack by Gottwald: it is "Trotskyism" which, officially denounced by the Stalinists as dead ever since 1924, is now making its way in the ranks of the left wing socialist workers.

And so every occasion must be found to heap slander and calumny. "... in many countries Trotskyism has become a direct branch of the police and supplies the latter with numerous agents provocateurs and spies to fight against the revolutionary movement," states Gottwald, without even attempting to give (that is, manufacture) evidence to substantiate this dastardly lie.

As Gottwald's party votes for military credits and for the bourgeois president Benes, as all the parties of the Third International prepare to become recruiting agents for imperialism, their main attack is against those who struggle against social patriots and for proletarian internationalism.

The renewed attack on "Trotskyism" in the Soviet Union as in the capitalist world is testimony to the growth of the ideas of revolutionary Marxism. The Daily Worker recommends Gottwald's article to the Left Socialists. On this score, we are in agreement with the Daily: the Socialist workers will learn that calumny and slander is merely the cover for treachery; that Stalinism demands of everyone joining its fold blind obedience, unconditional servility to the leader: Stalin.

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"Assassination" by Postcard, or the New Stalinist Frame-up

Use Incident in Effort to Deport Leon Trotsky

Under the screaming headline: "Death to Stalin! Slogan Raised by French Trotskyists," the Saturday issue of the Daily Worker (February 15) reprints a facsimile of a postcard, as "evidence" of a Trotskyist plot to assassinate Stalin.

Driven to the wall by the revelations of Tarov and Chiga, and by their inability to continue their own Trotsky-Hearst frame-up, Browder, Budenz and Co. now seek to hide behind "evidence" just received from France.

More than four months ago (on November 6, 1935) Fred Zeller (secretary of the Socialist Youth Alliance of the Seine District) sent a postcard to a young friend of his, a Stalinist.

This "incident" was made the subject of a rabid campaign by the Stalinists throughout all European countries, particularly Norway, the only country that offered Trotsky the right of asylum. But it was at that time hardly mentioned in America, because the fraud was so obviously patent, that it was hopeless to try to feign it upon the American workers. Elsewhere in this issue we print Zeller's own answer published months ago in France. Below we reprint the use made of the "postcard incident" in Norway.

On November 12, 1935, Arbeideren, the central organ of the Norwegian C.P., came out with a sensational

headline charging a "death plot" against Stalin, and citing the self-same "freshly arrived postcard from France." The Norwegian Stalinists (upon instructions from Moscow) first charged that Trotsky's agitation "culminates in the propaganda for terrorist attacks against the Soviet Union and its leaders and is aimed above all against the greatest leader of the world proletariat in our time, Stalin." The Norwegian pen prostitute then proceeded to translate the postcard, and to charge Zeller with "calling for the murder of Stalin."

Then, followed the revealing comment: "...It was no accident that the conspirators in the plot against Kirov were former members of the Trotsky-Zinoviev-Kamenev Opposition, who came forward as the agents of Fascism and counter-revolution..."

"This is the same Trotsky whose books are now being issued by a Socialist Publishing Society in Norway."

"This is the same Trotsky whose interviews are being featured in the headlines of the Labor Party press."

"How long more will the Norwegian workers tolerate this?"

"What has the Socialist Youth in Norway to say about the French expelled members of the French Socialist Youth are using Oslo as the base for their open propaganda

to murder the leaders of the Soviet proletariat?"

"What has the Central Bureau of the Norwegian Labor Party to say? What has the Norwegian Government to say?"

The Stalinists in Norway did not have to wait long for their answer. On December 16, 1935, Oslav Scheff, in a leading article in The Soerlandet, one of the organs of the N.L.P., said the following:

"Under the headline: 'Trotsky's Henchman etc.' last Friday's issue of Arbeideren prints an article which it is impossible to characterize as it deserves without resorting to harshest epithets." Scheff then quotes from the Arbeideren, and comments as follows:

"We believe that the Arbeideren and the Communist Party of Norway will be given to understand in unmistakable terms what the N.L.P. thinks of the type of journalism that they have perpetrated in their paper. Even though the knowledge of the French language is not so wide spread among workers as might enable them to understand absolutely that the expression 'Tod' (death) in reality means

'Away with!' 'Down with!' they are nevertheless in a position to see clearly whether Trotsky... had planned the murder of Stalin, would have dealt with such a conspiracy in an ordinary postcard."

"We brand the man who wrote this article in the Arbeideren as an unexcusable rascal. He knows very well what he is perpetrating. He knows well that a full-blooded proletarian like Trotsky is a ruthless opponent of assassination and

individual terror. He also knows very well that no one who really contemplates murder plots would put them down on a postcard... And what is the aim of the article? Yes, its aim is to make the Norwegian workers believe in a lie, and to mislead them. Moreover, the aim is to compel the Norwegian Labor Government to place Trotsky under arrest."

"Well, gentlemen, neither will happen."

"Neither the Norwegian workers, nor the Norwegian Labor Government are so easily made fools of, as the central organ of the C.P. obviously believes."

"Without this article will not remain without consequences. One of its consequences will be that the indignation against the C.P. and the distrust in the honesty and sincerity of the Communists which are already so widespread in the Labor Party will become only strengthened and even more widespread. We said before and we repeat again: It is impossible to have any dealings whatsoever with people who set out deliberately to mislead the workers. Against such people we declare War, and only War!"

Small wonder, that after such an answer to their initial attempt in Europe, the Stalinists in America performed not to make use months ago of the "photostatic evidence from France."

Hearst Frame-up Used in Norway

But meanwhile the Daily Worker here did find itself compelled to carry the revelations of Tarov and Chiga in the NEW MILITANT. The Trotsky-Hearst campaign was

concocted, and it is not at all accidental that it was immediately cabled to the plucky Arbeideren in Norway, to supply the Norwegian agents of Stalin with "fresh" sensations to use in their local slander campaign, and in their drive to expel Trotsky from his asylum in Norway.

This is not the first time that the Stalinists resorted to frame-ups in their hatred and persecution of revolutionists.

To mention only one, years ago, in July, 1931, the Polish rag "Kuryer Codzienny" carried a patent fraud on its front pages, purporting to be an article by Trotsky. The Moscow Pravda immediately reprinted a facsimile of this article under the headline: "Pilsudski's New Agent." Trotsky established that this article was concocted and supplied by an agent of the G.P.U. It is the obvious intention of the usurping Stalinist bureaucracy in Moscow today to reply to the revelations of its bestial persecutions of revolutionists in the Soviet Union by to launch such a campaign of slander on the basis of a personal card addressed to a friend. Besides, sincere communists and socialists find it an exaggeration to give such publicity to a joke at which they were the first to laugh.

We want to know: Upon whose orders was Hearst supplied with the articles lifted from the NEW MILITANT? Were they the same people who were behind the Polish frame-up in 1931? Were they the same people who send "photostats" from France to America, while other "photostats" are being sent from America to Norway?

Fred Zeller Uncovers Real Motive of Campaign

By FRED ZELLER
(From Revolution, Organ of the Revolutionary Socialist Youth of France)

For the last two weeks the Central committee of the Young Communist League has redoubled its slanders against the Young Socialist League of the Seine District. "Pounced" on a little postcard which I sent from Oslo to an old army friend, comrade Robert Pol, secretary of the 18th Section of the Y.C.L. By this method they hope to mobilize a few "naive" souls for physical struggle against us. Tens of thousands of leaflets have been distributed announcing that I am a Trotskyist and want... Imagine, to assassinate Stalin! This last minute discovery is so coarse and stupid that they must be completely lacking in arguments against us to launch such a campaign of slander on the basis of a personal card addressed to a friend. Besides, sincere communists and socialists find it an exaggeration to give such publicity to a joke at which they were the first to laugh.

Allow me to remark in passing that the communists were a good deal less violent about me when they were trying to make use of me to start a Stalinist faction in the Young Socialists.

(If PAVANT Garde—organ of the French Y.C.L.—persists in its campaign I may be obliged to enlarge on this point.)

What the Drudges Feared

But why all these hysterical slanders and lies?

Guyot, Lechaux, Granjon, Ancelette and the other leaders of the Y.C.L. are not idiots. They are simply drudges doing their eight hours a day. They know very well that at any moment they may be ordered to make a "new turn" and that they will have to obey. I know enough of their past to substantiate such a statement. But for several months they have been aware that the Y.C.L. has ceased to be a true revolutionary youth organization and that the Y.C.L. is liquidating it into a "movement of the younger generation of Frenchmen."

The only danger facing them and the Stalinist policy is the Revolutionary Entente of the Socialist Youth of the Seine.

We abuse, in reality, are ripe for fusion with the Communist Youth on the basis of revolutionary Marxism as embodied in their old formula. But it is also only us that they attack with the greatest violence because in reality the Young Communists have abandoned the path of revolution and thrown their glorious and heroic past to the winds. That is the truth and that is what they are trying to hide at any price.

Besides my visit to Trotsky had a political significance. Not that the Seine Youth Socialist Federation is Trotskyist! There is no such thing as Trotskyism! And there are no Trotskyists! There is only the revolutionary policy carried on by revolutionary militants and that's all.

"Proofs?" What are the "Proofs?" What the Young Communists fear above all is the information I might bring back after an interview with Lenin's loyal collaborator.

Like everyone else we once again believed that Trotsky was an agent of the counter-revolution, a politician living in a mansion surrounded with flunkies, secretaries, etc. I wanted to know the truth and for months I asked Guyot and Michaud to give me the "proofs" that the "Trotskyists" were politicians and government agents. Several times we went to 120 rue Lafayette to get facts and documents. I even said to Guyot: "If you really have irrefutable proof about me I personally will demand the expulsion of the guilty ones from our ranks."

They put me off innumerable times, saying that they were preparing a complete file on the subject, but they never managed to bring us the slightest palpable proof, the smallest document, the tiniest scrap of paper, because in reality they had nothing, nothing, nothing to show us!

Maurice Thorez announces that I have been vacationing in Trotsky's "mansion." What a miserable slander.

In a little village lost in the

mountains I saw the little wooden house in which the great strategist of the October Revolution, the founder and organizer of the Red Army has rented two rooms for himself and his wife Natalia, the admirable and faithful companion of his magnificent life. (Two little rooms, which besides were cold.) In this house where they reside they have a bedroom and a little office. No "flunkies," no "secretaries." Natalia takes care of the house and helps the "old man" to arrange the newspapers and magazines he receives from all over the world every day.

I expected to see an arrogant man, full of hatred. I found a man, sometimes grave, sometimes brightening when he spoke of his heroic struggle at the side of Lenin and "the bolshevik old guard" in the seizure of power by the workers and peasants. I expected to see a man filthy with money; Trotsky is poor.

Trotsky on Stalin

I expected to hear him speak of Stalin with ill hidden hatred... not at all. He hates Stalin no more than the others because for him his struggle against the bureaucracy is not and cannot be reduced to a miserable personal quarrel. For him, his expulsion from the country, where he organized the armed struggle of the workers against feudal Czarism is the result of a profound movement among the masses, exhausted by a heroic struggle and the retreat of the workers on an international scale.

I expected to find a discouraged and sour man, I saw a tired and sick man, but full of confidence and faith in the revolutionary destiny of the world working class. I saw a tireless worker, following the daily rise of fascism with anguish, and with joy the progress of the workers who are learning little by little that the two international have collapsed and who are reorganizing themselves on the basis of revolutionary Marxism for a real offensive against imperialism.

Above all I found a man hunted by the governments and their police over the whole world and suffering terribly from his inability to be physically active in the service of the revolutionary workers.

With what admiration and what fervor, Trotsky spoke of Lenin.

Why They Hate Trotsky

Then I understood the Stalinist hatred of Trotsky. But truth and justice will triumph. Sooner or later when the great uprising comes, the exploited workers of the world will do him justice and give him the place in the history of the last years of the workers movement that he has held with so much grandeur and beauty amid the worst physical and moral suffering.

That is what they were afraid I would say. I say what I think. Henceforth the leaders of the Y.C.L. want to prevent me from speaking by violence. The socialist bureaucracy wants to strangle us but you don't know us. We shall stand up against the pack and we will not give way an inch before the agents of Stalin, no more than before the agents of Vandervelde. You lick the boots of the Radicals and you want to bar the revolutionary militants from the struggle. What infamy!

The sincere young socialists and communists will know now that in the approaching decisive battle which will be decided in the streets against the fascists, we holdy proclaim today as yesterday the first place in the first ranks of the battle: No violence among workers! One enemy, fascism! Long live the revolution in France!

Long live the International proletarian revolution!

LUMEN CLUB LECTURE

"Do We Need a Labor Party?"

Speaker:
SOLOMON B. MARCUS
Prominent Socialist
Sunday, Feb. 23, 8:30 P.M.
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WPA Wage Raise Won

(Continued from Page 1)

W.P.A. Workers Union have been demanding the increase. They have demanded also that hours of work be changed and that no lost time on the jobs be made up.

An article in today's Toledo News Bee declared, "The increase authorized by Dr. Carl Watson, state WPA director, eliminates the threat of a state-wide W.P.A. workers strike."

Possibilities for such a strike, however, have not been eliminated but enhanced by the victory. The winning of this concession has pointed the road of militant action to the W.P.A. workers of this state as the means of gaining further concessions. Confidence in organization and workers' action has been heightened. The fear of mounting lay-offs, discrimination, and generally bad working conditions, and the knowledge that further pay-boosts can be won by fighting organized action, has evoked a genuine response in the WPA workers in this part of the state, and a highly successful conference is expected this coming Sunday by the WPA Workers Union. Response to the conference call has already come from numerous towns and counties where the workers are crying for a real fighting union.

Unity the Vital Need

The need for unity of the Unemployed League and the Workers Alliance is strikingly emphasized by the developments in this state.

It is generally admitted that such unity been established several months ago, this increase and other concessions would have been won long ago by a solid state-wide fighting front. The bickering and factional back-biting which has passed back and forth between individuals of both organizations has been largely the cause for keeping thousands of unemployed and projects workers from joining either organization. As the NEW MILITANT has been pointing out for the past two months, for both organizations to permit further sabotage of unity on a correct program through the actions of a few individuals at this crucial period would show a criminal lack of responsibility toward the real needs and desires of the unemployed and relief workers of this nation.

Rumanian "Peoples Front" Finds 'Democracy' in Military Dictatorship

BUCHAREST.—Following the 3rd period of adventurist policy—whose culminating point was reached in the bloody events at Grivita (1)—the resolution adopted in February 1935 by the C.C. of the Rumanian Communist Party marked a new turn: this time in a completely opposite direction; the party foundered in the opportunist swamp. In this resolution it is said that the party must struggle for the formation of a united front and of a broad people's front, against the bosses' attacks, war and fascism."

Let us skip over the question of the "United Front" for the moment. This revolutionary tactic, clearly formulated by the 3rd and 4th Congresses of the C.P. and which moreover the Stalinists have stripped of all its fighting content, serves them only in order to better shuffe up the cards so as to mask the rotten turn: the complete abandonment of the class struggle which has since been replaced by a new criterion: the status quo on all fronts. The revolutionary struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie gives way to an alliance from above with the most corrupt democrats for the preservation of the present regime (a military dictatorship) against fascism, revolutionary actions are replaced by legal actions on the pretext that it is necessary to "utilize legality"; and, in the legal press, in order not to frighten the "democratic" allies, the Marxist term "proletariat" is replaced by the vague term (so dear to the fascists) of "laboring people!" In its content the illiberal press distinguishes itself in no way from the legal press, except if it be by still more reactionary language.

"Traces" of Democracy

To obtain the alliance with the bourgeois "democratic" politicians in the "struggle" against fascism, the People's Front became the defender of the existing regime in Rumania, that is, of the military dictatorship which serves it, which condemns the workers for repression, and complete misery. For this purpose they have discovered in it... traces of democracy! (2) Yesterday these gentlemen were shouting that there was a fascist regime in Rumania, and, on the orders of Moscow and, microscope in hand, they discover "traces" of democracy to justify their pitiful bloc with such odious personal ties as M. Dobrescu, former mayor of Bucharest, or M. Petre Pandrea, the living example of the political "chameleon" (3).

Practically speaking, the People's Front has been realized only partially. The "unitaries" have rejected it, by opposing to it the proletarian united front. (4) The social democrats, in basic agreement with the communists on the question (collaboration with bourgeois parties) but not desiring joint action with them at any cost (despite the efforts of the communists who have made all the concessions to obtain their adherence) have rejected the People's Front counterposing to it the "democratic front" (that is joint action of the "democratic" parties without the communists). The People's Front in Rumania consists of the alliance of the Communist Party with some of the elements of the National-Peasants Party (they sought to involve the leaders such as Mihalache, etc. but to date without success), the "Junta" (the party of George Brat-

iano, and diverse "democratic" personalities.

Supplication to His Majesty

Let us now observe the People's Front in action. The first action undertaken was the securing of amnesty for political prisoners. Instead of embarking on a campaign of vigorous agitation in the ranks of the proletariat, they substituted legal action for this revolutionary struggle. People such as Mm. Ella Negru, "foremost woman lawyer" (sic), the Balkan Correspondence—C.P. organ—recently proudly called her) supported by "all the democratic forces of the country" began a campaign of supplication to King Carol for the amnesty of political prisoners on the June 8th celebration (5). Thus even if amnesty had been granted, it would have appeared in the eyes of the masses as a stroke of generosity on the part of the King and contribute in restoring his prestige. Of course, an amnesty was granted.

A second action of the People's Front, of much greater importance, was the demonstration of the National-Peasants Party which was to have been held on the eve of the opening of parliament. The National-Peasants satraps (6) announced a great demonstration in which several tens of thousands of peasants were to meet in Bucharest for the purpose of overthrowing the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The Communist Party decided to support this demonstration because it represented "an expression of indignation of the masses!" The government naturally prohibited the demonstration as well as that of the Christian-Nationalists which was to have been held on the same day (this second demonstration had as its aim the neutralization of the first). Despite this prohibition, the National-Peasants leaders announced that the demonstration would be held.

Demonstration Called Off

Then, four days before the date set, frightened by the Christian-Nationalists on the one side, probably also having received the assurance of King Carol that they would soon be returned to power and under the pretext that "after this audience the situation has completely changed," they countermanded the order for the demonstration.

Large sections of the peasants were aroused by this demonstration having promised that the victory of this "revolution" would redound to their benefit—and all this with the support of the communists! Naturally the indignation of the peasants, adroitly exploited by fascists of all stripes, turned into a boomerang not only for the National-Peasants Party but also for its ally, the communist party. Highly illustrative of the decay of the Communist party and its crawling before the National-Peasants is the fact that after having noted that "this attitude constitutes a betrayal" (Balkan Correspondence) instead of denouncing this party to the proletarian masses and the poor peasants, it clung to its coat tails (for reasons of foreign policy) on the pretext that "it is necessary to aid the National-Peasants to understand the gravity of the decision of its leadership which is conspiring with the camarilla and to make it understand the necessity of its participation in an anti-fascist mobilization!" (Balkan Correspondence, Nov. 1935, page 136)

And Lathar Roduceanu (social democratic leader) writes an article in "Lumea Noua" expressing his satisfaction that "the Communists have learned the value of collaborating with a bourgeois party" but at the same time regretting that they still do not know "when and how" to support a bourgeois party.

Fascist Gain

That is how matters stand in the prosecution of an opportunist policy which can only benefit the fascists. The ever-growing discontent of the poor peasants against the "democratic" leaders, under the impact of the crisis, grows constantly worse. Not seeing any solution on the left, because they see the communists allied to their persecutors, they are turning to the fascist gangs and the latter are already demanding power (the Vaida-Cuzac bloc in parliament).

This process of radicalization in the country, which is including ever larger masses, is only in its first stages. But the defeated proletariat in Rumania, betrayed by the social democrats and the Stalinists, is not in a position to draw behind it the poor peasants of the villages and the oppressed petty bourgeoisie of the cities in the struggle against the bourgeoisie. The task of the hour, in order to revive the proletariat, is the same as everywhere else: the creation of a revolutionary party. It will be created in the struggle against Stalinism and social democracy on the one hand, against "unitary" criticism on the other. The Rumanian Bolshevik-Leninists have already begun this struggle and are confident that the correctness and intransigence of their principles will lead to victory.

Notes

(1) In February 1933 a strike broke out in the factories of "Grivita", over economic grievances. After a bitter battle the railroad workers succeeded in winning some concessions; but since the Moscow resolutions had characterized the situation as "revolutionary", as well as for reasons of prestige (the strike had been led at the beginning by the social democrat Bogdanu), the flunkies leading the Rumanian Communist party forced them on the road of an adventure by presenting political demands such as "A Soviet Rumania". In reply, the government only awaited a convenient pretext to shoot several scores of workers.

(2) Here is the declaration of a bureaucrat of the Rumanian Communist party: "Since such legal papers as... are allowed to appear, democracy still exists."

(3) His biography, given in a fascist paper "Axa" ("No liechea de stanga") shows a very wretched character who has changed his theory several times corresponding to different policies.

(4) Despite their correct position "in principle" on the problem (the Popovici group was even expelled as "unitaries" from the People's Front), the "unitaries" cling at all price to bourgeois legality (their paper has been banned by the government) and do not raise their smallest finger to struggle for these positions!

(5) On June 8th, 1930, King Carol returned to Rumania.

(6) It is a well known fact that their methods of government are the same—often worse—than those of the liberals.

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How Stalinism Prepares For War

ONCE again, on a world scale, Stalinism launches a vast attack on the "impotent, bankrupt sect" of the Trotskyites. The degenerate scoundrels of the Comintern have once more into action their lumbering armament of lies, corruption and slander—the sole weapons now left in their rusted and decayed storehouse of treachery and betrayal.

What a thankful and contradictory task they have, these cynical betrayers, trying helplessly to cover their apostasy with the cloak of Marxist phrases and invocations to Lenin! On page one they must prove to the workers that the Trotskyites are wholly impotent, isolated, without influence, and falling to pieces. And on page 2, 4, 6 and 8 they must expose Trotskyism as the main danger to the working class, and the spearhead of the counter-revolution. A strange impotence, to have such power! A very curious isolation, when such a barrage is needed for protection against it!

And, alas, how often must these grave-diggers lower the coffin, heap on the earth, and pronounce the final malediction! If it is a restless corpse they deal with here! Year after year it is buried deep; and, unforgivingly, year after year it is buried deeper. It rises again to haunt the charnel-house of Stalinism. All the incantations of the Comintern priests, all their drawn-out medieval curses, with bell and book, cannot lay this unruly spirit to rest. No grave they dig can be deep enough to hold it.

For what they so desperately strive to bury is nothing else than the living soul of the revolution itself. And for such a task all the might of the Comintern is as powerless as the whining of a disgruntled shopkeeper.

This is the real meaning of the attack on "Trotskyism."

The present campaign, in all its deep implications, must be clearly understood, and the lesson drawn. It has its source, as articles in recent issues of the NEW MILITANT have disclosed, in the Soviet Union itself, in the very heart of Stalinism. There, in the party purge which has followed the Seventh Congress, comrade Trotsky shows that no less than 20,000 Bolshevik-Leninists—"Trotskyists"—were discovered with a party rank. And a new purge is scheduled for this Spring.

From the Soviet Union the campaign is being extended throughout the world. It has hit this country with full force during the last week, prepared for by the "Hearst and Trotsky" slander. Editorial and special articles shower their filth—under the age-old theory that if enough filth is thrown, some will be bound to tick—wherever this Hydra-monster, "Trotskyism," shows one of its reptile heads. And, in this wonder world, we discover from the Daily Worker that the infant of Trotskyism has now touched Norman Thomas, Otto Bauer, Herbert Zam, Gus Tyler, and, apparently, the entire editorial board of the Socialist Call. The Communist party, that friend of humanity and as the Daily Worker puts it of "the entire family," with its olivaceous "care for its newly discovered Socialist comrades, feels itself called upon to issue a kind fatherly warning—and even something of a scolding—to the erring children, against the plague which threatens them. After all, they were social-fascists only yesterday; they can hardly be expected to have attained the ripe wisdom of those who have had the long years under the guiding inspiration of the Great Teacher and Leader.

It is necessary to distinguish and analyze both the method and the fundamental content of the present campaign against "Trotskyism."

The method is directly borrowed from the method of the Hearst anti-Red campaign, which in turn is modelled on the method of bitter reactionaries from time immemorial. Hearst is an enemy of "reds"—i.e., of revolutionists. But it is naturally impossible for him to carry on a truthful campaign against them, on the basis of what revolutionists actually believe and do. If he tried that, the bulk of his readers (who are predominantly working-class and lower middle class) would gradually be won over to the side of the revolutionists by Hearst's own propaganda. Consequently, his campaign must be based throughout on lies, not on truth. What Hearst must do is to try to set up in his reader a psychological and emotional antagonism against "reds." This, in

part, he accomplishes by lumping together as "reds" not only revolutionists (about whom he prints nothing but lies), but also every kind of criminal, murderer, irresponsible demagogue, labor faker, bandit, moral degenerate, crackbrained atheist, etc. Through this he hopes that his readers will develop the same emotional attitude toward "reds" that they have toward murderers, degenerates, and bandits. He would like his readers to believe that these are all "reds," and that all "reds" carry on these sorts of activities.

In an exactly similar manner, Stalinism tries to build up an emotional frenzy against Trotskyism. About genuine "Trotskyists," the Stalinists print nothing but lies—if they printed the truth, their own followers would be led toward "Trotskyism." They never, on any occasion, substantiate any charges with fact or even attempted proof, or with political analysis. They never do so, because, of course, that would be as impossible as for Hearst to substantiate his charges against "reds" in general. The Stalinists then go on to lump together, in the same paragraphs with "Trotskyists," White Guards, fascists, police spies, foreign interventionists, agents provocateurs, the murderer of Kirov, nihilists—in short, any scoundrel whom all honest workers naturally hate and despise. In this way the Stalinists hope that the workers will carry over that hate and contempt to the "Trotskyists" who are listed in the same sentence. Fortunately, workers are not so stupid and uncritical as they appear to be in the eyes of the cynical bureaucrats of the Comintern.

But the content of the present campaign is far more important than the methods which are being used. This content can only be understood as part of the preparation of the Comintern for the betrayal of the working class in the coming war.

The truth of the matter is this: The great historical events of the past three years, combined with the war crisis, are making their deep imprint on the international proletariat. A revival of revolutionary consciousness is emerging with increasing rapidity. At the same time, as authoritatively summed up in the Seventh Congress, Stalinism has gone over to social-patriotism, and is preparing for betrayal in the war. But such betrayal cannot be successfully carried out unless Stalinist social-patriotic ideas dominate ideologically the advanced workers in the "democratic" countries. Consequently, Stalinism must drive forward post-haste in its attempt to engulf the advanced strata of the labor movement.

However, the reviving revolutionary consciousness resists more and more powerfully the Stalinist policy of betrayal. It refuses to accept the Comintern doctrine that to be a friend of the Soviet Union means to be a lackey of Stalin's. It realizes ever more clearly that Stalinism itself is in the forefront of the enemies of the Soviet Union, and that to be a true friend of the Soviet Union means to be an enemy of Stalinism. It is resolved not to fight for imperialism in the war, no matter what the pleas or threats of Stalin.

Stalinism understands that its war policy can succeed only by a liquidation of the revolutionary development, or at the least by capturing it before it is fully clarified, by turning it aside into the treacherous channel of the Comintern.

The present campaign against "Trotskyism," fundamentally understood, is one aspect of this effort to liquidate the revolutionary development, to turn it aside, to harness its potential energies to the cannons of imperialism.

Neither we nor comrade Trotsky claim any proprietary right to the system of ideas which the Comintern labels "Trotskyism." The ideas that are now being attacked are the basic ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin; they are, in short, the theories, principles, and tactics of the revolutionary movement. What Stalinism is now attacking is not merely the Workers' Party nor the French Bolshevik-Leninists nor any other group or party. Its attack is launched against revolutionary Marxism, against the ideas of revolutionary Marxism, whenever, however, under whatever form they appear. And it could not be otherwise: Stalinism knows that the victory of the ideas of revolutionary Marxism within the working class means the end and death of Stalinism.

Above all on the war question. How clear it is! Wherever, from whatever source, appear revolutionary criticism of Stalinist social-patriotism, the demand for the Leninist policy of revolutionary defeatism, the refusal to subordinate the working class movement to the imperialist League and Imperialist France, Great Britain and the United States, at that source are aimed the barbs of the Stalinists. And the label "Trotskyist"? True enough, Trotsky, and we in solidarity with him, proudly hold these principles—against imperialism on every front, against social-patriotism in every form, for revolutionary defeatism—as ours. And they are the principles likewise of Lenin and of Marx. They are the principles for which all revolutionists have fought, and will continue to fight. They are the principles of revolutionary Marxism, of the world revolution.

The career of Stalinism is drawing toward its historic close. The war will reveal it to the working class in all its poisonous corruption. The revolution, in its irresistible advance, will sweep it aside, like dead ashes, from its path.

Stalinists Return to Old Love in China, Gen'l Feng

Ally and Butcher of 1927 Revolt Is Seen as Hero of 1936 Peoples Front

By LO SEN

On February 14 the Daily Worker published a "special cable" from Shanghai under the heading: "Feng Proposes Reorganization; Christian General Asks Kuomintang Decision for Defense."

"Declaring China must not flinch from boldly meeting foreign aggression and must decide to fight for national existence, Feng Yu-shiang, 'Christian General,' made a report today before a meeting of 700 state employees and members of the Kuomintang Party in Nanking, capital of China.

"Feng is a member of the Political Bureau of the Kuomintang and has participated in groups opposing Chiang Kai-shek within and without the Kuomintang."

By not adding a single word more about Feng, his whole past record and role, his previous relations with the Comintern, the Daily Worker advertised the Stalinists' readiness, once more, to form a "united front" with this many-headed miller who "has participated in groups opposing Chiang Kai-shek."

Preparing today to launch a new "bloc of four classes" in China, including and fomenting Feng Cheng-wu, Lin Han-min, Feng Yu-shiang and their ilk, the Stalinists, with cold, hard cynicism would like to blot from memory the whole tragic past of the Chinese Revolution.

They would like to dissolve from history the dotted blood of the workers and peasants who paid with their lives for Stalin's "united front" with the Feng Yu-shiangs nearly nine years ago. After all, it would perhaps not be such a difficult job if the Daily Worker had only its own readers to deal with. Most of them don't even know a Chinese revolution ever took place!

Revolt in Stalinist Ranks

But in dumping hastily not only the more distant past but even the whole disastrous period of peasant Soviets in Central China, a period during which, Wan Min informed us at the Seventh C. I. Congress, "many of our comrades did not understand and do not understand the new situation which has arisen in China in recent years," the Stalinist cynics cannot so easily hurdle the barriers of history.

Chinese workers, whose brothers, uncles and fathers, and comrades died under the lash of the Feng Yu-shiangs, remember with abiding bitterness the fruits of the "bloc of four classes" of 1925-27. That is one of the main reasons why the Stalinist party has never been able since to re-establish itself as the party of the Chinese proletariat. But not only among the workers—even among the remnant handfuls of the ranks of the Chinese Stalinists, the "new line" is not being swallowed without protests and defections.

Our comrades report from China that revolt is simmering in the Stalinist ranks at the current attempt to initiate the "new line" for a new "national united front" with the same people who smashed that same united front nine years ago.

Member of Chiang's Gov't

Feng was one of the chief of these. He is today a ranking member of Chiang Kai-shek's Government in Nanking—another fact which the Daily Worker conveniently forgets to record! He is again seeking to build up his badly depleted political capital by mouthing a few phrases against imperialism. The words are barely out of his mouth before the Stalinists leap to throw their arms around his neck and promise a complete blotting of his past if he will once more make a deal with them. Why? The answer is contained in one more sentence of the Daily Worker report: Feng demanded that China make "a definite decision as to which nations are friends and which foes of China." Who can tell? Maybe Feng will favor, once more, an alliance with the Soviet Union. Nothing in his past, even his previous espousal of such an alliance and his subsequent "betrayal," can prevent Stalin, Dimitroff, Wan Min, Browder and Co. from embracing him once more—no matter what it means to the Chinese proletariat.

Who and what is Feng Yu-shiang? Let us repeat here for those whose memories are conveniently short or otherwise inadequate the record of his past.

General Soft on Jesus

Feng is a militarist who rose to power in China's northwest shortly after the Great War. By a series of timely and shrewd betrayals of his superior officers and allies, he became for a time, in 1924, the ruling militarist in Peking. He appeared then in the world's headlines as the "Christian General" who taught his soldiers the homely virtues of rustic simplicity. He had learned from foreign missionaries in Szechwan in his early years how to sing hymns.

But in 1924 Feng learned that what he lacked in spiritual piety, Moscow made up in generosity. He shed his Christian skin and

joined the ranks of that peculiar species cultivated in China by Stalin and Bucharin—"the Bolshevized militarist." The Holy Grail proved no match for Russian arms, Russian money, Russian advisers. Feng was quickly converted to the idea that a Russian gun in hand was worth a dozen halos in the hereafter, especially when military reverses in 1925 cut him off from all other sources of munition supply.

The Moscow Build-up

In 1926 he went to Moscow and there quickly learned all the new catchwords. They were even easier to remember, perhaps, than the Lord's Prayer. He had himself and his henchman, Yu Yu-jen (now head of the Nanking Control Yuan) photographed in the midst of admiring, backslapping Moscow functionaries. In Moscow on July 19, 1926, Feng predicted "new battles and new victories awaiting the future of the Chinese nation." He even remembered to call "special attention" to the "labor and peasant movement taking place throughout China" and announced his conviction "that in the future the proletarian will ultimately gain a victory in China." On August 19, in an interview with Pravda, Feng promised that his army would fight for "the emancipation of the nation" and the "consummation of the national revolution."

For years, while he could still get arms elsewhere, Feng had refused to throw in his lot with the Kuomintang. "But when he visited Moscow," marvelled a contemporary Japanese observer, "the Christian General allowed himself to be a disciple of Lenin before any one was aware of it." (Fase: Soviet Policy in the Orient, Peking, 1927, p. 327).

Stalin Gives Him Arms

It was all immensely easy, pleasant—and profitable. Overcome with admiration for Feng's revolutionary conversion and valor, Stalin piled him with the arms he wanted and sent him back to China to do or die, as he said he would, for the revolution.

Back among his soldiers, Feng proclaimed on September 17, 1926: "I am the son of a laborer" and announced that it would henceforth be the object of his armies "to awake the masses... sweep away the traitorous military clans, break down imperialism and secure the freedom and independence of China."

Feng had thus become a full-fledged recruit in the ranks of Stalin's "reliable allies," joining in that estimable company such heroic revolutionary fighters as Chiang Kai-shek, Lin Han-min, Tang Sheng-chih and Wang Chiu-wei. Severe behind Tungkuang Pass in the great northwest, Feng gathered to himself the arms and ammunition which flowed in a steady stream of caravans down from Urumi. He listened politely to his Russian advisers and bided his time.

No Criticism of Feng Allowed

It was not long in coming. While he waited the Northern Expedition swept to the Yangtze. Chiang Kai-shek, who earlier had also learned how to unlock the doors of Russian arsenals, entered Shanghai and there, with base ingratitude, "betrayed" Stalin. He "betrayed" not his own class interests but the faith which Stalin-Bucharin & Co. had taught the Chinese workers and peasants to have in him. Tang Sheng-chih and Wang Chiu-wei, in Wuhan, had also "betrayed"—although this was not yet officially admitted in Moscow. There had not yet been time to elaborate a formula which would fix responsibility for their "defection" on shoulders other than Stalin's. But there was still Feng, he, surely, would come like Lachinvar out of his western stronghold and save the day for the "revolutionary Kuomintang." He was a solid man, Feng, close to the soil. He would not betray. Was he not even now receding by radio his undying fealty to the "revolutionary Kuomintang"? (Even Vincent Sheehan, who saw practically nothing, saw the immense, meretricious faith of the Stalinists in Feng!) News dispatches reaching Moscow faintly suggesting that Feng was ready to deal with Chiang Kai-shek than with Wuhan were indignantly refused publication. Feng was the last trump.

To suggest that he would fall down on the job was nothing but rank "liquidationism." What is worse, it was "Trotskyism!" That annoying thorn, Trotsky, was teasing warhorns in Moscow that faith in Feng meant nothing but a repetition of the experiment with Chiang Kai-shek. (See Trotsky's note of May 28, 1927: Problems of the Chinese Revolution, p. 123-24).

The Butcher Gets to Work

A few days later Trotsky's warnings were crushingly confirmed by events. Feng let Wuhan spend its forces in a fruitless battle with the Northerners on the fields of Chum-lian in Honan and then came down from Tungkuang pass, overtook Ho Han and became the arbiter of the

struggle between Chiang and Wuhan. In a conference at Chengchow on June 14 with the Wuhan leaders, he agreed with them on one point only: the workers, peasants and Communists must be crushed. (See Fischer, Soviets in World Affairs, 11:609, or Anna Louise Strong's Ch'u's Millions, p. 62 et seq.)

But beyond this principled agreement, Feng wanted no further truck with Wuhan. He wanted strong allies from whom he could richly advantage, not weaklings from whom he had nothing more to gain, not even by further timely betrayals. At the conference commitments and titles were exchanged. Exactly one week later Feng crossed the province to Hanchow where he struck an immediate bargain with Chiang Kai-shek. Chiang was now a man worth betraying. On June 22, 1927, Feng signed a demarcation of Wuhan where, he said, "merchants, traders, factory owners and landlords were oppressed by the laborers and peasants" and served an ultimatum on Wuhan for the complete elimination and extermination of the Communists. (See China Weekly Review, July 2, for text). Lachinvar had fallen down on the job.

In his subsequent career Feng did indeed betray Chiang at the first opportunity. He fought a bloody civil war against him in 1930, made a few futile stabs in 1933 at being "anti-Japanese," and this year made a new deal with Chiang which brought him back into the councils of the Kuomintang at Nanking. His latest statement, as reported by the Daily Worker, indicates a new shuffle in the rivalry for power, a new bid for popular support, which the C. I. stands ready to drum up, if it can.

Feng, Through a Stalinist's Eyes

Are Chinese workers, are honest revolutionists still in the C. P. ranks going to accept Feng once more as an "ally"—"against imperialism"? In 1928, Ch'u Chiu-pei (known in the international as Strachov: he

was executed by Ch'ang Kai-shek in Fokien in May, 1935) bitterly drew the balance of the game played with Feng:

"Feng Yu-shiang," he wrote, "is a chapter for himself. A few months after his formal entry into the Kuomintang he began to execute workers and peasants. In September, 1927, he ordered the execution of 300 striking textile workers. When the workers of the Peking-Hankow Railway, having received no wages for 12 months, attempted to press for payment, he had an unknown number of them executed. He has been even more brutal in his actions against the peasantry in Honan" (Imperialism, Aug. 17, 1928).

Ch'u Chiu-pei was one of the leaders of the C. P. who ching to the Comintern after 1927 despite its gross betrayal of the Chinese revolution. Would he today, if he were alive, swallow whole a new alliance with this butcher, or with this butcher's satellites and subordinates, men like Feng Chen-wu? Perhaps. Stalin's poisons the blood in men's veins.

Fourth International Forces Grow in China

But Chinese workers, who may this very day be standing on the threshold of a new revival after nine years of reaction following their terrible defeat, will not take it so readily. They are not alone or without guidance. The Communist League of China is gathering strength and extending its influence at a rapid pace, although it is still small.

A new six-page bi-weekly printed mass paper, "Struggle" has made its appearance in Shanghai under the banner of the Communist League of China. With the Communist League, the Chinese section for the Fourth International, lies the hope for the future of the Chinese revolution, not with the Stalinists and their blood-stained allies.

Pickets Ti-up Akron Plant

(Continued from Page 1)
or after speaker who said, "Either we all go back to work Tuesday, or none of us."

The rubberworkers in other Akron plants and of course Goodyear Plant-1 are watching closely each move and it appears very probable that if a picket line is forced at Plant-2, every plant in the city will be closed.

The workers' grievances at the shops can be summarized around these points. They demand:

- 1. Abolition of Flying Squads.
- 2. Abolition of the company union—company formed seal organizations.
- 3. Restore wage cuts of recent weeks.
- 4. Rehire layed-off men.
- 5. A 30-hour week.
- 6. Union recognition.
- 7. No more speed-up.

The latest Goodyear "sitdown" came with dramatic swiftness that took the company by complete surprise and brought wide support to the workers, union and non-union.

"We'll Stop at 3!"

Lay-off notices were being explained to grumbling workers on fourth shift by a company man when a worker shouted, "We'll stop work at 3!"

Other workers took up the cry and shouted, "We'll stop work at 3!" Soon half of Plant-2 was shouting the slogan in unison while company officials fumed in rage.

Three o'clock came and everyone sat down at their machines as though by pre-arranged plans. Actually it was spontaneous.

The company agreed to talk to a committee selected by the men and composed mainly of unionists. A conference was scheduled at 1 p.m. the next afternoon.

Plant Closed

Meanwhile the company announced and newspapers shouted that the "sitdown" was over. Of course, the company refused to take back the men.

The news came just as the third shift, composed of ten-year service men, were ringing in for work. The entire department sat down immediately and were joined by the curing and mill rooms.

Realizing the seriousness of the situation, the company refused to let the fourth shift come into work because they knew it would join the "sitdown." Instead the plant was closed.

Acting much quicker than in the last "sitdown," union officials called department meetings and most of the workers concerned came and joined the union in addition to re-echoing their sentiment for strike unless the 75 men were rehired.

Scabs Ineffective

Plant-1 workers, smarting under the defeat of two weeks ago when their "sitdown" was broken, are expected to join in the strike movement immediately, thus involving 15,500 employees.

Curb Rising Of Spaniards

(Continued from Page 1)
viet press limits its estimate to such terms as, that the "masses are prepared to defend their democratic liberties," "striving to fight for the improvement of the life of the workers," etc. The Soviet press is an accurate indicator of the line the Stalinists will take. Above all, no revolution in Spain! No interference with the balance of power! Maintenance of the status quo! Socialism in one country—and no other!

For the second time in five years, history is presenting to the Spanish proletariat an opportunity to overthrow the capitalist-clerical regime. The possibilities of the revolution of 1931 were squandered by the Socialist and Syndicalist leadership. This same bloc which together with the Stalinists has entered the "Peoples Front" is again handing the power over to the bourgeois republicans and paving the way for speedy return of the reaction.

Repetition of the spurious and demagogic program of the "Peoples Front" Workers' Committees of act on democratically elected in the factories, tenements and villages, to repel every threat of reaction and to compel the liberation of the political prisoners. Only such slogans, corresponding to the needs of the hour, can effectively organize the power of the working class, and remove the center of the struggle from the parliamentary theatre to the field and factory.

Already the workers are spontaneously moving in that direction. But they require the leadership of the revolutionary vanguard. The fate of Spain hangs upon the formation under fire of such a general staff.

Prosecute Cal. Militants

(Continued from Page 1)

kill and murder them, and shot "at Plaintiffs with a double barreled shot gun."

In consequence of the alleged acts, the Plaintiffs claim that they "were rendered blind, sore and lamed," sustained severe shock and injuries to their nervous system," but were far permanently injured.

As a further element of damages, it is alleged that in consequence of the alleged assault, "a large group of persons known as Communists," became embittered against Plaintiffs and refused to do business with them and that many of them removed from the County of Sonoma "to parts unknown to Plaintiffs."

The complaint was verified by Campbell on November 21, but no attempt was made to serve either of the defendants until last week, Sol Nitzberg, Petaluma chicken rancher, was served on February 13, but process servers have thus far been unable to locate Green. Ernest Besig, Northern California director of the American Civil Liberties Union, whose attorneys are representing Green and Nitzberg, characterized the suit as "ridiculous." "After six months," said Mr. Besig, "we suddenly discover that Green and Nitzberg are charged with the commission of certain offenses. In spite of extensive re-

porting of the Santa Rosa incident, nothing ever appeared in the public press about these alleged attacks on Catrus and Campbell. And if these men were assaulted, why did they seek to have their assailants arrested? I suppose we'll next have a suit for damages because

one of the vigilantes hurt his hands while bending Green and Nitzberg, or because he was injured while applying the tar and feathers.

"It's suit," declared Mr. Besig, "emphasizes the need for a public investigation of the Santa Rosa outrage."

Dance
Friday Eve. Feb. 28
IRVING PLAZA HALL
15th Street at Irving Place
MUSIC BY
HARLEM RHYTHM MAKERS
PROFESSIONAL ENTERTAINMENT
REFRESHMENTS
TICKETS IN ADVANCE 75c, AT DOOR \$1

NEW MILITANT

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Japanese Invasion Threatens Soviet Union

Massed Goodyear Pickets Throw Back Police Army for First Major Victory in Rubber Strike

War Looms as Anti-Soviet Gang Seizes Nippon Gov't

Military Clique Wreaks Vengeance on "Moderates" in First Step to Hasten Drive of Imperial Conquest and Assault on Soviet Union

By LO SEN

Establishment of an open military dictatorship in Japan as a result of Wednesday's putsch in Tokyo, will bring war against the Soviet Union on to the immediate order of the day for Japanese imperialism.

The drive of Japanese-controlled Manchukuo forces across Chahar and Suiyuan for the conquest of Inner Mongolia will be accelerated. Border conflicts along the Manchukuo-Outer Mongolian frontier will be carried to the point of major hostilities.

Along that vast border between two worlds, from Vladivostok to Manchukuo, the long-heralded war of predatory imperialism against the Workers' State will finally blaze.

This is the immediate threat, the immediate meaning of Wednesday's bloody events in Tokyo. This is the immediate alarm for the working class of the entire world.

Early Wednesday morning a band of officers of the First Japanese Division, about to embark for duty in Manchukuo, murdered Premier Okada, Finance Minister Takahashi, Lord Privy Seal Viscount Saito and Gen. Watanabe, a high-ranking military officer.

Censorship Clamps Down

Japan was immediately blanketed in one of the most complete censorship ever established in the Far East. For hours the world waited to learn what had happened in Tokyo while hints of the morning's work seeped out through Manchukuo and along diplomatic circuits from Singapore to London.

Finally came a laconic War Office Communiqué, confirming the assassinations.

Fumio Goto, Minister of the Interior under Okada, was ordered to take over the premiership. He did. His first announcement was that "all was absolutely calm." A few hours later he resigned. Martial law was clamped down on Tokyo. Lieut. Gen. Kashi, commander of the capital garrison, was appointed Military Governor of the city with full authority to administer rigid martial law. The full First and Second Fleets were ordered to Tokyo and Osaka Bays and bluejackets were landed. Tokyo was completely in the hands of the Supreme War Council.

Military Wants No "Moderates"

At present writing, 24 hours after the events, Feb. 26 it was still not clear whether Japan would pass from a semi-military to an open, undisguised, untrammeled dictatorship of those representatives of Japanese finance capital who believe that the present moment is the moment to strike on continental Asia for the further glory of the Empire. Whatever government emerges from the coup, it is clear that its orientation will be in the direction of a hardening transgression and surrender to the impetuosity of the military arm of Japanese imperialism.

Wednesday's coup was an answer to two tendencies which have recently shown signs of making headway in Japan.

One was the clear and unmistakable turn of the masses away from the propaganda in favor of the imperialist drive of expansion on the continent, as shown in the elections in which the more "moderate" Minseitō was given preference over the more "aggressive" Seiyūkai party and in which, what was more important, the Japanese Social Masses (Socialist) Party polled 629,000 votes, an increase of 500 per cent and an unmistakable sign of awakening in the rank of the Japanese workers.

Assassinated Ministers too "Slow"

The second tendency was represented to a certain extent by the government heads who were assassinated, Okada, Takahashi and Saito. This was the tendency to let the program of imperialist expansion proceed at a somewhat slower, less costly tempo, to consolidate the gains thus far won in China (conquest of Manchukuo and establishment of a virtual protectorate over North China) by getting the Nanking Government's signature on a treaty, and even to postpone for the time being the attack on the Soviet Union, at least until the European situation boiled over and created a European diversion which would serve Japanese imperialist purposes, as in 1914.

In pursuance of this policy, the Okada government had been pursuing a policy of exerting strong diplomatic pressure upon Nanking accompanied only by military demonstrations along the Manchukuo

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Support The Rubber Workers!

By FARRELL DOBBS
Secretary-Treasurer of Local 574

A VISIT to the front lines in the struggle for industrial unionism at the Goodyear Rubber plant in Akron lends new courage to union men who have struggled hard for the great day that is now dawning.

The almost unbelievable resourcefulness and the splendid courage and determination shown by the rubber workers proved beyond the question of a doubt that the strength of a giant lies smoldering within the ranks of the American workers in the basic industries.

The solid ranks of industrial unionism are fanning this spirit into a flame. We do not have to witness the demoralizing sight of the members of one craft union walking through the picket lines of another striking craft union to go to work. There is no question of craft distinction in this strike. If you work in the Goodyear plant, you are either in the rubber workers' union and out on the picket line or you are a scab.

On Tuesday morning, February 25, the embattled workers, picketing in violation of a court injunction, calculated to destroy their strength, faced down an army of police and special deputies sent out to enforce the injunction. The picket line holds solid with a picket post at each of the 168 gates of the plant. Around the eleven mile fighting front the slogan is: "Nobody goes in the plant." Those hard bitten cynics who say that the American worker will not fight shall have to change their minds after this forceful demonstration.

The suddenness with which the strike came made it difficult for the strikers to prepare adequate facilities for its conduct. These deficiencies are being rapidly overcome. The present headquarters is not adequate for an assembly hall for the strike but will serve very well as a commissary and headquarters for the strike leaders and field captains. A second and larger assembly place is needed for large gatherings of the strikers and, of equal importance, so that the workers from the other rubber plants and all other Akron workers may come to the proper place to get correct information regarding the strike and to get instructions as to how they may best assist.

On this question there is a second important factor. The management of the company has complete access to the radio, to the advertising columns of the daily papers and to a very large extent to the news and editorial columns also. It is vital that this propaganda of the bosses be counteracted by the strikers. The most effective weapon for this purpose is the daily strike bulletin issued at a regular hour and widely distributed. Once started, the strike bulletin easily becomes self-supporting. The experiences of the Minneapolis truck drivers, the Toledo Chevrolet strike, the St. Louis Gas House strike, and many others stand as living proof of the value of a daily strike bulletin. The rubber workers will find such a paper eagerly received and closely read by all workers.

Outside the city of Akron it is difficult to get accurate information about the strike because of the manner in which the daily papers are suppressing it. This is done because the bosses in steel, auto, and the other big industries do not want the workers to know of this powerful demonstration of industrial union strength. But the rubber workers do want the other workers to know about their fight and they want their support. The strike committee should send systematic press releases to all papers in the country. The daily strike bulletin is the best instrument with which to do this.

It is heartening to observe that the Committee for Industrial Organization is sending money and men to aid the Akron strikers. This strike is of vital interest to the industrial union movement and the most practical work that the C.I.O. can do is to give the strike unstinted support. The Akron strike must be won. The craft unionists must not be permitted to sell the strike out in an effort to stifle the rising sentiment for industrial unionism. There is a grave danger of such a thing happening. Especially when Secretary Perkins' "ace mediator," McGrady, is reported to have been ordered to Akron to effect a "settlement." A very large part of the responsibility in this strike rests with the C.I.O. The workers are furnishing the fighting forces. They must have leadership, a leadership conscious of the full import of the forces moving today in the national struggle and capable of guiding the strikers through the treacherous "settlement" proposals which have wrecked every attempt at unionizing the big industries.

The Goodyear strike in Akron must be won. All labor must rally to support the fight. The workers in every city can aid by opening an intensive organization drive in all Goodyear agencies.

Carry the fight to Goodyear! Get the strike news from the rubber workers, not from the bosses' papers! Fight to build industrial unionism!

Nations Jockey for War at London Naval Conference

The London Naval Conference is still dragging along. It has lost the participation of Japan and is about to lose the participation of Italy. It has degenerated into an open game for allies and positions in the next war—not that Naval Conferences are ever anything else, but the London Conference is the last of the series and comes near the actual outbreak of the war, when the nations are less concerned about concealing their true purposes. In the earlier conferences they made some pretense of peaceful intentions, now they practically admit that they are jockeying for war.

Liberals represent Naval Conferences as struggles between Good and Evil, struggles between peace and war. Actually they are nothing more than the sum of the warlike forces involved. Japan has withdrawn from the London Conference because she couldn't get the United States and Great Britain to agree that she needed a bigger navy to protect her interests in the Pacific and in China from—Great Britain and the United States. Italy is reported about to withdraw because "he can't get Britain and France to agree to withdraw sanctions against Italy."

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Union Threatens General Strike if Militia is Called Out

By CARL OSHEA
AKRON, Feb. 25.—The Goodyear rubber strike is more firmly entrenched tonight than ever, with 168 picket posts being maintained on an eleven-mile front. This morning the 15,000 strikers had a showdown with the forces of "law and order," which resulted in a smashing victory for the union. Early in the day word reached strike headquarters that Sheriff Flower Police Chief Boss, with 300 deputies and 130 cops, were going to charge the picket line at ten A.M., and attempt to break the back of the strike with violence.

As the zero hour neared, hundreds of pickets packed into the strike headquarters across from the struck plant. Thousands more took the streets in front of the picket posts. Each picket was well provided with "fire wood." Up the hill marched the forces of law and order. Grimly the strikers waited. The cops in the lead, the strike-breakers marched closer and closer to the massed rubber workers. The line refused to budge. Finally Boss halted his men a few feet from the last strikers. Nervously, he looked the situation over. He was out-stared. Breaking down, he cried out, "I've never let anyone into a goddam slaughterhouse, and I'm not going to now." The cops broke ranks, the deputies marched down the hill again, to the accompaniment of tremendous jeers and boo's from the massed pickets. One of the deputies suddenly clutched his stomach and became violently ill.

The strikers, with their magnificent demonstration of militancy and determination, had carried the day. Inside the strike headquarters this evening was a milling crowd of proud strikers enthusiastically discussing the way in which they had called the bluff of the hard-boiled Sheriff Jim Flowers, and his strike-breaker. Each picket post had its allotment of ten strikers, huddled around a stove inside a wind-break. Every two hours, cars came around delivering hot lunches.

Women Very Active
One of the best weapons that the

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Perspectives of the Akron Strike

By JACK WILSON

It is highly significant that precisely in that factory—Goodyear—where the company union is 17 years old and the rubber workers' bona-fide union admittedly the weakest, that the strike in the rubber industry should begin! This happened because Goodyear workers were given absolutely no concessions but driven downward constantly, thus storing up an explosive force which blew up when the last sitdown provided the spark. Other rubber workers' unions have obtained minor concessions and thus basic antagonisms were dulled.

Sit Down Hits Chem. Plant in Akron Boro

500 Barberton Workers Force Managers to Vacate

BARBERTON, Ohio, Feb. 22.—Company officials of the Columbia Chemical Co. in Barberton, a large industrial suburb of Akron, Ohio, finally moved to negotiate a strike which started last Wednesday when 500 workers seized control of the factory and forced the management to vacate. The men are firmly entrenched and refuse to leave the plant until the company, which is owned by the Mellon interests, grants a 4 cents hourly increase in wages and full pay for every day of the strike.

The "sit-down" strike resulted when the management refused to meet the demand of 50 pipelitters for a 4 cents hourly wage raise. The union took up the fight under the militant leadership of A. R. Lee, union president, and called for a general wage increase. Wednesday, 500 men entered the plant, stopped the machinery, and despite the threats and pleading of the company have remained in the factory since.

Meanwhile, 400 other workers are

The so-called objective economic factors involved have been pointed out in the NEW MILITANT previously and need only listing. Price wars, shifting the entire burden on the workers through wage cutting, lengthening of hours, disregard of seniority rights favoring squad men, who are nothing but company scab groups, in making unnecessary layoff; these injustices have seared themselves in the workers' minds. They prove the fact which has kept pickets warm despite 9 below zero weather.

Goodyear's Fabulous Profits

Properly handled, the workers are unbeatable and support by everyone but big business is a foregone conclusion. Even a Federal fact-finding board has condemned Goodyear practices in wage cutting, etc., etc. To top that off, last Monday when the strike began, Goodyear announced a \$800,000 increase in profit for 1935 over 1934, bringing its total admitted profit to \$3,500,000, which fact alone rallied hundreds of increased workers to the picket line.

How is the rubber barons' association trying to break the strike? In the cut-and-dried way. The perennial injunction on which would abolish the picket line; the counter-demonstrations staged by the company union; full support of the

(Continued on Page 2)

Terror Rages as Arkansas Bosses Battle with Starving Sharecroppers

Death by Hunger Stalks On Pres. Roosevelt's Poor Farms

By James Evans.

BARLE, Ark.—The sharecroppers of Crittenden county are going through hell. This whole area is a picture of starvation, evicton, and terror. Every militant cropper lives under a perpetual sentence of death. Any day, he may be shot from ambush by one of the planter deputies. Any night, some mob of landlords may drag him from his home and string him up to the nearest tree.

Two meetings were raided recently by mobs composed of planters, landlord's deputies, and riding bosses. Howard Kester, Secretary of the Central Defense Committee of the Union, and H.I. Goldberger, lawyer retained by the organization, were dragged from the platform of a church, beaten and threatened with lynching. The five hundred cropper attending the meeting were attacked with clubs and axe handles. One of the deputies, an extremely drunken Southern gentleman, threatened to bring machine guns if the cropper dared to hold another meeting.

The "Law" Breaks into a Meeting
At a second meeting held in St. Peter's Church, Constable Everett Hood and a posse entered with shotguns manifesting the evident intent of firing into the gathering. Hood was at first disarmed by Doorkeeper Jim Ball. The doorkeeper was arrested on charges of assault with intent to kill. After Ball had been jailed, the posse

soured the road, firing on the croppers who were going home from the meeting. Two unarmed men were shot in the back by these hired guerrillas.

Simon Bas, leader of the Earle local, and three others were arrested the next day while returning from a conference with union officials in Memphis. The drumhead court at Marion refused them legal counsel and hurriedly sentenced them to one year each on charges of "rioting." This case is now under appeal, and widespread mass support is needed to prevent the broadening of these fighters against Southern feudalism. District Attorney Denver Dudley, alert to prosecute croppers and the Union, naturally refuses to take any action against the official banditti of this section.

Even middle-class humanitarians are being threatened if they try to assist the croppers. A liberal minister attempted to find temporary shelters for the evicted croppers. The planter deacons held a special meeting and forbade him from "engaging in further subversive activities." The minister complied; a revolutionist would have defied.

Meanwhile, the planters have decreed that all Union members must go. People are living in tents on cold dirt floors, in abandoned railroad stations, and in church buildings belonging to share-cropper congregations. Some families are huddling nine to a room in cabins of croppers who have not yet been evicted. Very often, these dispossessed rural laborers must live entirely on hoe-cake and green beans.

A number of families have been settled on the Anderson Rehabilitation Farm, a project that was advertised to cure the ailments of the Earle County croppers. Contrary to the promises of the case workers, the remedy seem about to kill the victims. One six-year old child starved to death on this Roosevelt poor farm, last year. The tenant remaining and themselves up against the same old proposition: their cotton taken to pay for "furnish"—with Mr. President Sharp, Arkansas State Administrator, lyingly maintains that all evicted families are being supplied with food and shelter.

The Southern Tenant Farmers' Union is very confused politically, still relying to a great extent on "law and order" although the croppers have been disfranchised by the sovereign state of Arkansas. Nevertheless, it is a growing challenge to the whole plantation system, perhaps the greatest expression of mass upheaval in the South since the pre-war slave rebellion. Highly significant is the formation of defense squads for exclusively Negro local by white croppers.

The dying agricultural system of the South must be overthrown, and its beneficiaries expropriated by the tenants themselves. This is a task for the future. Today, the Union must be supported by protest actions and by donation; if it is to continue its work, funds are urgently needed and should be sent to the Union at Box 5215, Memphis, Tennessee.

Green Urged To Organize Steel Plants

CIO Challenges Old Guard In Answer to Threat Of Mass Expulsion

By ARNE SWABECK

Some new verbal broadsides have been fired in the ever sharpening conflict between the A. F. of L. craft union bureaucrats and the official leaders of the Committee for Industrial Organization. At the same time the repercussions from this conflict begin to penetrate deeply into the broadest layers of the movement.

In the name of the Executive Council, Wm. Green has issued a warning to all local and federal union, to all State Federations and city central labor bodies, that it will not tolerate any organization that "gives allegiance, assistance or support to the Committee for Industrial Organization, or any other organization which attempt to usurp the functions of the American Federation of Labor." While no exact penalties were specified, it is reported that the intention is to revoke the charters of any organization found guilty of giving such allegiance.

In reply the C. I. O. once again defied the Executive Council and indicated that it would continue its work. Not only did the C. I. O. refuse to dissolve but it challenged the A. F. of L. to undertake a serious campaign of organization in the steel industry, to which the committee would contribute a half million dollars and the services of trained organizers. Two conditions, however, the C. I. O. considered necessary for success: First, that the "organization must be along industrial lines," and, secondly, "the leadership of the campaign must be such as to inspire confidence of success."

With these developments it becomes increasingly clear that fundamentally the conflict in the A. F. of L. centers around the issue of organization of the millions of unorganized workers, and especially those employed in the basic industries.

Steel Industry Pivot

Naturally the steel industry occupies in this respect a pivotal position. To the trade unionists, real security of organization is unthinkable without the inclusion of the steel industry. The full extension of the powers of union organization is well nigh impossible without the steel industry remaining unorganized. Moreover, the steel barons, fighting to preserve their feudal power, have for a long time been the backbone of the employers' resistance to every working class advance. An aggressive campaign for the organization of the steel industry is therefore becoming an ever more pressing necessity.

Thus the threat made by the craft union bureaucrats of disciplinary measures to be taken against the unions that may give allegiance and support to the C. I. O., has been met by a challenge to organize the unorganized. There need be little doubt which is the most effective. And this applies not only with

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MASS PICKET LINE WINS FIRST STRIKE CONFLICT

Throw Back Police Army In First Major Skirmish

(Continued from Page 1)

strikers have is the energy and high spirits of the women, who have turned out in great numbers to back up the strike. Fifty girls are on duty at the strike headquarters 24 hours a day. Every two hours, a thousand sandwiches are made and delivered to the picket posts. The women, organized in the Union Buyers Club, have proven tremendously effective in neutralizing the prejudices of the local merchants and small business men. An illustration of the spirit of the wives and daughters of the strikers is shown by an incident that occurred the second day of the strike. The weather was way below zero, and some of the strikers were rather loath to venture out into the cold to take care of the picket posts. The women caucused, and finally delivered the following message: You men cook. We'll take care of the picketing! With such a spirit, from that moment on there was never any trouble in getting dozens of candidates for each picket post.

Besides the picket posts that are maintained by the Goodyear local, 22 cruiser cars are constantly on the job. Apparently the strike committee has borrowed a lot of ideas that were developed by the Minneapolis truck drivers in their strikes of 1934.

There is the strike headquarters, with hospital, commissary, loudspeaker, etc. There are the cruiser cars. There is everything in Akron today but a printed daily strike bulletin, and there is a possibility that even this will be established in the near future.

Goodyear President Broadcasts

Tonight at 10:40, the president of the Goodyear Company, Litchfield, spoke over the radio, presenting the usual boss line: Our company union has been in existence for seventeen years—eventless years of peace and harmony. . . . This is not a question of wages and hours, but a question of whether the government is to be transported into the middle of a lawless mob. . . . We must avoid anarchy or chaos, etc., etc. In the usual boss manner, full-page ads appear in all the Akron papers, containing the usual run-of-the-mill slanders which bosses always use against any group of workers who have the courage and determination to organize and fight in defense of their rights. Incidentally, Litchfield announced he was broadcasting from inside the plant, "because if I get out, I don't know when I can get in again." This will give some idea of the rigorous discipline which the strikers are maintaining around the struck plants. No one enters or leaves the plant without the permission of the union. Up until a few days ago, the union was permitting the office workers to enter the plant. But four ink production workers were caught trying to sneak through, and since then no one gets by the picket line.

Real Industrial Union

Needless to say, the rubber workers have taken in almost all the craftsmen who work around the plant—carpenters, electrician, painters, sheet metal workers, pipe fitters. These men saw that their place was with the mass of organized rubber workers, asked for admission into the union, and were readily taken in. Even the machinists have cracked under the stress of the strike, and a large section has already entered the Goodyear local.

Lewis Forces Strong

John L. Lewis is continuing to throw more and more strength behind the strike, as the tremendous importance of the situation becomes apparent. Last night (Friday) was in town and spoke at strike headquarters, promising full support from the Committee for Industrial Organization. Adolf Germer will remain in town until the strike is over. Tomorrow crowds of organizers from the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the International Ladies Garment Workers, and the United Mine Workers are scheduled to arrive. Should the strike end in a smashing victory for the union—and there is every evidence that it will—the star of industrial unionism will be on the heights. Trade unionists from all over the country are dropping into Akron and carefully observing what is going on. In case of an impressive victory in Akron, industrial unionism will loom large before the eyes of mass production workers throughout America. The situation will unquestionably have an immediate effect in the auto industry, in the steel mills and the packing house industry.

Though the company is maintaining its position of refusing to deal with the union or to open negotiations over grievances until the strike is called off, it is difficult to see how they can smash the strike. They have appealed for the national guards, but the understand quite clearly that martial law would mean a general strike in the whole

eastern section of Ohio. The Goodrich and Firestone workers are ready to come out at the drop of a hat. Even now, the brothers from these other two plants spend all their free time on picket duty. The Central Labor Union in Akron has sent a delegation to Governor Davey warning him not to try to bring in the militia.

A victory in Akron today will mean the rubber industry has been conquered at last by the union movement, and will be the signal for tremendous campaigns in the other mass production industries throughout the country.

Every Aid Promised by Akron C.I.O. Committee

By JACK WILSON

AKRON, Ohio, Feb. 22.—A general strike movement was rapidly gaining impetus here to support 4,000 Goodyear strikers against armed vigilantes and hundreds of deputies who have announced their intention of using a sweeping injunction as an excuse to smash the picket line.

A progressive-dominated committee of fifteen was chosen by 300 cheering delegates at the Central Labor Union special meeting last night with full power to do "anything they advise to help the Goodyear strikers."

The Goodyear strikers have adopted the slogan, "Hold that picket line! No injunction or no union!" issued by progressives and they prepared to resist any of the attacks which are being openly prepared by Sheriff Flower, a National Guard captain.

Already national guard observers have been sent in and troops have been told to be ready for immediate call.

Company union meetings have been packed by Goodrich and Firestone foremen, businessmen, supervisors, and other rats, crying for "a right to go into the factory."

Nearly 5,000 Goodyear workers refused to enter the plants even though promised protection and efforts are being made to swing their sympathy into active support.

Union Officials Timid

John Houe, union president, declared in the injunction hearing that the strike was an "outlaw" strike, thus giving an excuse for the granting of the injunction and reducing sympathy to the union. Pressure from progressives, backed by the rank and file, has forced Houe to change his stand a little. The union officials were afraid to come out openly for demands as they hoped for quick settlement and want the men to go back to work as they fear facing a real strike.

But progressive pressure became too strong and the union has announced it wants to abolish the flying squad, a company scab organization, the company union known as the Goodyear Industrial Assembly, and no lay-offs.

Signifying the 30-hour week, seniority rights and return of wages not recently made by picket captain and the union officials will have to ask for these demands too.

Strike Events To-Date

Monday night the Plant Two workers decided to go on strike immediately as the company refused to rescind lay-offs. A picket line of 500 was formed despite blizzards and a blizzard.

Tuesday the plant was shut tight by the pickets and many employees coming to work joined the strike movement.

A Shutdown in Key Departments in Plant One

was begun early Tuesday in sympathy with the strikers. A committee was sent to the union asking if the picket line should be formed.

Two police attempts to smash through the Plant Two line failed Tuesday as more workers joined with the strikers instead of trying to get to the factory.

By Wednesday morning, sixty picket lines were marching in chain fashion around entrances and Plant One and Three were closed by the "outlaw" who came out on strike.

Militancy and determination to win despite all obstacles were marked features of the picket talk as the temperature dropped to nine below zero for two nights.

The union officials wouldn't sanction a strike bulletin for Wednesday morning although hundreds of Goodyear workers were coming to the picket lines instead of going to work. No effort was made to win the non-strikers over primarily because the union officials feared a strike.

Combating Company Maneuvers

Valuable days were lost by not giving out statements to non-strikers and to the papers which kept howling for "reasons why the men are striking." Unfavorable comment began to be heard on the streets but the mistake was corrected when key workers adopted completely a correct program which had been hammered home by militants.

Pickets took charge of traffic, closed liquor stores, and generally ran East Akron under direction of a special strike committee, all week.

A company trick of sneaking in scabs instead of office workers in the payroll department while workers were waiting for checks brought a complete stoppage of every movement in and out of the factory.

Even the company president, P. W. Litchfield was kept within the plant along with 500 flying squad scabs who have tear gas bombs, clubs, gas masks, etc. to use tomorrow against the workers.

The First Set-back

First break in the picket line came Friday night when a court order was given during the injunction hearing that coal be allowed hauled in by train. Strike captains had trouble re-training pickets from stopping the train as the company tried to provoke trouble so that the injunction would be given.

However, the company received the injunction easily as House and Zeiger flopped terribly in the court fight as progressives had said they would.

The situation began to look dark for the strikers but the Central Labor union meeting was called just in time to rally the disheartened workers and put new life blood in the pickets.

CLU Gives Support

The resolution adopted unanimously by the CLU delegates bristled in defiance of any injunction proceedings and called on all organized and unorganized workers to support the strikers on the picket line and financially.

Other rubberworkers locals officers met after the CLU meeting and planned support for Goodyear strikers.

Already workers at Goodrich demanded that they be called out on strike.

Exactly as Goodyear's strike was a spontaneous movement so will all organized workers walk out even though certain local union leaders will beg them with crocodile tears in their eyes not to.

There was the rank and file to that view, naturally for the average picket has been two miles ahead of the leader on every issue that arose. The union leaders hoped and prayed and declared time and again that the court couldn't grant an injunction because this is a peaceful strike!

All Akron Will Rally

Since easily 2,000 rubber workers from other plants have aided the strikers on the picket line, spreading of the walkout throughout the entire industry will come as soon as the sheriff tries to slug his way into the factory no matter how much any union leaders plead to the contrary. In fact, Monday was probably the half of Akron's rubber workers out at the picket lines ready to battle the sheriff, so strong is the sentiment for the strikers.

Quite obviously this strike is a make or break proposition for unionism in the tire industry. The companies have fully realized this. The rank and file has forced the union leaders to see it. Since this is a mass production industry capable and demanding of industrial unionism, both William Green and John Lewis are aware of the issues involved. So the center of the craft vs. industrial union fight within the A. F. of L. has been shifted to Akron.

Green took honors in round one by telephoning the international

Japanese Intervention Threatens Soviet Union

(Continued from Page 1)

North China border. This pressure was bearing fruits. Chiang Kai-shek openly announced his readiness to make his deal with Japanese imperialism. The very day of the Tokyo coup, Hachiro Arita, the new Japanese ambassador to China, arrived in Shanghai en route to Nanking to open formal negotiations.

Throughout the preliminaries to these negotiations the Japanese military openly announced that they preferred the direct method of open conquest. They continued to doubt the "sincerity" of Nanking's groveling capitulation and continued to rattle the sabre in the North. This only helped swing Nanking into line.

Planned to Test U.S.S.R.

Similarly with regard to the U.S.S.R. The multiplication of border incidents along the Soviet and Outer Mongolian frontiers in recent weeks represented direct provocation by Japanese imperialism, in an attempt to "feel out" Moscow's temper, especially along the Outer Mongolian frontier, which Japan's militarists wanted to test as a potential battleground to discover the exact extent to which the Soviet Union would regard Mongolia's fight as its own.

This was dangerous "testing" which was compensated for diplomatically by an agreement to set up a "border commission" to adjudicate the frontier disputes.

The common theory about "disagreements" between the "military clique" and the civilian tools of Japanese imperialism must always be qualified by the realization that the two arms supplement each other far more than they conflict. The Japanese military arm is driving forward to serve the interests of Japanese imperialism. The civilian arm wants to keep that drive within certain limits dictated by self-interest and factors over which the Japanese bourgeoisie alone has no direct control.

Aid to Japanese Diplomacy

Seemingly militarist "truculence" has proved very useful to Japanese diplomacy. The appearance of helplessness before uncontrollable military has enabled Japanese diplomacy to prevent itself from being laced into the straitjacket of some imperialist horse trade around conference tables. It has enabled it to maintain a striking independence in Japan's own imperialist interests, although that has not been an unmixed blessing for Japanese imperialism.

How regretful the Tokyo Foreign Office was when the Japanese army marched into Manchuria! With how straight a face could ambassadors visit the chancelleries of Europe and America and deny the march of conquest during the very hours that it roared across the plains of Manchuria!

No, let no one fall for the notion that those naughty soldier boys are doing anything that Mitsui and Mitsubishi & Co. (the Morgan and Wendels of Japan) do not want them to be doing!

"Conflict" of Master and Servant

Only in one sense can "conflict" be said to exist. It is the conflict between a master and an arrogant servant, a servant moreover who has known how to reach out to the peasantry to establish a Fascist base of his own. Japan's drive of imperialist conquest in China, its march toward war on the Soviet Union represents the basic necessity of Japanese imperialism, crowded within the geographically and economically limited confines of a tiny archipelago. To carry out that drive Japanese imperialism has created a mighty military machine to which it must extend power and with whom it must share no small part of the spoils.

However, it wants to conduct the drive at a tempo and a rate of expenditure commensurate with its possibilities and seeks to keep its unavailing instrument within those limits. That is the role Takahashi has played. He has opposed not the huge appropriations for the drive but the excess which could be pared

off and make the burden a little lighter. For this he earned the hatred of the swashbucklers.

The Price of the Hireling

But the Japanese bourgeoisie cannot avoid paying the price of its hireling. Just as the French bourgeoisie had to pay its Napoleon III, like the Chinese bourgeoisie has to pay Chiang Kai-shek, the German its Hitler, and so on down the line, the Japanese bourgeoisie may be finding itself compelled tomorrow to pay its Araki, its Hayashi or its Kawashima or whatever general emerges to take the helm.

Nor has this military machine failed to reach out for its own base. Not a small part of War Office propaganda has been directed "against" big capital on behalf of the horribly impoverished Japanese peasantry. This was in part propaganda designed to knit the ranks, composed of peasant youth, largely, to the High Command. But it was also consciously in part the development of an independent weapon which the High Command could hold over the heads of the money bags. The army has posed as the champion of moral righteousness as against the notorious corruption of Japanese politician. It has even raised the

banner of "social justice." And it has allocated to itself the chief defense of the divinity of the Emperor.

In this lie the bases of a Japanese military-Fascist dictatorship of a type which is likely to emerge when Japanese imperialism enters its final life and death struggle for its future.

Path Is Not Smooth

But the path of Japanese imperialism, whether in khaki or in mufti, has not been entirely smooth, even during these years of imperialist victory. In Japan itself the drain of the war cost has reduced the proletariat and peasantry to the barest levels of existence. They are paying not only for the war being waged on the continent with bullets and bomb but for the war being waged on all world markets by Japanese products cheapened through sweated labor. In the army itself wide cracks have appeared in the imposing facade of rigid, indoctrinated discipline. There have been mutinies brushed by censorship ever since the beginning of the Manchurian campaign. A thick stratum of the Japanese petty bourgeoisie has felt the sharp pinch. Nothing demonstrated this more definitely, even though in disguised form, than

the recent election turn to "modernism."

Let us be on our guard! American imperialism will greedily lay up the fruits of a Soviet-Japanese conflict which it will turn to the advantage of its own aims in the Pacific. When the inevitable conflict finally comes, as now, our task will be to grid for battle against American imperialism. We will defend the Soviet Union by fighting it and our enemy in our own country.

the recent election turn to "modernism."

On Guard!

All this provides the basis for a new intervention of the Japanese masses in the determination of their own destiny. The war policy of Japanese imperialism can dig its own grave. War, especially war against the Soviet Union, can and will accelerate the development of evolutionary forces deep within the Japanese mass. Solid with a world proletariat defending the Soviet Union by taking up the struggle against imperialism on a world scale (not supporting the capitalist regimes of the Soviet Union's temporary bourgeois allies), the Japanese proletariat ran step into the van of that struggle and help swing it to victory.

Let us be on our guard! American imperialism will greedily lay up the fruits of a Soviet-Japanese conflict which it will turn to the advantage of its own aims in the Pacific. When the inevitable conflict finally comes, as now, our task will be to grid for battle against American imperialism. We will defend the Soviet Union by fighting it and our enemy in our own country.

London Naval Conference

(Continued from Page 1)

It may be wondered how the nations ever got together in a Naval Conference in the first place. In 1921 the Washington Conference actually saw an agreement between Great Britain, the United States, and Japan to limit their navies to a 5-5-3 ratio. But times were different then, and the nations had not yet reached the point of immediate interests. To a certain extent they were satisfied for the moment with the conquests they had made in the World War at the expense of Germany and Austria. They were economically exhausted by the war and did not feel they could stand the expense of an immediate naval race. And they had to make some convincing gestures to pacify their war-weary population. All these interests combined to make them amenable to some real naval limitation.

Since that time the capitalist world has been steadily preparing for the next war, and every succeeding naval conference has registered the decline of the forces that made for the Washington Naval Agreement of 1921. The negotiation undertaken to modify and improve the Washington Agreement in 1927 broke off without any results. In 1930 another grand gesture at disarmament went up in smoke. And now the London Conference has lost Japan and is about to lose Italy, two of the signers of the original agreement.

Learning on Eve of New War

The London Conference meets on the eve of the next World War. The economic contradictions which prevented the nations from embarking on an active war policy in 1921 have to a certain extent been solved. Debts have been cancelled and tottering finances reinforced at the expense of the working class and the unemployed. The political situation is much more favorable to war since the decline and fall of the revolutionary movement under the misleadership of the Stalinists. Now the imperialists have the openly expressed assurance of both the Stalinist and Socialist leaders in the "democratic" countries that they will have the support of the organized working class for their next robber war. The nations vanquished in the last war are rearming and getting ready to fight for a share in the spoils. The nations don't bother to hide their maneuvers for allies and position. Britain proposes an Anglo-

Britain's Stake

Britain has two big iron in the London Conference fire. They are trying to come to some agreement with the United States for concerted action against Japan for the protection of American and British interests in the Far East. At the same time the British diplomats are trying to drag Germany into the conference against the opposition of France. This is in line with their recent policy of playing Germany against France.

As for France, she is still trying unsuccessfully trying to play Italy against Britain. While Britain is using Germany to try to frighten France into giving up her overtures to Mussolini, France is trying to use Italy to frighten Britain into giving up her overtures to Hitler.

Germany apparently will not join the conference. But she has been invited to sign a separate treaty under the same terms with Britain alone. No doubt she will accept Britain's protection for her efforts to build up her naval war machine.

America's Game

It is more than likely that the United States will come to some agreement with Britain over the Pacific. If not at the London Conference, sooner or later in a secret or open treaty. The question for American diplomats revolves around the relative merits of the British colonies and China as markets. While Britain finally the biggest obstacle to American expansion, nevertheless American policy in the past has centered on China as an easier market to secure first.

The capitalist press reports that the London Conference is a failure. But this is hardly true. It was never intended to be anything more than an opportunity for the various nations to get together and observe each others' war policies at close range. The conference itself is nothing more than an incident amid the continuing war preparations of the imperialists. The conference may be a failure for some of the imperialists who were outmaneuvered and failed to get all the allies they wanted—but in the same measure it will be a success for their opponents. The only complete failure is the failure of liberals, who still think war is caused by Bad statesmen and Bad nations, to learn anything from the conference.

'Sit Down' Hits Chem. Plant

(Continued from Page 1)

outside of the plant seeing to it that the strikers get food and clothing. At first the company refused to let food come in to the plant and it had to be smuggled inside over the fence, but finally the management was forced to let the men bring supplies in through the gate. The strikers also have radios and cards and Thursday night they staged a "Major Bowes Amateur Hour." The morale of the men is high.

The management has been forced to move its offices to a downtown Akron building. Although it has threatened to eject the strikers it has made no move to do so. It recalls too well that the strike breaking efforts of the Ohio Insulator Co. resulted in the threat of a general strike by the Central Labor Union a few months back.

The "sit-down" is a labor tactic which has proven its worth in Akron and its suburbs during the last month. Four times the workers at the major rubber shops have employed it. Three times it has gained victories for the strikers. The fourth use of this tactic has resulted in the bitter strike now being fought at the Goodyear Tire and Rubber Co.

The tactic is a very simple one. The men go into the factory but stand by their machines without operating them. They see that no one else does either. Thus in the mass production industries a small number of workers are able to stop production. Up to the Columbia Chemical strike only a few workers in key departments have participated. In the present strike the entire force has not only refused to operate the machines but have taken possession of the factory.

With the possibility of a general strike in Akron, the effect of a victory at Columbia will be tremendous. It is not unlikely, also, that should the tie-up come in Akron, the Columbia strikers will see that it is spread through Barberton.

The present strike is the second in two years. The first was a victory and it is from that time that the militancy of Barberton labor dates.

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The Hunt for Trotskyist Contraband HISTORY BOOKS FOR SALE! The New Revision Under Way in U. S. S. R.

By JOHN O. WRIGHT

From the Kremlin down, the Stalinists in the Soviet Union are having the jitters from a recent epoch-making and horrible discovery made by none other than Stalin. While Stalin and his suite were marching from one "irrevocable" triumph to the next, an unbelievable situation continued to develop in the rear: "On the Historical Front." While Stalin was busy making history in the very front lines, his flunkies in the rear were manufacturing it according to the day-to-day prescription. With the changes in the objective situation, the means and ways of falsifying history were varied.

But now it turns out—as a matter of incontrovertible fact (for, Stalin himself says so)—that the science of history in the Soviet Union is, by and large, in the camp of counter-revolution!

The gravity of the situation is illustrated sufficiently by the fact that on January 26, 1936, a special Commission of Twelve, with Zhdanov as Chairman, was appointed by Stalin to save what can be saved. Naturally, the Commission faces a colossal problem. In its work it runs up against tremendous difficulties. In the words of Pravda itself:

"Strange as it may seem, this work has run up against difficulties in the sphere of the History of the U.S.S.R. It is well worth dwelling upon these difficulties because they concern not a small group of authors but the condition of our Historical Science." (Leading article in Pravda, Jan. 27, 1936. Our emphasis.)

"Liquidating" Pokrovsky

On the 19th year of the October revolution, on the very threshold of Communism, after all classes had been irrevocably eliminated, "our historical sciences" is in such an awful and ominous condition that Stalin must intervene and appoint no less than twelve specialists (including Radek and Bukharin) to relieve the situation. This is not only a strange state of affairs, but a condition well worth looking into.

The first inkling of the crisis "on the historical front" came to the uninitiated in the form of a world-wide attack launched by Stalin's pen-prostitutes (with Radek at the head) against the historian M. N. Pokrovsky.

This late and unlamented scholar was one of the recognized figure-heads of the official school of Stalinist historians. In the textbooks he was invariably referred to as the "Great Historian", which translated into English means that his particular version of history was assumed by the bureaucracy to be entirely in its own interests. But that was yesterday. Today, Pravda has irrevocably declared that:

"The harmful traditions of the school of M. N. Pokrovsky have not been liquidated in the sphere of the History of the U.S.S.R." (Jan. 27)

In other words, we have here an official decree to "liquidate" immediately Pokrovsky (already a successful corpse)... and "his school". But as we have already learned from Pravda itself, this is not any historian living or dead but a condition of things that requires mere liquidation of individuals. The name of Pokrovsky is merely a symbol to denote that the evil extends even to the hereafter. In point of fact, the Stalinist bureaucracy is now in process of liquidating its own falsification of history served up in its own school books.

The Official Decree

The decree issued by the C.E.C. of the C.P.S.U. and the Council of Peoples' Commissars makes no reference to Pokrovsky or any school but bluntly states the following: "A Commission composed of comrades Zhdanov (Chairman), Radek, Svanidze, Gorin, Lukin, Yakovlev, Bytrinski, Zatonisk, Feisula Khodjaniev, Bauman, Babinov and Bukharin is appointed to examine and improve and wherever necessary revise the already written textbooks on history."

"The Commission is empowered to organize groups to examine specific textbooks, and also to announce prize competitions to replace those textbooks which it will find necessary to revise fundamentally. First and foremost are to be examined the textbooks on the elementary course in the History of the U.S.S.R. and Modern History." (Our emphasis.)

(Signed) J. Stalin

V. Molotov

We reprint this decree in full because it best characterizes the real appraisal of the condition of the Stalinist Science of History. Stalin (in the name of the C.P.S.U. and the Soviet Union!) has repudiated lock, stock and barrel his own "science." To our knowledge, this is the first public admission of failure on such a wholesale scale by the Infatigable and Beloved Scientist.

But the causes for this remarkable admission, for this sudden revaluation of historical values are very plain and rather simple. Indeed, they can be summed up in a single word: Trotskyism!

Yes, "Trotskyism", so often liquidated, exterminated and buried by Stalin and his henchmen is now a mass movement in the Soviet Union. During the recent "technical check-up", thousands of Trotskyists were "expelled" from the party. No sooner was this cleansing concluded than it was immediately necessary to institute another purge (this time, a mere exchange of "new party cards for the old and tainted ones"). A persistent drive on a vast scale is now going on to prepare and execute this new purge. We shall content ourselves here by quoting an eloquent paragraph from an article by V. Shubrikov, secretary of the Qubichev District:

"We must not forget revolutionary vigilance for a single moment. We have no right whatever to think all the alien and hostile class elements have already been exposed and driven out of the party. We have no right to allow our class vigilance to flag for a single moment. We have learned a great deal during the check-up of party credentials. But we must not forget that the class enemy, too, has learned something. For, we exposed not a few double-dealers, Zinovievists, Trotskyists, and all sorts of other anti-Soviet elements whose party papers were in perfect order. As is well known, a section of the Trotskyist, Zinovievists had a close conservative organization, carrying on their undermining activities under the mask of 'honest' and 'devoted' party members." (Pravda, Feb. 3, 1936. Our emphasis.)

These words hardly require any comment. Every syllable sounds the alarm. The entire Soviet press is now urging full blast all its local G.P.U. agents to be on guard not to relax their vigilance for an instant, and not fail "this time" to do a thorough and final job of "unmasking and expelling" the Trotskyists.

Contraband in Official Textbooks

The bureaucracy is in a frenzy over the "great deal" that it has learned during the last check-up, and the "great deal" it obviously expects to learn from its present purge (February 1 to May 1)—evidently a great deal more than it had ever "learned." In their fury, the Stalinist usurpers are seeking to plug any possible channel through which revolutionary ideas might seep into the consciousness of the student youth and the new generations of workers.

Today, the Stalinists think that they have uncovered one of the important leaks through which "Trotskyism" finds its way to the masses. No more, no less. The falsifiers of history are certain that their own textbook are not false enough. The trouble, you see, lies with the way history is being taught in the schools!

"Our historical science" is in a terrible condition, says Pravda. Why? Listen:

"... In the sphere of Russian history, there has not yet (!) been accomplished the work of scrapping non-Bolshevik traditions which... comrade Stalin (posed) in his work 'Some Questions Relating to the History of Bolshevism', which, as is well known, posed in its full scope before our historians the question of liquidating semi-Menshevik, semi-Centrist ideas, and Trotskyist contraband in our historical literature."

Radek Whines

A task set by Stalin in January, 1932 remains "unfulfilled" by January, 1936. What was Stalin doing all this time? He was very busy. Small wonder, that Radek was instructed to write a tremendous article in the self-same issue of Pravda (Jan. 27). Our Mademoiselle Fifin in journalism, too, whines: "Our historians have not yet assimilated the great historical legacy of Marx, Engels and Lenin; this is very clearly proved by the very fact of the supremacy of the school of Pokrovsky in the sphere of Russian history, by the fact of the insurmountable influence of Luxemburgism and Trotskyism, in the treatment of modern history as a whole, at a time when the 'torment' course of history has placed the historians face to face with a whole series of questions of paramount importance." (Our emphasis.)

Their own falsified history looms as a source of danger in the storms they see ahead. The "enemy" lurks in most unexpected places. Even the Captain himself is no great comfort against the tempest. He adds his own thunderbolts to the already overcast skies, and only provides the enemy with ammunition.

A "Faction of Communism"

He is thundering today as he did in August 8, 1934 against the fact that the textbooks do not properly treat: "the struggle of tendencies in the ruling Communist Party in the U.S.S.R., and the struggle against Trotskyism as a manifestation of petty bourgeois counter-revolution." (Decree signed by Stalin, Zhdanov, and Kirov, August 8, 1934). But in January, 1936 he also thundered against the wrong line of his historians: "There are some Bolsheviks who are of the opinion that Trotskyism is a faction of Communism, and though it is erroneous and commits foolish and even anti-Soviet acts still it is a faction of Communism"; and he called upon all historians to struggle against Trotskyism as the "advanced troops of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie" (On Some Questions Relating to the History of Bolshevism, see The Communist, p. 75, Jan. 1932). Yet Stalin himself insisted that Trotskyism was (once upon a time) a "faction of Communism". Back in the same year, 1932, after Stalin had already "posed in its full scope before the historians the question of liquidating... Trotskyist contraband in our

historical literature," one of his zealous historians immediately tried to oblige him by broadcasting the historical fact that Trotskyism never had anything to do with Communism, being an unadulterated and permanent species of counter-revolution. What did Stalin do? Absorbed as he was constructing socialism to the Soviet Union, and helping Hitler come into power to Germany, he nevertheless took time off to reply to this historian, one Olekhovich. Chiding him, he wrote:

Stalin's Letter

Dear Comrade Olekhovich, Your letter received. Excuse the delay as I am overloaded with work.

I find myself utterly unable to agree with you, comrade Olekhovich. And here is the reason why:

It is not true that Trotskyism was never a faction of Communism... IT WOULD BE LUDICROUS TO DENY FACTS THAT ARE KNOWN TO EVERYBODY, as a faction in the C.P.S.U., recorded in the resolutions of conferences and congresses of the C.P.S.U. (Our emphasis.)

Ergo: It is impermissible to assert that Trotskyism (Trotskyites) WERE ALWAYS a faction of Menshevism, for such a supposition must logically lead to the notion that during the period from 1917 to 1927 our party was the party of a BLOC between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks, and not a MONOLITHIC Bolshevik party, which is utterly incorrect and incompatible with the foundations of Bolshevism. (Emphasis in the original.)

What other way out remains? Only one, namely: let us agree upon the fact that during a certain historical segment of time, Trotskyism represented a faction of Communism—a faction vacillating between Bolshevism and Menshevism.

(Signed) J. Stalin

(Dated) Jan. 15, 1932.

Today, any historian, any time, anywhere in the U.S.S.R. who would dare to repeat this species of Stalin's permanent vacillations would find himself rotting in jail for life.

Only four years ago (see, Bolshevik, No. 16, Aug. 30, 1932, pages 46-48) the jovial Captain himself was of the opinion that it is absurd to deny "fact known to everybody," and was obviously convinced that the task of historical "science" consisted in fitting well-known (and unfortunately recorded) facts into a "theory of interpretation," and falsifications. That, in his eyes, was the great merit of the "Pokrovsky school in history". Under the guise of erudition, facts, dates and documents, they falsified history to meet the needs of their master.

But our Captain, as usual, proved infallibly wrong. Today, he is a danger to himself. Today, his old falsification of history is no longer adequate—it is only 99.9 percent falsified: here and there a fact floats to the surface, and muddles up the clear waters. A new school of historians is therefore necessary. Men unaccustomed to dealing with facts are needed. Men more cunning than the schemer in the fairy-tale who tried to steal Aladdin's magic lamp.

Daily Worker Distorts Lenin's Teachings WHAT PRICE ALLIANCES? Social Patriotism Scorns World Revolution

By DAN EASTMAN

Almost daily in the last week or two in the Daily Worker, Theodore Repard has turned his weighty theoretical artillery on the Young Socialists. The noise is terrific. On Monday, February 24th, page 2 of the Daily Worker he delivers a "alto" under the title, "Young Socialist Leaders Are Beginning to Run Amuck on the Question of War."

It is time to sound the alarm, says Repard, (order: from Moscow—see the last issue of the New Militant), the Young Socialists are drawing close to "all that is vile which parades in the name of 'revolution'."

He begins with Gus Tyler, one of the YPSL leaders: "How does Tyler approach the war question?"

"To begin with Tyler believes that the whole question is 'comparatively simple,' as he stated at the debate. We, of course, a part company with him right here. For us, the question of war raises some fairly complex questions, some of which cannot be settled by an epigram. We make no bones about it. Neither did Lenin."

This profound observation is the um and substance of "Article I" of Repard's attack. He goes on to show that Lenin, in his instruction to the Hague Delegation on December 4th, 1922, urged the comrades not to be taken in by the "simple" declarations of the reformists that they would answer war with "strike or revolution." Then he attacks Tyler for taking the "simple" definition of the slogan, "Turn the imperialist war into civil war."

That is all. In other words, the whole of "Article I," is devoted to an attack on any "simple" attitude toward the war question. A rather "simple" trick in itself for concealing the fact that Repard has completely failed to answer "the fairly complex questions" put to him and the YCL by Tyler and the YPSL.

What Lenin Said

Repard failed to give the full quotation from Lenin's instructions to the Hague delegation. After urging them not to be taken in by the reformists "simple" declarations, Lenin said: "First, therefore, clarification of the question of 'national defense.' Second, clarification of the question of 'defeatism.' Third, clarification of the only possible way to struggle against war—by means of the creation and maintenance of an illegal organization for continuous war against the war... all this must be primary."

It seems that Repard "makes no bones" about bare faced treachery. He gives the first part of the quotation, omits the second, and then spends the rest of the article attacking Tyler for doing what Lenin urged in the second part of the quotation. It was exactly the question of national defense, defeatism, and war on war that Tyler put to Green again and again in his debate. And it was exactly these questions that Green "simply" failed to answer.

"When Tyler says that we must threaten revolution it follows that we must be in a position to threaten revolution otherwise we will be playing with words." From this Repard concludes that, as Tyler is not in a position to threaten revolution, his attitude leads to "passivity" and "playing with words." But it is not Tyler who is playing with words.

Lenin "threatened revolution" in Russia for more than twenty years but was in a "position to threaten revolution" twice; once in 1905 and once in 1917. Was Lenin merely "playing with words" the rest of the time?

Repard neglects to answer the question about national defense, defeatism, and war on war. But they have been answered for him. The Stalinists are in favor of national defense of countries allied with the Soviet Union, they are opposed to revolutionary defeatism in such countries, they abandon the war on war.

In France, for instance, they are in favor of national defense according to the terms of the Stalin-Laval pact which specifically approves the activities of the French Imperialist Government in building up its national defense machine "to the level of security." They are opposed to revolutionary defeatism, for in a war with France allied with the Soviet Union revolutionary defeatism would be "treachery," according to one of the leaders of the YCL, Chmedanov. What is left of the war against war in France?

Nothing. Repard says that he "parts company" with Tyler on the "simplicity" of the war problem. He says it is "fairly complex". But there is nothing complex about the Stalinist position—it is "simple" treachery according to the very tests that Lenin urged the Hague delegation in the quotation which Repard so dishonestly neglects to complete. So much for "Article I."

Article II appears on page 5 of the Daily Worker for Wednesday, February 26th. "Certain of the Socialist Youth leader like Tyler are drawing dangerously close to all

that is vile that parades in the name of 'revolution.'" Perhaps Repard forgot that he said the same thing in the same words in the last article. This "all that is vile that parades in the name of revolution" seems to haunt Repard. Maybe he picked up the phrase from Gottwald that Czech leader, who after voting for the war budget in the Czechoslovakian parliament, went home to write an attack on Otto Bauer for flirting with the idea that Stalin and the Soviet Union were anything but "one indivisible whole," "indissolubly bound together."

"We tell our Socialist Comrades, frankly that the next step after Tyler's present position is to call for open struggle against the Soviet Union," says the Stalinist sage. Why? Because Tyler can't answer whether the Soviet Union is a beacon or a burden. "No wonder" he replied when asked this question by Green that he could no more answer this question than one whether the A. F. of L. or craft unions, or the Social Democratic union of Germany before Hitler were beacons or burdens."

Indignation is no Reply

Imagine comparing the Soviet Union to craft unions, to the A. F. of L., to the German trade unions, says Repard in a fit of indignation—and let it go at that. He fails to answer the question: Is the Soviet Union a working class organization, or is it the Stalinist bureaucracy, beyond all take and above criticism?

When progressive trade unionists attack William Green all his little hired lackeys begin to howl that they are attacking the trade union. How does this differ from Repard who, when Tyler attacks the policies of the bureaucracy of the Soviet Union, begins to howl that he is attacking the Soviet Union itself? It differs: not at all except that Green's lackeys have not yet sunk so low on the intellectual scale as to claim that the A. F. of L. is "one indivisible whole," "indissolubly bound together." No amount of righteous indignation from Repard can conceal his lackey adoration of the Stalinist bureaucracy to which he is "indissolubly bound," like a "slave to his master."

Repard then turns his "intelligent" intellect to the problem of alliances: "Almost word for word this argument is repeated in Tyler's pamphlet. On page 12 we find that the Communist International... seeks alliances with the capitalist class of other nations." On page 17 we find that "alliances do not prevent or minimize wars; alliances give rise to counter alliances and finally to world war between bigger and better alliances."

"What does this position amount to? Namely that the Soviet Union will be responsible for the next war."

Repard here accuses Tyler of saying that war is caused by alliances. This he does by means of a quotation torn out of context. Tyler correctly presented the Marxist position on war in his pamphlet.

then he went on to analyze one of its aspects. Repard seizes on this last incidental analysis and makes it appear to be the main content of Tyler's pamphlet.

Nonsense on War

If alliances were the cause of war, the Soviet Union would be directly responsible for war, and so would every other nation that entered an alliance—and the struggle against war would be reduced to a struggle against alliances. But this is nonsense, and Tyler never said it.

War is caused by the economic conflicts which are incessant under capitalism. The only struggle against war is the struggle against capitalism. Whether or not the Soviet Union enters an alliance will not stop war.

What Tyler was trying to explain in his pamphlet was that alliances cannot stop war—all they can do is alter the line-up.

Repard accuses Tyler of saying that alliances are responsible for war—and then instead of correcting this false impression goes on to attack Tyler as if alliances could stop war. What is there left of the fundamental Marxist conception of war? Nothing. War is reduced to the unfortunate chance of an alliance—and the struggle against war to the struggle for allies for the Soviet Union.

Alliances and the USSR

"The Soviet Union is a Socialist power which could never be a partner to an imperialist alliance," says Repard. It is not in the fact that the Soviet Union takes advantage of imperialist alliances that the treachery lies—but in the fact that the Stalinist clique sacrifices the working class struggle against capitalism and its war machines to the price for the alliance. It is not that the Soviet Union has formed an alliance with France—it is that Stalin has recognized the French Imperialist army as the price for the alliance that makes it treachery. Neither Lenin nor Trotsky nor Marx nor Engels could oppose the Soviet Union taking advantage of imperialist alliances. Yet Repard says: that the statement that the USSR is partner to an imperialist alliance is "the most infamous of all slanders." This he qualifies by accusing Tyler of saying that the Soviet Union is an imperialist partner of an imperialist alliance. But neither Tyler nor the Trotskyists have advanced the theory that the Soviet Union itself was an imperialist power. That is also nonsense used by Repard to distract attention from the issue at stake... which is, not the alliance but the price of the alliance.

That price is the betrayal of the working class.

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How the Social Insurance Laws Operate in Capitalist England

EDINBURGH, Scotland—

In pre-war day Germany was the scene of experiments in social insurance. Today, Britain is the country where capitalism spends millions of Pounds in the relief of sick, aged, unemployed and disabled workers. A U. S. A. seems about to embark upon a similar course, it may interest American workers to know just how British capitalism operates social insurance and what effects it has upon the working class.

1. Health Insurance and Old Age Pensions

State insurance against sickness or disablement was introduced in the year 1911 and is based upon contributions paid by wage workers and employers and a grant from State fund. The scheme embraces all manual workers (with few exceptions) who earn less than 250 pounds per year. The employer pays 10s per week and the worker 10d per week but the female workers pay less. Should the worker fall sick and be unable to work, he is entitled to receive free medical treatment and medicine and 15s per week for 26 weeks with reduced benefit thereafter. The wife of an insured worker receives 2 pounds upon the birth of a child while the act allows additional benefits out of any surplus funds for dental treatment, eye treatment or extra cash benefit. Doctors receive payment of a certain sum per year for every person registered on their panel and chemists receive money for medicine so dispensed, so that the Act has been a gold mine for the medical profession.

The scheme is administered by Approved Societies such as: Trade Unions, Friendly Societies, or Assurance Societies who are in turn supervised by District Insurance Committees set up by the state. Like all state schemes it has suffered from a series of weaknesses such as

irritating red tape procedure, faulty medical treatment, adulterated medicine and inadequate cash benefits.

A recent innovation has been the payment of 10 per week Old Age Pensions to all insured contributors upon reaching the age of 65. But the aged person then loses the right of any cash benefit when sick or unemployed when idle, so that the veterans of industry declare that they have been "swindled, and so it seems. If a person is idle for more than two years and fails to pay arrears in contributions then he loses cash benefit when sick and if he is idle too long, he falls out of the scheme altogether and loses everything. Old Age Pensions are paid to persons who are not contributors to the scheme only when they reach the age of 70 and only after being able to prove that their income is not more than 26 pounds per year. As not even the mighty minds of the National Government have been able to reveal how an aged person can exist upon 10s per week in capitalist Britain it can easily be understood that there is great poverty in the world of aged persons in Britain.

2. Workmen's Compensation and Assurance

Alongside of the Health Insurance Act runs the Workmen's Compensation Act, which legalizes the payment by an employer of compensation to an employee who meets with an accident or becomes infected with an industrial disease while at work. The victim of an accident is entitled to a lump sum of money or a weekly payment of half wage up to a maximum of 30s per week for 26 weeks when he must then be tested by a court to see if he is still unfit for work. Before he receives any money, however, the worker must prove that the accident was not due to neglect or carelessness on

his part and must produce witness to prove that the accident or disease was really the outcome of work. At this point it becomes necessary for the worker to obtain legal advice, and in steps out old friend the lawyer, and by the time the case is settled the worker is often dead or starving or has accepted an offer from the agents of his employer, which usually is an extremely modest sum. We betide the worker who has to claim Workmen's Compensation. He may even win his case and then lose his job.

Yet another link in the chain of social insurance is the now legalized business of Assurance Companies who trade in death and unemployment policies, whereby a worker can insure his relatives at so much per week and in the event of their attaining a certain age he will receive probably 25 pounds or upon their death 12 pound. In this way the poor pay for death and keep capitalism alive.

3. Unemployment Insurance

Probably no legislation has played so prominent a part in post-war British politics as the Unemployment Insurance Acts. Introduced, previous to the war, to embrace a limited number of building trades worker, the scheme was broadened to embrace all manual workers who earn less than 250 pounds per year with the exception of certain corporation, government, railway, agricultural and domestic workers. Like the Health Insurance scheme, the Unemployment scheme has never paid its way while it has brought governments down and has been the means of propping up others. In order to obtain benefit, a worker must report at the local employment exchange where he registers his claim for benefit.

If he can prove that he has paid 30 contributions to the Unemployment Insurance Act.

(Continued on Page 4)

Two Pamphlets

"THE ROAD FOR REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISTS"

War and the Workers is written by John West. He needs no introduction to you. The Road for Revolutionary Socialists is written by Fred Zeller. He is the acknowledged leader of the French Socialist youth.

Fred Zeller was expelled from the Socialist youth organization by the agents of Leon Blum and his Old Guard some time ago, together with twelve other youth comrades. The young Socialists, however, remained supporters of the revolutionary position presented by Fred Zeller and his co-workers. They remained supporters in the continuation of the struggle for this position. How this struggle has been carried on and how comrade Zeller and his co-workers came to a revolutionary position, and came to be supporters of the Fourth International, is described in this little pamphlet. The introduction is by Leon Trotsky.



"WAR AND THE WORKERS"

The pamphlet, War and the Workers, presents a searching analysis of the nature and causes of modern war. It deals with the problem of sanctions, neutrality, and the rôle of the League of Nations. It presents a scathing indictment of the various forms of pacifism and social-patriotism and outlines a concrete program of struggle against imperialist war.

The price of this pamphlet is 10c per copy; in lots of ten or more, 7c per copy. The price of the Zeller pamphlet is 5c per copy; in lots of ten or more, 3c per copy.

Here is an opportunity. Take advantage of it.

Father of His Country Now Sires "People's Front"

CPers Discover Workers' Hero in Slave Owner George Washington

The sentimental outpourings in the Stalinist press on the occasions of the birthdays of Lincoln and Washington outraged many advanced workers. When Stalinism has already revealed a full-blown program of social-patriotism, it may seem superfluous to show how the Stalinists have "forgotten" how to analyze history. Nevertheless, their antics revealed an old truth: to break with Marxism at one point means eventually breaking with Marxism at every point.

The Stalinist celebration of Washington and Lincoln's birthdays was part of the campaign for a Farmer-Labor party. Every article and editorial beginning with Lincoln or Washington ended in a hortatory appeal to the farmer, the middle-classes, and the workers to get together to form a two-class party. To find a warrant for "linking up" Washington and Lincoln with the present Stalinist omnibus naturally involved a great deal of violence both to American history and to Marxism.

Tradition—Bourgeois and Proletarian

Broadly speaking, there are two very different tendencies in modern history, which Marxists have been at some pains to distinguish from each other: (1) the forerunners of the proletarian revolution; (2) the revolutionists of other classes; that is, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois revolutionists.

Marx, Engels, Lenin, Mehring and other real Marxists have always made a clear distinction between those revolutionists who constitute direct pre-decessors of the modern proletarian struggle as

distinct from those whose ideology showed no trace of any organic connection with the struggle of the proletariat.

Thus, in treating of the first struggle against feudalism, Engels carefully distinguishes the demands of the middle classes from the more thoroughgoing demands of the peasant-plebeian groups who gropingly and in religious terms already reached beyond modern bourgeois society. Although realistically estimating the more important results at that time of Wycliffe and Luther, Engels makes clear that it is not they who are our direct predecessors, but John Ball and Thomas Muenzer.

So, too, in estimating the French revolution the roles of Danton and Robespierre are in no way minimized, but Marxists have shown that our tradition comes down through figures like Babeuf.

We could give dozens of examples from Marxian historical writings, but the point is really a very simple one. So far as Marxists have gone to history for direct inspiration, they have sought it in those historical figures whose ideology had a social content connecting it with the proletariat.

Washington's Role

Serious Marxists, therefore, would not for a moment speak of Washington's tradition as connected with that of the working class. As a representative of the commercial planting aristocracy, his aims in the Revolution were far different

from those of the mechanics and small farmers who constituted the left wing in the American revolution. (See "The Spirit of the U. S. Constitution," New Internationalist, Feb. 1935.)

The Stalinist approach, however, logically leaves no place in history for the role of other classes than Washington's in the revolution; for they identify Washington with the "monolithic" aims of the revolution; their very formulations provide no room for distinguishing between the aims of different classes. Say the Stalinists:

"His was the task of defeating the Tories and the Hearst, du Pont, Liberty Leaguers of 1775. His was the task of leading the American people in their battle for independence against the English upper class which sought to reduce young America to colonial slavery. . . . A Farmer-Labor Party—of trade unions, middle class and Negro people, and anti-fascists—is the correct way to carry out the real American traditions championed by Washington." (Daily Worker, Feb. 22.)

And the Daily Worker cartoon shows Washington, with a copy of the Declaration of Independence under his arm, chained to a policeman, with the caption "If He Were Alive Today."

Satire itself is helpless against such gross corruption of history. We may point out, however, that this is no accidental twisting of history.

To propose to build a party covering different classes, the Farmer-Labor party, necessitates finding categories which include both classes—such terms as "the people," "the nation," "the country," "American traditions," etc. The ideology of such a two-class party, therefore, is inevitably nationalist and chauvinist, and takes over the nationalist interpretation of the history of the American revolution and the Civil War.

Browder vs. Marx and Engels

Another example is Browder's speech on "Lincoln and the Communists," now being widely distributed in pamphlet form. Browder makes a strenuous effort to find quotations from Marx praising Lincoln, and such as he finds he has to use in truncated form because Marx and Engels were severely critical of Lincoln and the policy he represented. (See "Selected Correspondence of Marx and Engels," p. 135 ff., letters dealing with the Civil War.) Marx's estimate was that the Civil War dragged out because Lincoln and his petty-bourgeois policy clung to constitutional methods instead of pursuing a revolutionary course:

"The way the North is conducting war is only what might have been expected from a bourgeois republic, where fraud has been enthroned so long," wrote Marx in September, 1862.

And Engels, in November of the same year, wrote to Marx:

"Despite the screams of the Yankees, there is still no sign whatever available that the people regard this petty business as a real question of national existence. . . . I must say I cannot work up any enthusiasm for a people which on such a colossal issue allows itself to be beaten by a fourth of its own population and which after eighteen months of war has achieved nothing more than the discovery that all its generals are asses and all its officials rascals and traitors. After all, the thing must happen differently, even in a bourgeois republic, if it is not to end in utter failure."

But all this disappears from the Stalinist picture, except a carefully-worded remark by Browder that Lincoln hesitated at times.

Why this distorted picture? Because to paint Lincoln in full-face will deprive the "people's party" of a Stalinist of the tradition that

does not exist and must therefore be faked.

Marxist Conception of History

This whole hunt for a national tradition is, in fact, alien to Marxism not only because of its "classless" character, but also because Marxism does not go to history merely to find direct inspiration from proletarian predecessors. In the writings of the Marxists on previous revolutions, the search for links with the proletarian present is, indeed, but a minor note.

Far more important for Marxist historians has been the task of showing that the history of bourgeois revolutions demonstrates that so long as classes exist all social evolution must take the form of political revolution. By demonstrating that the bourgeoisie has seized its power by force, employed terroristic methods in its struggle, confiscated private property, etc., we show that all power in class societies can be arrived at only by breaking through the myth of legality. It is primarily to teach this profound lesson (I except of course the more purely theoretical lessons which we learn from the history of bourgeois revolutions) that we must seek to popularize the history of the American Revolution and the Civil War.

To teach that the bourgeoisie, in the grip of necessity, has been uncompromising, bold, forthright in its use of illegal methods, in no way requires that we idealize the bourgeoisie. On the contrary: Marx and his successors have always laid bare the narrowness of bourgeois revolutionists, their viciousness toward the lower classes, their pomposity in clothing their special class interests with the language of universality, etc. Marx and those who wrote in his spirit, have never sought direct inspiration from the bourgeoisie even in its most progressive periods. They have only made clear, again and again, that the bourgeoisie in coming to power have been forced to resort to force and illegality, and that if this was necessary when it was merely a question of shifting power from one class to another, how much more necessary is it when the task before the proletariat is, not only to take power, but to abolish private property altogether.

Engels' Letter to Bebel

In a famous letter from Engels to Bebel, after the Socialist successes in the election of 1894 despite the semi-legal status of the party under the Socialist Laws, Engels showed how an analysis of the illegal sources of the bourgeois rule can serve to teach the proletariat. This letter can serve as a model to us in drawing the same conclusions from American history, and is worth quoting at some length:

"The whole of the Liberal philistines have gained such a respect for us that they are screaming with one accord: Yes, if the Social-Democrats will put themselves on a legal basis and abjure revolution then we are in favor of the immediate repeal of the Socialist Law. There is no doubt, therefore, that this suggestion will at once be made to you in the Reichstag. The answer you give to it is important—not so much for Germany, where our gallant lads have given it in the elections, as for abroad. A tame answer would at once destroy the colossal impression produced by the elections."

"In my opinion the case is like this: 'Throughout the whole of Europe the existing political situation is the product of revolution. The legal basis, historic right, legitimacy, have been everywhere riddled through a thousand times or entirely overthrown. But it is in the nature of all parties or classes which have come to power through revolution, to demand that the new basis of right created by the revolution should also be unconditionally recognized and regarded as holy. The right to revolution did exist—otherwise the present rulers would not be rightful—but from now onwards it is to exist no more.'

They completely obscure the point which Engel brought out: Our rulers took power by illegal methods and hold it by arbitrary means. We ask no more than to be allowed to use the same means as Washington used in coming to power.

But it is no accident that the Stalinists obscure this point: for they seek to build an openly reformist movement which rejects the revolutionary method of struggle.

"In Germany the existing situation rests on the revolution which began in 1848 and ended in 1866. 1866 was a complete revolution. Just as Prussia only became anything by treachery and war against the German Empire, in alliance with foreign powers (1740, 1756, 1785), so it only achieved the German-Prussian Empire by the forcible overthrow of the German Confederation and by civil war. . . . After its victory it overthrew three thrones 'by God's grace' and annexed their territories, together with those of the former free city of Frankfurt. If that was not revolutionary I do not know the meaning of the word. And as this was not enough it confiscated the private property of the princes who had been driven out. That this was unlawful, revolutionary therefore, it admitted by getting the action endorsed later by an assembly—the Reichstag—which had as little right to dispose of these funds as the government."

"The German-Prussian Empire, as the completion of the North German Confederation which 1866 forcibly created, is a thoroughly revolutionary creation. I make no complaint about that. . . . But those who operate with blood and iron, swallow up whole states, overthrow thrones and confiscate private property, should not condemn other people as revolutionists. If the Party only retains the right to be no more and no less revolutionary than the Imperial Government has been, it has got all it needs."

Engels' letter needs only to be contrasted with the sentimental slobber of the Stalinists over Washington and Lincoln, and we realize how alien to Marxism is the "use" of American history by Stalinists.

One can barely indicate here how different the picture of Lincoln and Washington would be if written in the spirit of Marx and Engels instead of the philistine sentimentalism of Browder and Hathaway.

Lincoln's Place in the Civil War

In a Marxist history of the Civil War, Lincoln would lose stature: the difficulties of his successor, Andrew Johnson, who faithfully carried out Lincoln's policies and was nearly impeached, indicates what Lincoln's stature might have been had he not fallen a martyr. For Marxists, it is the "Black Republicans" who would loom large in the history of the period: the ruthless, determined representatives of the industrial bourgeoisie, led by Thaddeus Stevens and Charles Sumner, who drove through with incomparable ferocity the systematic subjugation of the South in the reconstruction period. One cannot, like the Stalinists, present the "Black Republicans" as men as lovable as Lincoln; but presumably we are speaking about revolutionaries, and the "Black Republicans" were perhaps the most ruthless revolutionaries that American history can show.

If Lincoln loses, Washington gains from a Marxist description. He needs no apology such as the Stalinists have been making for his having been a slaveholder and anti-democratic; it is sufficient for us that he was the representative of a class and led it in revolutionary struggle. Nor need we apologize for his role of the Constitutional Convention in depriving the masses of the gains of the revolution; from a Marxist point of view it is more important to analyze the consummately skillful and essentially illegal and arbitrary, i.e., revolutionary, method by which Washington and the Federalists achieved their ends. For, what are we seeking? Not a figure to worship and peg a Farmer-Labor party on, as the Stalinists seek. No, we are Marxists, who seek to lay bare the revolutionary processes of history.

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Social Insurance Laws in Capitalist England

(Continued from Page 1)

ment fund during the previous two years he is entitled to 17s per week if a single man or 9s per week for his wife if married and 3s per week for each child up to a maximum of six. A woman, who pays a lower rate of contribution, receives 15s per week. At the end of six months (unless the worker has been, previous to becoming idle, at work for five continuous years) he has exhausted his standard benefit and must make application to the Unemployment Assistance Board for transitional benefit—which will be paid upon condition that he can prove that—he is really in need of a assistance from the state. This is the notorious "Means Test."

An army of officials are employed to investigate the circumstances of the applicant for transitional relief. Has he any money in the bank? Has he a pension? If he is a father, have his sons or daughters an income? If he is a son or daughter, has his or her parents an income? This, and a dozen other lawyer-like questions are fired at the unfortunate victim. A man and a wife, it is estimated, can live upon 24s per week. If they have any income in excess of that amount, then benefit is reduced accordingly. Single persons must show desperate circumstances if they are living with their parents before they can receive any benefit. Before receiving benefit he must sign a declaration, declaring that he is willing to attend a training center which is another name for a concentration camp where hundreds of unemployed men are introduced into the gentle art of stone breaking, road-making or munition making. The terror of the "Means Test," which is applied every two months to those in receipt of Transitional Relief, has driven many poor people to

suicide, has broken up families and has forced men into jobs at less than trade union rates. It has also created the most intense bitterness amongst the unemployed but owing to a variety of reasons, this feeling has not expressed itself in rebellion, but on the contrary seems to be turning in on the workers in a wave of sullen apathy and reaction.

2. The Effect of Social Insurance on the Worker

At the end of the 19th century old Chamberlain was canvassing the Tories for Old Age Pensions and in the first years of the 20th Century, the Liberals were toying with the schemes of Health and Unemployment Insurance. In the year 1936 all these schemes are in operation and are now worked up into a well-conceived system which not only throws a crust of bread to the worker but cunningly splits them into different groups and categories. Thus the aged worker with his 10s per week looks askance at the young man with 17s per week who in turn envies the married man with the large family drawing over 2 pounds per week. The worker in industry claims that—he is paying for it all and looks upon the unemployed as a lot of parasites.

From the working class political parties and trade unions—officials are drawn and corrupted in order to aid in the administration of the different schemes.

When the greedy taxpayers amongst the British capitalist class complained to Lloyd George about the burden of Unemployment Insurance, he replied: "Unemployment Insurance is a bulwark against revolution." This was a remarkably accurate forecast.

Social Insurance has become a weapon used by British capitalism in order to demoralize the worker. For how long shall they succeed?

Green Urged In Steel Drive

(Continued from Page 1)

regard to the steel workers, who by several recent manifestations of revolt appearing even in their company unions have shown their growing readiness for reorganization; it applies to the whole trade union movement. The C. I. O. scored a real advantage in these recent broadsides and gained new support. It also made clearer the direction in which it is headed.

As a result new forces are rallying to the movement for industrial unionism. The automobile worker union and the rubber workers union have for some time been on the most friendly terms with the C. I. O. Judging from all present indications both of these union are drawing closer to its standard. The radio workers union and the flat glass workers union have now decided definitely to expand on the basis of an industrial form of organization. It may not be amiss to add that insofar as present trends are concerned, it is characteristic that all of these unions which are the first to rally to the industrial union movement, operate in mass production industries. But the growing support given to the program of the C. I. O. is by no means confined to the e unions. Several central labor bodies and numerous local craft unions have expressed their sympathy and support to this new movement.

It is to be expected that the craft union bureaucrats will retaliate, in the face of this growing support, with arbitrary measures of expulsion, not merely of individual members but of whole organizations. When confronted with the possibility that progressive ideas may take root and spread, they know of no restraint. In such possibilities they see a threat to their own reactionary domination. About this they make no mistakes. A real incentive to active unionization, they know will mean new and more bitter struggles against the monopoly corporations which are determined to resist; and of such struggles they are sworn enemies.

Trade Union Democracy But it is equally reasonable to assume that the industrial union movement will find it necessary to draw closer together in defense of the elementary trade union rights of democracy and freedom of expression of ideas. The industrial union movement will be compelled to rally to the assistance of every

union that is victimized by the craft union bureaucrats. Thus there are hardly prospects of moderation of the conflict in the A. F. of L. Present indications point rather in the direction of a sharpening of the conflict all along the line.

But this is only the one side of the present situation. As is already implied in the offer made of active assistance to a campaign of organization of the steel industry, the industrial union movement, in order to rally the support it needs, will find itself ever more actively engaged in the organization of the unorganized. As a matter of fact many unions already call upon the C. I. O. for a assistance in organization campaigns.

The outcome of this conflict is momentous for the American working class. A beginning has been made. An aggressive policy of organization and a program of industrial unionism is the need of the moment. This the C. I. O. has brought forward and on this basis a movement is taking form. Militant workers should have no difficulty in finding their place within it.

The beginning that has been made may open up a new period of union organization such as has seldom been witnessed before in this country. It has the possibility of laying the foundation now of a trade union movement that is geared to modern methods of production. But the struggle that this movement will experience before its existence is assured will have the effect of elevating it to a higher level of consciousness. On the basis of the old craft union ideology and in the spirit of class-collaboration it would be inconceivable. It can be born and grow only in the fire of the class struggle; and from the class struggle it will receive an indelible imprint that will help to shape its outlook and its policies.

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What is the Stakhanovist Movement?

Read The New Internationalist, February Issue.

This article is written by one of our Russian comrades, N. Markin, and the facts presented are fully authenticated by information from the press of the Soviet Union. In each instance exact data is given, presenting on a whole a picture of this movement not previously known to NEW MILITANT readers.

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Austrian Centrist Party Takes the Count

Among the participants in the I.A.G. conference (London Bureau of Left Socialist Organizations) in February 1935 was the Viennese Group, "Rote Front" (Red Front). In order to complete the picture of the famous Sapist (derived from the name S.A.P., Socialist Workers Party of Germany—Tr.) International it is worth the trouble to briefly depict the birth and . . . the collapse of this group.

The Red Front arose immediately after the event of February 1934 and was composed of numerous left wing leaders and of worker elements of the social democracy who had drifted to it. In this period of ferment in the illegal movement, it was the organizational expression of large sections of workers who were breaking with reformism and on the road to revolution, via centrism. For every revolutionary Marxist, it was already clear at this time that only clearly defined revolutionary principles could prevent this new group from collapsing under the impact of the powerful apparatuses of the bureaucratic centrists of the right and the left. However, the Red Front justified its existence by the defense of the idea of the united front and on the sentimental recognition of the U.S.S.R.

"Red Front" Disintegrates

The inevitable happened. The leaders of the Red Front emigrated to Moscow, and the revolutionary workers, not seeing any need for a substitute for a united front between the S.P. and the C.P., returned to the two major parties. Only a small number of stalwarts (about 200), of extremely heterogeneous composition, remained. Since worker elements in the ranks, with an understandable organization patriotism, made desperate efforts to continue the work. The tops were composed for the most part of overcautious intellectuals, a typical centrist formation eternally preoccupied with not crossing the prejudices of their "masses" and of balancing themselves between "extremes." Their great hope was that the decomposition of the workers parties would create new opportunities for an "intermediary party." The leadership never reached the point of elaborating clear principle. Its political documents were the result of innumerable amputation and mutual compromises of divergent opinions. The result: kneeling before the Soviet bureaucracy with some minor "reservations"; internationally, for the unity of the Second and Third International; nationally, against unity, for a new party.

Those who were able to get over the hurdle of these continual contradictions fell into a complete blind alley. It was at this time that the historic conference of the I.A.G. came to their aid. At last an international grouping where the principle of mutual abasement and not the mutual irreconcilability of principle prevailed. The Red Front became an enthusiastic partisan of "world-wide action for peace" and of "revolutionary unity." A close collaboration between the Red Front and the S.A.P. ensued. Its basis was: strict protection from any interference in the policy of either of the partners

"action for peace" passed from Schwab and Doriot to Stalin and Leon Blum, from the Red Front to Konigling (leader of the Austrian C.P.) and Otto Bauer. If the I.A.G. could reconcile disarmament with revolutionary defeatism, there was no reason why the revolutionary socialists (new name of the Austrian S.P.) could not reconcile the dictatorship of the proletariat with the "Provisional Anti-Fascist Government," the revolutionary policy against war with the demand of Austrian "neutrality" guaranteed by the Entente. It only remained for the Red Front to note that "there are no longer any serious differences" with the party which it had left and to submit to the patronage of Otto Bauer in the name of "revolutionary unity."

Evidently, this is not a question of entry in it, but of its principle and political content. The crux of Austrian politics, bourgeois as well as proletarian, is the question of war. Placed in the vice of the Stalinist "Peace front" and the appeal of Otto Bauer for a "united front in world politics" (he had in mind a united front with the British socialists), the "left" leader of the Revolutionary Socialists sought for safety in their "independence on questions of Austrian tactics." But the great decisions of proletarian politics are made precisely in this period on the international arena. And here the "lefts" of the group supporting Mile (author of the pamphlet "The New Beginning") placed their confidence in tested leadership of the old fox, Otto Bauer. For the sake of the independence of the "Austrian tactic" they accepted and submitted to the social imperialist strategy of the Second International and its accomplices of the Third.

"Differences" Overcome

The social patriotic division of labor is thereby completed. All that was lacking was the "extreme left" complement. In France the "glorious" Spartacus group took the job. In Austria the Red Front has the distinction of carrying out this work. They declared: "Since there are no great differences between the internal policies of the two parties (Revolutionary Socialists and Communist Party) there are no great obstacles in the road to the formation of a united proletarian party." In order "to more effectively support this process" and in order "to struggle for the united revolutionary workers movement," the Red Front dissolved itself into the Revolutionary Social t Party. There are no "great differences" between the R.S. and the C.P. The Red Front on its side "no longer has great differences" with the R.S. And for cause! All that was involved was only a minor difference in internal policy on the preparation of a bourgeois coalition (what is called the "peoples front" or "provisional anti-fascist government") and in external policy on the policy of free hands for the "peace action" of Stalin-O.Bauer. Over it all hangs the purple rag of "revolutionary unity." In a word: pure and unadulterated social patriotism.

What marvelous progress of the historic progress! What great success for the S.A.P.ist realist revolutionary policy!

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Lift Strike to Tie-up New Areas if Realty Board Stays Adamant

Militant Spirit and Action Pervades Workers' Ranks in 2nd Week

The Building Service Union enters the second week of the strike with ranks firm. The strike has been extended by stages until forty thousand workers are now affected. James J. Bambrick announced today that if the Mayor's peace proposals are not accepted unconditionally by the Real Estate Board, the union will be called out.

Many conferences and union representatives and bosses have been held in Mayor LaGuardia's office, sometimes with the attendance of Edward McGrady of the U.S. Department of Labor. No progress toward a settlement was reached by these conferences until today when the proposal made by the mayor was accepted unconditionally by the union and with many conditions and strings attached by the bosses.

La Guardia's Proposal

The mayor's proposal provides (1) Acceptance of the tentative definition herein below quoted in reference to union recognition. It is the same definition which was tentatively accepted the other morning, provided an increase of wage would be granted. (2) The matter of wages, hours, conditions and duration of contract be submitted to arbitration, both sides agreeing to abide by the decision. (3) The arbitrator to be agreed upon by representatives selected from each side. (4) All employees to return to work on the selection of the arbitrator. Arbitration to be selected within twenty-four hours.

The formula referred to above provided for no discrimination against union members and vacancies created by the discharge or withdrawal of a union member are to be filled by other members of the union.

Enthusiastic young union members battled with strike-breakers and bosses thugs in innumerable clashes. Many strikers have been arrested, many injured but the spirit of the union rises above difficulties.

Large numbers of tenants are giving their support to the strike. In some cases tenant organizations join with the strikers on the picket line. Others supply pickets with refreshments and still larger numbers withhold rent from the landlords.

The union has repeatedly announced its willingness to arbitrate differences but the Real Estate operators determined to smash the union once and for all have rejected all overtures. At the same time numerous individuals have signed up with the union as having also several companies owning strings of apartment buildings.

Statement of Local 22

A vigorous statement, pledging support to the building service strikers and denouncing the "ruthless" attitude of the realty interests, was issued today by Dressmakers Local 22, I.L.G.W.U., an organization of 30,000 members.

"The strike of the thousands of building service workers of New York deserves and must get the full and wholehearted support of the entire labor movement, of the tenants and of all fair-minded people generally. These workers, including some of the most exploited elements in the city, toiling long hours under intolerable conditions for miserable wages, have at last come to realize that organization is their only salvation, that only through a strong union can they hope to achieve standards more fit for human beings. That is why the realty interests, organized in the Real Estate Advisory Board, determined to maintain the inhuman conditions of exploitation in the building service trades, are so savagely set upon smashing the building service union and depriving the men of their only protection. The outright refusal of these interests even to listen to the more than reasonable proposal of the building service union for arbitration, shows that their attitude is one of ruthless disregard of everything but their own profits, of cynical indifference to the rights of their employees or the welfare of their tenants."

The New Militant calls upon all workers to give every possible support to the strike. Tenants should bring every pressure upon their landlords for quick settlement. All workers should be ready to assist on the picket lines whenever such assistance is requested by the union.

574 Pledges Aid to Milwaukee Strikers

More than 2,000 pickets, drawn from all the leading sections of the labor movement in Wisconsin, marched last Saturday in a mass line around the plant of the Hearst Wisconsin News where the American Newspaper Guild unit is fighting a courageous strike battle against Hearst sweatshop conditions.

Farrell Dobbs, secretary-treasurer of Minneapolis Local 574 called on Heywood Brown in New York early this week to offer the full cooperation of the Minneapolis truck-drivers to the striking goldsmen. Specific plans for organizing Minneapolis support for the Milwaukee struggle were discussed.

Labor organizations throughout the country will make this fight against the Fascist Hearst their own and back the men on the picket-line with a national boycott of the Hearst press.

Boycott Hearst!

Support the American Newspaper Guild in its fight to organize Hearst editorial employees!

IW A Leader Is Framed on Fake Charge

Auto Accident Used as Blot for Four Months Sentence of James Cross

By GERRY ALLARD
GILLESPIE, Ill., Mar. 1.—James Cross, youth director of the Illinois Workers Alliance and a member of the national committee of the Spartacus Youth League, is at the Vandallia Penal Farm beginning a four month sentence on a charge which indirectly grew out of his labor activities.

Cross gained the enmity of the Macomb county Democratic machine because of his courageous leadership in several strikes. A year ago he led a strike of six hundred high school students against a number of the faculty who had carried a gun against striking steel workers at Alton. The scab teacher was removed from his job. Later, Cross, as chairman of the Hod Carriers union, led a strike which compelled the contractor of a local post office job to grant union recognition and 75 cents an hour for common labor.

These incidents, and the fact that Cross had been arrested at Belleville, Ill., along with A. J. Muste and C. H. Mayer, on charges of criminal syndicalism, were made use of by the presiding Judge George and State Attorney Seyfrid.

(Continued from Page 2)

Hold Ohio WPA Meet

TOLEDO, O., Feb. 23.—Representatives of WPA workers groups from twenty Northwest Ohio cities and towns participated in the Northwest Ohio WPA Workers Conference held here today to lay the basis for a wide spread unified movement of the WPA workers and unemployed.

The conference was sponsored by the WPA Workers Union of Lucas County and the Lucas County Unemployed League. Fraternal delegates from Detroit, Northwestern Michigan and Indiana attended the conference and indicated their intention to push for organization similar to that of Lucas County which would be coordinated with the general unemployed and WPA movement.

The conference went on record to call another enlarged conference before March 30 as the beginning of a drive to organize throughout the entire state of Ohio. It also launched a campaign for the organization of WPA unions throughout 24 N. W. Ohio counties and into Southern Michigan.

There is widespread opinion here that there will be a complete fusion effected shortly between the WPA Workers Union, Unemployed League and Workers Alliance. The disruptive tactics of the Communist Party in joining the local Workers Alliance to prevent unity between it and the Unemployed League is now thoroughly exposed.

Hearst News Gripped in Milwaukee

Bottom Drops out of Adverting as Guild Continues Strike

MILWAUKEE, Wis., March 6.—The Milwaukee Newspaper Guild in its strike against the Hearst owned Wisconsin News won an important victory in the circuit court here Friday when Judge Charles L. Aarons held that the guild under certain conditions could continue its secondary picketing of department stores, theaters and other advertisers of the News.

The News management had petitioned the court for a blanket injunction forbidding all secondary picketing, relying on an earlier decision of the court holding that such picketing was illegal.

Judge Aarons held, however, that such picketing could continue, if the picketing was not directed at the advertiser. The court said the pickets could carry signs stating that the News was unfair to organized reporters but not signs urging customers to cease buying from advertisers of the News.

Advertising Drops

Gene L. Greening attorney for the guild, argued that the intent of the secondary picketing was to influence the advertiser to cease patronizing the News, not to harm the business of the advertiser.

The presence of guild pickets in front of places of business is not expected to cause the difficulty of the News management in keeping its advertisers in line. Many of them have already ceased advertising in the News for the duration of the strike and others will follow suit.

Although a municipal primary election is only four days away and hundreds of candidates are in the hunt, not a line of political advertising has appeared in the News, except for an ad of the Electric Co. which is opposing a municipal ownership referendum.

The News circulation continues to drop and the management has resorted to the device of free copies to stem the tide. Some of the readers have made bundles of the free copies and dumped the bundles in the circulation office.

The feeling of organized labor against Hearst's refusal to bargain collectively with his reporters and photographers has compelled the News to display the label of the Allied Printing Trades Council in one ear of the front page. The management by printing this label is hoping to escape the anti-strike brand that has been placed upon it.

The strike will enter its fourth week Monday, unless the News publisher has a sudden change of heart and agrees to bargain.

Striking reporters and photographers are holding firm.

2,000 on Picket Line

MILWAUKEE, March 4.—The strike of the Wisconsin News Newspaper Guild against Hearst today reached its 15th day. Last Saturday's mass picket demonstration, when more than 2,000 marched behind a brass band provided by the Musicians' Union showed the extent to which labor organizations of this whole region have lined up in solidarity with the 23 Wisconsin News editorial workers who are striking for a closed shop contract and an agreement for a living wage and decent working conditions.

The strike has already cut so sharply into the circulation of the Wisconsin News, which is one of Hearst's less profitable ventures, that unofficial "freezers" have already been extended toward the strikers with a suggestion of a settlement.

Hearst has gone to Madison Wisconsin looking for scabs and offered newspapermen \$75 and \$100 a week for jobs which he pays his regular workers \$15 and \$18 for! Not a single newspaperman would touch the scab money. A few journalism school students were found to function as strikebreakers—showing that the Guild will have to reach down into those schools to prevent the growth of newspaper scabs instead of newspaper workers.

Wide-Spread Support

Advertisers are already cutting down under the pressure of mass popular support for the strike, and the support of the Milwaukee labor movement in particular. Financial pledges are pouring in from Guilds and other labor organizations throughout the country.

The New York Guild alone has pledged and is sending nearly \$400 a week paid out of the pockets of the New York Guildsmen. Support has been pledged and is being given

(Continued on Page 5)

Hitler Makes Bid for Anti-Soviet Alliance

Jail French Bolsheviks in Class Fight

Solidarity with Brest-Toulon Strikers Evokes Repression by C. P. Allies

(From Revolution, Paris, France)

PARIS—On February 6th, three of our comrades were placed on the docks of bourgeois justice. They (crime?) One of them, Brun, was the former business manager of Revolution, organ of the Revolutionary Socialist Youth (J.S.R.) and the Bolshevik-Leninist Group. The two others, Maria Craipeau and Jean Melchior had sold the special issue of Revolution which proclaimed its solidarity with the heroic fighters of Brest and Toulon, which branded as assassins the radical-reactionary ministers and called upon the young soldiers not to fire upon their working class brothers.

The reply was immediate. The police were ordered to tear down our posters entitled "Brest and Toulon"; the T.S.F. (government radio station) announced that Fred Zeller was wanted by the police; the Minister of Justice confiscated Revolution (or at least tried to). Issued orders for its confiscation all over France. Searched for it in the barracks, arrested two salesmen and prosecuted the paper.

That is why although the trial was held during working hours, a large number of young people crowded into the courtroom of the 14th Chamber and a long line of others, who could not get in, crowded into the hall.

The Trial

The press box was filled. The judge summoned the accused. He lingered on the case of Maria Craipeau, 19 year old member of the J.S.R. "So young and already so noted for her revolutionary propaganda!" Her husband already sentenced by the same 14th Chamber for a similar motive, he said in astonishment.

Then the witnesses were called. Of the cited witnesses only Maurice Thorez, secretary of the C.P., and Malraux, novelist were absent. Malraux, exonerated himself by letter. As for Thorez how could he solidarily sympathize with the revolutionary defeatists when his party at this very moment is preparing the defense of "its fatherland?"

The Reformists' Defense

Marceau Pivert took the stand. He greeted the action of Revolution and the action of the Revolution and the impetuosity of youth (?) "The J.S.R.," he said, "have left the socialist party; they have left the socialist and not anarchist." We are grateful to Marceau Pivert, but the solidarity of the Socialist Party with revolutionary defeatism is indeed a little too much! At the very time the bourgeoisie was attacking the reformists.

(Continued on Page 2)

New Japan Gov't Tool of Army

'Moderate' Cabinet Stop-Gap Until Road Is Clear for Finel Lunge

By LO SEN

After being coddled and coaxed for three days while they held public buildings in the heart of Tokyo, the military insurgents who last week assassinated three Japanese government leaders were jolted and jittersy chancelleries all over the world were assured that the crisis in Japan was "over".

On March 5 Koki Hirota, Japanese foreign minister, was named premier to succeed Katsuo Okada, who calmly rose from the grave to which the world had consigned him, thinking him assassinated, but who had to make way, nevertheless, for a premier more acceptable to the High Command.

Koki Hirota is essentially the army's man. He is known as one of the leaders of the ultra-nationalist Black Dragon society and is entirely persona grata to the generals. During the past two years, as foreign minister, he pursued with particular skill the policy of combining diplomatic with military pressure upon China. His results were far from negligible. All of North China came in this period under the direct sway of the Japanese Empire. The time was well employed, meanwhile, in Manchuria in completing the strategic net of railways and roads branching north, east and west toward the borders of the Soviet Union and Outer Mongolia.

The Stop-Gap Solution

As premier, Koki Hirota represents a temporary compromise between the "aggressive" and the "moderate" representatives of Japanese imperialism. He will unquestionably be more subject to War Office pressure than his predecessor, who was not precisely at loggerheads with the chancelleries of Empire. Internal contradictions, as the whole episode of the military coup showed, will sharpen and the imperialism toward new military adventures on continental Asia will be accelerated. Hirota will be no better able than Okada to deal with Japan's insoluble contradictions.

His very accession to power inevitably calls for the time for the inevitable explosion has drawn nearer. The delay of six days between the surrender of the insurgents in Tokyo and the appointment of Hirota was by no means accidental. Having shot one bolt, Japanese imperialism watched, poised, the reaction on all fronts.

Clearly for long, surcharged hours the whole world waited for the thunder to break. In those

(Continued from Page 2)

Invasion of Rhine Drives Nail into Versailles Coffin

Italy Holds Trump Cards as Powers Face Alternative of United Front Against USSR or Anti-German Bloc

Nazi Germany this week ripped the paper bottoms out of the Versailles and Locarno treaties by marching troops, guns and tanks into the demilitarized Rhineland.

This move, long heralded and sedulously prepared, brings French and British imperialism face to face with the alternatives of mobilizing once more against Germany or accepting Hitler's offer of a united front against the Soviet Union.

Faced with the Italian threat to support the Reich in its denunciation of the Locarno pacts, Britain, which has just launched the mightiest armament program the world has ever seen, has given ample indication that it would far sooner make terms with Hitler than risk war at a time when it could have little confidence in the outcome.

French imperialism, uncertain of British support, desperately desirous of winning Italy back into the concert of Powers, is meeting the crisis with hesitation and indecision. All its careful years of diplomacy designed to keep Germany vanquished and impotent have come to naught. Across the border a mighty, rearmend Reich has once more hurled its challenge for a place in the imperialist sun.

In this explosive situation, Mussolini holds the whip hand. It was with Mussolini's encouragement that Hitler unilaterally denounced the Locarno treaty and marched across the Rhine. At the same time, almost to the moment, Mussolini accepted Geneva's "peace" proposal—which is only a formula for bringing the Powers once more to the negotiation table for a division of the spoils and a choosing of sides. In demanding his pound of flesh, Mussolini holds over London and Paris the menace of an Italo-German alliance drawing Austria, Hungary, Poland and Bulgaria into its orbit, demanding as his price a complete relaxation of pressure on its East African conquests.

Hitler's Trump Cards

But Hitler is by no means only Mussolini's trump. He is playing cards of his own.

While tanks trundled across the Rhine bridges and planes swooped jubilantly over Rhineland cities, Hitler stood in the Kroll Opera House in Berlin and offered a 25-year non-aggression pact to France, Belgium, Lithuania and all states bordering on the Reich, to be guaranteed by Britain and Italy.

He offered a western air pact to France, Belgium, Britain, Holland and Italy.

He offered to come back to the League of Nations if he promised the junking of the Versailles Treaty and the granting of colonial concessions to Germany.

All this he offered—if France would break its pact with the U.S.S.R. and if the Powers would help satisfy Germany's land hunger at the expense of the Workers' State.

Hitler bluntly declared that for him the world is divided into "two halves," a truth that cannot fail to strike chords of sympathy in leading currents of both the French and British ruling classes.

The "Two Halves" of the World

"That half which is built up of independent, self-sustaining national States of the peoples with whom we are bound a hundredfold through our history and culture, and with whom we should like, for all the future, to remain bound just as with the free and independent nations of other than European continents (in other words Japan)."

"And in the other half, that which lays claim to general international revolution in a doctrine which preaches destruction even to the most eternal and sacred values of this life and the life hereafter. In order to build up another world, which, to us, appears horrible as regards culture and the appearance of its contents."

Hitler made a passionate appeal for European "cooperation" with Germany functioning on a basis of complete equality with all the other Powers. He offered cooperation to all Europe on a straightforward anti-Soviet basis.

"I refused and refuse cooperation, not with Russia, but with Bolshevism. . . . I tremble for Europe and the thought of what would happen to our old, over-populated continent if the chaos of a Bolshevik revolution should be successful. . . ."

He appealed directly to France on the basis of a threat of proletarian revolution in that country to drop its alliance with the Soviet Union and joined that appeal to an open threat of independent action "in Germany's own interests" if his terms were not met.

Hitler extended the hand of friendship to Britain, congratulating the "realistic sense of an English administration" which resulted in the conclusion of the Anglo-German naval accord last year.

Fire on France-Soviet Pact

He rentred all his fire on the Franco-Soviet pact, marking it off

(Continued on Page 5)

St. Louis Kroger Clerks Ask Labor Aid for Long Strike

ST. LOUIS, Mo., March 1.—Fighting one of the most important battles in the history of the labor movement here, one hundred and forty six men—members of the Warehouse Workers Union 687, Retail Clerks International Protective Ass'n, affiliated with the A. F. of L.—have been on strike against the Kroger Grocery and Baking Co. for the last sixteen weeks.

The trouble started when weeks before, the agreement, under which the union men were working with the Kroger Company at the St. Louis Warehouse, expired. The Kroger Company instituted what was known as the Dyer system which enabled them, under the guise of efficiency, to discriminate against union men. Then, on November 6th the company offered the men a contract which would have practically denied them all gains they had made in the two years previous through their union, and when the men rejected this they were locked out. The demands of the union at that time were (and still are): 1. The forty hour week; 2. Full senior-

ity right; 3. Elimination of the Dyer system; 4. A closed shop working agreement; 5. A wage increase of 7 and one half cents an hour.

Fink Agencies Used

Since the beginning of the strike, the Kroger company has resorted to the most vicious tactics imaginable; they have employed the A. A. Ahner and Pinkerton strike-breaking detective agencies; they have used the radio and the daily newspapers to spread their malicious propaganda of lies, slander and hate. Besides this, they are now conspiring with the police force to frame several members of the union on false charges of bombing and vandalism.

On the other side of the picture, the union has gotten and is getting the support of many unions in this vicinity and the strike has been endorsed by the central labor bodies of St. Louis, East St. Louis, Belleville, Jefferson City, St. Louis, and many other cities in Missouri and Illinois. One of the union's chief sources of support financially, mor-

(Continued on page 4)

Reichstag Fire Defendants Persecuted

THE CASE OF POPOV-TANEV

New Light Shed on Comintern "Helmsman"

On the second anniversary of the Leipzig trial, which was forced to exonerate the communists accused of the Reichstag fire, the Comintern press of the entire world is publishing memoirs dedicated to "the heroic Dimitroff." Dimitroff's achievements before the fascist court will not be disputed by anyone—not even by us, his political opponents. Had the Comintern press restricted itself to recalling, on this second anniversary, the courageous defense put up by Dimitroff, it would remain within the framework of a revolutionary task. And it would be shabby of us to polemize with it on this occasion.

Unfortunately, however, there is more than mere memoirs involved in this case. The Comintern itself links these up to something entirely different, to which it attributes the very greatest significance. This other something is—a confession of error on the part of Popov and Tanev and a resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist party of Bulgaria regarding this confession of error. Quite the ordinary thing, one might object, and as old as the Stalin regime itself. Most assuredly. But Kolarov—who stands at the present time in the good graces of the Comintern because he is alleged to have led, together with Dimitroff the Bulgarian September uprising—thinks differently. In the last issue of the Comintern International he writes, "The two documents published herewith are of extraordinary international interest: not only because they deal with the Leipzig trial and the role of the comrades involved in it, but also because the questions dealt with are of tremendous importance for our struggle against fascism in general and against German fascism in particular."

What Is Their Crime?
In short, we are concerned here with something of extraordinary international interest, of tremendous importance. Modest question: Can the confession of Popov and Tanev really acquire such importance? Not at all. Popov and Tanev merely defend and explain their position before the court. They condemn Torgler and praise Dimitroff because he executed his Bolshevik line calmly and courageously. Besides that they do not say anything that could in the slightest soil them. Yet despite the editing of the top bureaucrats, Popov's and Tanev's declaration betrays an unbroken pride. Such characteristics are not very pleasing to the bureaucrats. Confessions of guilt which do not drag those condemned to them in the dust and the mud, have a low rating with those gentlemen. Whoever risks such a course, nevertheless, faces complete disgrace or else a new declaration of guilt which has to make up for whatever was omitted. And to be sure Kolarov issues just such a threat: "Popov's and Tanev's confession of guilt can in no case be considered as satisfactory."

What are Popov and Tanev guilty of? Along with Dimitroff they were accused in the Reichstag arson trial. Tanev, a robust peasant type, arrived in Berlin only several days before his arrest. He literally did not speak a single word of German. Popov, a sickly, chronically tubercular man, had been there for some time previous. But he spoke only broken German. In no case could he be considered capable of even a short speech in the German language. They were thus restricted in advance in their defense.

Tanev's Attempt at Suicide
In the first few months, in the course of the investigation, they were placed in chains, just like Dimitroff and subjected to the most excruciating cross examinations. The Gestapo knew very well that the three Bulgarians had nothing to do with the Reichstag fire. It was therefore their intention all along to link them up under all circumstances with German contacts. In order to at least make possible a juridically motivated conviction on the grounds of high treason. If the Gestapo did not succeed in this case, that was not so much because of Dimitroff but of Popov and Tanev. Because during the months long hardships of the investigation they remained mum about everything. Tanev for instance, surrendered the address of his rooming house only after three months, and then only because it was necessary from the point of view of the conduct of the trial and because he could be sure by then that he would endanger no one by it. The Gestapo had a much easier time with Dimitroff: They found the address of his rooming house in his pocket.

But suppose the Gestapo methods in the course of this investigation were to destroy the power of resistance of the Bulgars? It was probably in consideration of such a possibility that Tanev made an attempt to evade it by suicide—he slashed his wrists.

We do not defend suicide, but what repulsive bureaucratic arrogance it is to accuse Tanev of act-

ing thus out of petty bourgeois, romantic sentiment. This insufferable cynicism may be found literally in the resolution of the C.C. on the Popov-Tanev case. Popov and Tanev are further accused of not having understood the political significance of the trial. They had not declined the services of the two official defense attorneys and two more such trifles which are not worthy—two years after the trial—to even be mentioned.

Kolarov Sheds Some Light
And all this shall arouse today extraordinary international interest? Perhaps the bureaucrats do not know what they are writing! Perhaps this is just a lot of big talk! No, that is not the case. The real interest begins at another point, where simple-minded persons would never suspect. To be sure, there is not even an indication of it in the resolution of the Bulgarian C.C. But Kolarov in his commentary, and naturally with the approval of Dimitroff, is much more informative. He writes:

"The significance of the resolution of the incoming C.C. of the Communist party of Bulgaria lies not in the condemnation of the un-Bolshevik conduct of comrades Popov and Tanev but in the sharp criticism of the sectarian position which the previous C.C. of the C.P. of Bulgaria had adopted in conducting the campaign in the Leipzig trial. The sectarian course, aggravated by the factional blindness of the party leadership, made it impossible for it to utilize the effective weapons furnished by comrade Dimitroff not only by his conduct in the Leipzig court, but by his whole long revolutionary struggle at the head of the Bulgarian workers."

These, then are the crimes of the old Bulgarian Central Committee: in the course of the entire long revolutionary past of Dimitroff these communists did not even dream that Dimitroff would become the helmsman of the Comintern at the 7th World Congress. This and this alone is the whole nub of the complaint against Popov and Tanev. That is why they are being spat upon. That is why the new central committee, by the grace of Dimitroff, decided "to remove Popov and Tanev from their leading functions." The criticism of Popov and Tanev's conduct in court only furnished the pretext that was needed to give Dimitroff satisfaction against the old Bulgarian central committee which many years ago once dared to be against him. That to be sure is an experience which really should arouse international interest.

Dimitroff as a Leader
What was the occasion for the old Bulgarian Central Committee's opposition to Dimitroff? It is necessary to go into this even though it does not fit into the whole Dimitroff cult. Before the sessions of the Leipzig trial, that is to be exact, before Dimitroff made his mark,

influential members of the Balkan parties were of the opinion that Dimitroff should be expelled because of conspirative unreliability. Popov and Tanev's arrest were undoubtedly due to Dimitroff's unheard of light-mindedness. Besides that many addresses were found on Dimitroff's person upon his arrest. At any rate the Balkan parties took the conspirative work very seriously. Dimitroff's light-mindedness in this work was not accidental. Long before Hitler took power it had become a veritable system with him. That's why people used to speak even at that time with a certain amount of contempt of Dimitroff's methods. Today naturally these same Dimitroff methods are the purest Bolshevism and the critics of these methods are called sectarians.

As chairman of the Comintern Dimitroff did not want to forego his petty revenge. Bureaucratic luck had fallen into his lap and he made the most of it. That it was precisely the Bulgars who delayed in showing the customary subordination to the "beloved leader" was something his pride could not stand. The old Bulgarian Central Committee was sloughed off.

The Methods of the "Helmsman"
This is the Dimitroff they call their "great and remarkable leader." They know why. Dimitroff is just as responsible for the bloody defeats of the Bulgarian proletariat as for the defeats in Germany, China, etc. For he was a member of the highest organ of the Comintern. Not a word of protest has ever come from him. On the contrary. He slandered and persecuted the oppositionists who warned them just as much as Stalin's other henchmen. We can recall here an occasion which is not unimportant for a characterization of Dimitroff. With his approval (most likely also at his instance) a raid was arranged in the house of a well known Yugoslav Communist of great revolutionary integrity, because he was suspected of being an oppositionist. Two "functionaries" forced their way into his Berlin lodging with police credentials, searched his trunks and drawers in order to furnish the Balkan leadership with the suspect oppositionist documents. These are methods which were not strange to Dimitroff even at that time. (By the way, whoever knows the method of selection in the Comintern, knows that Dimitroff was advanced to the rank of "leader" precisely because of those characteristics, and not at all because of his conduct at the Leipzig court.)

And today? Today Dimitroff not only bears an equal share of responsibility but a very highest kind of responsibility for the openly treacherous course of the Comintern. Can a serious person believe—that is one who understands the meaning of the proletarian struggle—that revolutionary cadres for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie can be created with peoples fronts, class truce, approval of the military budgets, support of the imperialist

armaments (France), etc.? Not even Bernstein had such illusions. For he did not even want a revolution.

Many workers, even some intellectuals, understanding the revisionist course of the Comintern, have placed all their political hope upon a man who did his duty as a revolutionist in a trial. Poor hope! What devastation that ten year era of Stalinist policy must have cost if such patent hopelessness can be called hope.

This is the truth: The Comintern is morally, politically and organizationally destroyed not in spite of but because of the Dimitroffs.

The top bureaucracy had hoped to assure itself of papal infallibility with the aid of Dimitroff. The tremendous propaganda serves this purpose unmistakably. It is used as a means of stifling the very last oppositionist voices at a moment when the policies of the Comintern are becoming open betrayal.

2,000 in Guild Picket Line

(Continued from Page 1)
to the strike by the Milwaukee Trades Council and the State Federation of Labor. Even Bill Green has pitched in with a letter calling for support of the strike.

Strike Morale High
The spirit of the strikers and supporters has been magnificent. Picketing goes on at freezing temperatures. Last week a call for mass pickets was answered one morning at 7 A.M. by 150—although the temperature was 18 below zero!

This strike, which involves 29 editorial workers of the News is teaching the Guild a mighty, demonstrative lesson about the value of affiliation to organized labor. Here the Guild is winning for itself the actual concrete support of the organized labor movement, outside of which it could never hope to move forward a step.

There is another lesson—what industrial union organization would mean to this strike. The technical workers, split into craft organizations can do little more than offer moral encouragement. A statement was issued over the signatures of the typographers, pressmen, photo engravers, mailers and stereotypers' unions (all in one plant!) expressing sympathy with the strikers but pointing to existing contractual relations with Hearst as a reason for the absence of any more substantial support.

Together with the Guild there are six unions among the workers in all categories and departments of the Wisconsin News. United in a Wisconsin News Union they could dictate their own terms—even to a Hearst!

A National Fight
This has created a somewhat embarrassing position involving mutual recriminations between some of the non-striking union printing workers and strike sympathizers, requiring the Milwaukee Guild to come out with a statement that "no member of the Milwaukee Newspaper Guild has ever expected or asked for more than the moral support of the Allied printing trades union in this struggle of editorial workers."

Trade union support for the Wisconsin News strike must extend beyond Milwaukee to all parts of the country where newspaper and all other workers know Hearst as the labor-baiting Fascist who symbolizes everything rotten and reactionary in American life. The Guild is fighting a final fight. Supporters everywhere must aid by fighting Hearst too—by boycotting Hearst papers, conducting anti-Hearst meetings, collecting money for the Wisconsin News strikers and helping the American Newspaper Guild to win its battle.

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Hitler Seeks Anti-Soviet Alliance

(Continued from Page 1)
from France's other alliances which he said were perfectly acceptable to him because these other states, like Poland and Czechoslovakia, were only serving their own national interests and it was reasonable that they should be doing so.
"Germany does not desire to attack these states," he went on. But the Soviet Union was quite another matter. First of all, representing Bolshevism, it is "the constitutionally organized exponent of the revolutionary philosophy of life"—and, of course, Germany does desire to attack it. The Franco-Soviet pact was therefore a thing with which had to be done away with if "peace" was to be preserved in Western Europe.

Hitler thus evidently does not share the notion of the Stalinist bureaucracy that there is a profound contradiction between the democratic and fascist states of Europe. He boldly envisages a united front of capitalist nations, fascist and democratic alike, directed at the heart of the Soviet state. Britain always has and still does nurture this same notion. It was the central tenet of France's foreign policy up until 1933, and it is not at all beyond the realms of possibility that France may revert to it tomorrow.

Hitler sees one fundamental contradiction in the modern world, the contradiction between the capitalist states and the Soviet Union. He also sees what Stalin sees far less clearly and with far less interest, the contradiction between the proletariat and capitalist classes of all nations. His appeal is against Bolshevism and on that appeal he has staked his whole regime.
"That I . . . pass for one of the greatest enemies in the eyes of the Bolshevistic international world of oppressors is for me a great honor and justification for my dealings before posterity," he said.

The Logic of Hitler's Position
For capitalism there is a profound logic in Hitler's point of view. It is possible that his logic may be unable to surmount the complicated tangle of inter-imperialist contradictions at the outset but when tomorrow or even in the course of the imperialist war that may finally break, the Third Reich, Britain, France, Italy and their satellites sit around a table to decide on the destruction of the Soviet Union, this logic may be finally driven home, even for Stalin, Browder and Oll Green.

What is the immediate prospect? Hitler's move into the Rhineland may drive the imperialist powers helplessly into the cauldron of war. But that an effort will be made to arrive at some compromise is already unmistakably clear.

Either way, the Workers' State is in mortal danger.

The whole sweet dream of national socialism recently founded upon a system of European alliances is crumbling before our very eyes. The utter bankruptcy of the League of Nations, once again revealed in Italy's war of aggression against Ethiopia, the brittle character of the promises made by the Soviet Union's allies, the imminent threat that these promises will be washed away and withered in the storm, must be driven home, even to the hopeless bureaucratic centrists, who today rule the destinies of the Soviet Union.

New Turn in Preparation?
There is ample evidence of a new turn by the bureaucracy under the pressure of these events. About two months ago Radek, in Izvestia, regretfully admitted the futility of the League of Nations' sanctions. His conclusion: Russia must rely upon its own national forces. Included in these "national forces" are the border patrols abroad.

In the last few weeks the Stalinist International, which threw all its forces behind the League, whose sections in all the "allied" countries fervently promised complete support of capitalist armies, and offered support in advance to any nation which would line up with the Soviet Union, has now, in classic centrist manner, staggered back another step. Kuusinen comes

back upon the scene; Dimitroff, the doughty hero of social-patriotism, fades a little (a Prague Socialist paper even reported he had gone off to the Crimea for a "rest cure") and the Stalinists are reminded that the struggle for bread has not exactly been entirely suspended in favor of the struggle for "peace" and "democracy."

The Stalinist hesitates. The fate of the bureaucracy's system of capitalist alliances will determine whether this slight leftward lurch will turn into a rout.

Our Policy is Unmistakable
Germany's reoccupation of the Rhineland is the latest and loudest explosion in the furnace of imperialist contradictions. Twenty years ago it took far less to precipitate a war. Today the imperialists are infinitely more conscious of the price that is to be paid for a new conflagration. The rise of the October Revolution out of the ashes of the last one still haunts their harried dreams.

Only by working to guarantee the October of tomorrow, by guaranteeing irreconcilable and consistent struggle against all imperialist ruling classes, will we in the crises to come preserve the conquests of the October of yesterday.

What does this mean to every revolutionist? To every worker? It means that he must quicken his pace, just as the imperialists are hastening theirs. It means that we must unite all those committed to the overthrow of capitalism, generator of wars, in the ranks of a firmly knit revolutionary party, united in a revolutionary international, free of the social and national reformist and patriotic garbage of the existing internationalists, dispel all illusions of "democratic" security, carry on the struggle to organize the workers for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and if war overtakes us, to fight against all odds and with the utmost clarity to defeat our own imperialist ruling classes, to turn imperialist war into civil war.

Nippon Army Holds Reins

(Continued from Page 1)
hence the men who guide the destinies of the Japanese Empire decided that for the moment a stop-gap arrangement which in reality strengthened the hand of the Fascist and military elements while giving the appearance of attenuating the crisis was needed. The answer was—Hirota. The tactic of the moment will be—consolidation.

Gen. Kawashima, who was relatively "moderate," has retired from the War Office in favor of Gen. Chuichi Terauchi, who is relatively "aggressive." Gen. Sadao Araki, the real leader of the ultra-nationalists, has retired again for the moment into the background.

"Incidents" Cease Temporarily
All this does not take place with Michavellian smoothness. There can be little doubt that the "moderate" pressure on the Emperor was great. It was great enough to bring about the appointment of Hirota rather than Baron Hicnuma, who is the outspoken leader of a frankly Fascist organization. It was not great enough to enable Prince Konoye, a "moderate" to take the reins of power which the Emperor offered to him.

Meanwhile on the actual potential war fronts another temporary shift has taken place. The series of incidents on the Outer Mongolian frontier, which we described last week as provocative "feelings" by the Japanese military who wanted to know the extent to which Moscow would back Mongolia, have abruptly ceased. Stalin, in his own way, gave Tokyo the answer when he flatly told Roy Howard that the U.S.S.R. would come to the support of the Outer Mongolian republic in the event of a clash.

Support for Outer Mongolia
Potential support for Outer Mongolia is coming from another direction as well. An army of 10,000 Reds under Mao Tse-tung has marched northward from Szechwan and Shensi into Shensi, with the apparent intention of making his way into Suiyuan and there providing a military buffer on Japan's left flank and hindering the too-easy advance of Japanese-controlled forces into Inner Mongolia.

These Red forces, dislodged from any permanent base and more than ever cut off from the Chinese proletariat in the urban centers of the Yangtze Valley and the South, have been converted into another instrument of the politico-military tactics of the Soviet bureaucracy. Under the "new line," which involves the return in China to the disaster-ridden concept of a bloc of classes to "fight" imperialism, Stalinism has cynically abandoned even its lip service to the hope of proletarian revolution in China, which will alone ensure the forging of an alliance in Asia stronger than the Japanese imperialism which is now sharpening its sword for the inevitable clash.

Jail French Bolsheviks

(Continued from Page 1)
ding us for our anti-militarist propaganda the S.P. was expelling us from its ranks for our struggle for revolutionary defeatism.

Chaulay followed, declaring his solidarity. His remaining arguments were those of a pacifist. "The army," he said, "must not be diverted by national defense. These young people are acting in the best tradition of Jaures, that is to say, of republican defense."

"Hold on!", the judge interrupted, "the accused do not want the soldiers to remain at the service of national defense outside the conflict. They are against national defense and call upon the soldiers to join ranks with the proletarians."

Revolutionists on the Stand
The bourgeois judge is very well aware of the class struggle. Then a few words from Deglise, revolutionary socialist, in which he described the misery of the soldiers in the barracks: the judge interrupted him, cutting him off and calling upon the attendants to remove him from the stand.
The floor was then given to the accused, all of whom affirmed their revolutionary will.

O. Brun, former business manager of Revolution, admitted his responsibility. "I am a socialist," he stated, "and not an anarchist." Meicheler read a statement admitting guilt for his revolutionary action.

Marla Craipeau declared that even if she had known that the paper was banned, she would have sold it. She defended the right of young workers to call upon their brothers in uniform to fraternize, to refuse to serve the capitalists and proved that this is a fundamental doctrine of communists. (That is what the Revolutionary Socialist Youth fight for today under the banner of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky. She concluded with the slogans: "Long live the J.S.R." "Long live the Fourth International!")

After a plea of Leo Lagrange for G. Brun, Rous and Gerard spoke of the bloody policy of the decree-laws. On Thursday February 13th, the judges rendered their verdict. Fearing the spread of the affair they sentenced our three comrades to one month in prison and 100 francs fine each.

Cross Framed in Ill. Court

(Continued from Page 1)
Technically, Cross was arrested and charged with "driving an auto while intoxicated." Cross was arrested in a car accident which occurred Christmas Eve of last year. The total damages amounted to \$7. The damages were paid. No one was injured; not one of the persons whose car was damaged complained or prosecuted. Yet States Attorney Seyffert, notorious for his "red-baiting" and frame-up of unemployed workers brazenly stated he would "get" Cross.

The "getting" is not one added, however. Labor is aroused and they are out to get Cross out of prison by appealing his case to a higher court; more than that—the militant workers of Macoupin county will render a verdict in the coming elections for states attorney by retiring Michael Seyffert for his anti-labor activities.

Organize Defense Committee
A committee has been organized composed of members of the miners' union, Illinois Workers Alliance and other labor organizations. Local 1, Progressive Miners of America has already pledged its support after John Battuello, left wing leader, delivered a fiery speech flaying Michael Seyffert for his anti-labor activities.

The defense committee has retained two local attorneys, but a desire that Albert Goldman, noted socialist attorney, be retained for the case was expressed by the majority of the committee. "The reactionaries put Cross in jail," one of the defense group said, "but it'll take the radicals to get him out. So we don't want to take any chances. We want this case to be handled along the real labor, class struggle lines."

Cross can be contacted at Vandallia Penal Farm, Vandallia, Illinois.

Funds Needed
The defense committee urges the sympathizers and members of the Workers Party and SYL to immediately rush funds to Tom Sorbie, Treasurer, James Cross Defense Committee, 1406 South Macoupin St., Gillespie, Ill. Joe Burrell, left wing mine leader, is chairman of the committee.

At least a hundred dollars is needed for the initial expense of the defense. Cross is in jail because he fought for labor. Tomorrow the Macoupin county reactionaries may imprison our brave left wing miners. Let's all put our shoulders to the wheel by raising money and getting Cross out of jail and eventually absolved of the rotten frame-up.

Two Pamphlets

"THE ROAD FOR REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISTS"

War and the Workers is written by John West. He needs no introduction to you. The Road for Revolutionary Socialists is written by Fred Zeller. He is the acknowledged leader of the French Socialist youth.

Fred Zeller was expelled from the Socialist youth organization by the agents of Leon Blum and his Old Guard some time ago, together with twelve other youth comrades. The young Socialists, however, remained supporters of the revolutionary position presented by Fred Zeller and his co-workers. They remained supporters in the continuation of the struggle for this position. How this struggle has been carried on and how comrade Zeller and his co-workers came to a revolutionary position, and came to be supporters of the Fourth International, is described in this little pamphlet. The introduction is by Leon Trotsky.



"WAR AND THE WORKERS"

The pamphlet, War and the Workers, presents a searching analysis of the nature and causes of modern war. It deals with the problem of sanctions, neutrality, and the rôle of the League of Nations. It presents a scathing indictment of the various forms of pacifism and social-patriotism and outlines a concrete program of struggle against imperialist war.

The price of this pamphlet is 10c per copy; in lots of ten or more, 7c per copy. The price of the Zeller pamphlet is 5c per copy; in lots of ten or more, 3c per copy. Here is an opportunity. Take advantage of it.

CONVENTION RESOLUTIONS

Adopted by 2nd National Convention of the Workers Party

Statement on the War Crisis

(Adopted Unanimously)

1. For the past six months, after more than a year of deliberate preparation, the armies of Italian Fascism have driven their attack against the Ethiopian peoples. Impelled by the intolerable strains of internal social and economic contradictions, Mussolini and the Italian bourgeoisie have sought a solution in open imperialist aggression against the last of the independent nations of Africa.

2. The war in Africa demonstrates that the conflicts of world imperialism have reached the stage of armed struggle for a re-making of boundaries, and a re-division of territories and colonial possessions. Though the Italian campaign in Ethiopia may not lead immediately and directly to a world struggle of the imperialist powers, this delay can prove no more than temporary.

The war in Ethiopia must be understood as the prelude to the new imperialist world war.

3. In the preparation for the Italian seizure of Ethiopia, and during the course of the conflict, the League of Nations has once more demonstrated beyond any possible doubt its true role. The League is not in any sense whatever "the defender of peace." It is the legal and hypocritical cover for the maneuvering of the dominant imperialist powers. From the time Ethiopia first invoked League assistance in December, 1934, up to the actual outbreak of the war, the League negotiations served to permit uninterrupted preparations for the hostilities by Italy, and to deter defensive preparation by Ethiopia. The League has been utilized, throughout, above all to serve the ends of British imperialism. Behind its cover, the agents of Great Britain, France and Italy have battled over the price in terms of treaties, guarantees, protection and territories, which each was willing to pay to preserve its own interests. The threat and use of League sanctions have been made not to save Ethiopia—which the League itself has repeatedly offered to sacrifice—but to safeguard British colonial possessions and lines of communication, to try to close the opening for Germany in Central Europe, and in general to uphold the needs of the dominant member-states. The League of Nations is in every respect the agency, not of peace, but of imperialist aggression.

The struggle against imperialist war demands the unremitting exposure of the role of the League of Nations.

4. No less than the European powers is U. S. imperialism bound by the iron chain of cause and effect to the events in Africa and to the new world conflict which they herald. The sentimental dream of U. S. isolation, Roosevelt's promises that the U. S. will remain "free and untangled," have no more force than the unctuous phrases of Wilson in 1916. "Neutrality" and "Neutrality Legislation" are only decorated counters in the imperialist game, sugar-coated formulations of different phases of the U. S. war policy. The U. S. will, on the contrary, play the dominant and decisive role in the new imperialist struggle. Behind its pacifist covering, the Roosevelt government is pouring more funds into its war machine than any other nation in the world. Both navy and army are constructed on a purely offensive strategic basis. The U. S. bourgeoisie, waiting and preparing, expects to intervene in the later stages of the world struggle, when the other powers are mutually exhausted, to achieve the world domination of U. S. finance-capital.

The struggle against imperialist war is above all the struggle against U. S. imperialism.

5. The U. S. S. R. cannot avoid implication in the world conflict. The very life of the workers' state is threatened by the approach of war. A central task of the struggle against war is the defense of the U. S. S. R. But, in the last analysis, this defense can be based only upon the revolutionary advance of the international proletariat. Stalinist diplomacy, on the contrary, to an ever increasing degree, serves solely to discredit the international proletariat, break up the revolutionary struggle against imperialist war, and thus to undermine the real defense of the U. S. S. R. Basing itself not upon the international working class, but upon military pacts with bourgeois states, upon diplomatic deals, appeals to pacifist and liberal anti-war sentiment, and the maneuvers of the League of Nations, Soviet foreign policy promotes the most disastrous illusions in the minds of the workers, hampers and disrupts their struggle against the exploiters at home, and acts in effect to further the interests of French and British imperialism.

The struggle against imperialist war requires the consistent exposure of the foreign policy of Stalinism.

6. One of the most dangerous

illusions fostered by the diplomacy of the Soviet Union, in company with demoralized liberals, reformists, pacifists of all shades, and Roosevelt himself is the notion that the world is now divided between "peace-loving democratic" nations and "war-loving fascist" nations. This notion is part of the preparation for support of the "peace-loving nations" in the coming war. Marxism rejects and dispels this illusion or any form of it. The idea that there are peace-loving as opposed to war-loving capitalist nations, like the idea that one or another nation is "guilty" in an imperialist war, is at best formalistic ethical sentimentalism, not political realism. The causes of war will be found in the internal structure of world capitalism, operating within all nations. The national state of every capitalist nation, without exception, is the political instrument of the class enemy, the first and impulsive enemy of that nation's proletariat. The revolutionary party can make no distinction between "good" and "bad" capitalist states. It is the enemy of every capitalist state, to the death.

7. Equally illusory and disastrous is the belief that the struggle against war can be aided by support of governmental "sanctions against the aggressor," whether applied by individual capitalist states directly, or indirectly through the League of Nations, which is nothing else than the puppet instrument of the imperialist powers. Support of governmental sanctions in any form—no matter what the "modifications" and "criticisms"—necessarily means collaboration with the sanction-applying capitalist state. Such collaboration, in turn, necessarily means support of the war policy of the given capitalist state. The revolutionary struggle against war is always the struggle against the capitalist state. Collaboration of any kind is always, and must be, social-patriotism and betrayal.

8. The same conclusion holds with equal force with reference to the support of "Neutrality Legislation" in this country. Once again, support of Neutrality Legislation necessarily means the attempt to conduct the struggle against war in collaboration with the imperialist government, and thus can be conceived as nothing else than a form of social-patriotism, imperialism, which makes war, can never be an ally in the struggle against war. The struggle against war must be everywhere and always the independent revolutionary struggle against imperialism itself.

9. At the outbreak of the last imperialist war, the Second International revealed its internal degeneration by betraying the working class to the class enemy, by espousing the cause of national defense and patriotism, by a truce with the bourgeoisie in the interests of "national unity," by going over to social-patriotism and social-chauvinism. Already, before the outbreak of the new war, the leaders of the Socialist and Labour Internationals, together with the major repetition of the betrayal, are already preparing to turn over their following to the war-makers. In England, the Labour Party, by calling for government applied sanctions and the closing of the Suez Canal, and by supporting the main line of the Baldwin government, has once again taken the position of national unity (that is, solidarity with the class enemy) before the war danger, and of fully developed social-patriotism—to defend the interests of the bourgeoisie

position. The greatest weakness in the struggle of the Left Wing has been the failure to develop fully the implications of the conflict in programmatic terms and to conduct the struggle on this basis. This accounts for the numerous vacillations in the policy of the Left Wing and the repeated compromises with the Old Guard. The limitation of the struggle to questions of organization also holds the door open to new compromises and combinations which can arrest the progressive tendency and enable the extreme right wing to regain its lost organizational positions and conquer new ones. Such possibilities leave the course of the internal struggle in the next months somewhat uncertain. Only the actions taken at the forthcoming convention will indicate clearly and decisively the further directions of the S. P.

Resolution on the Socialist Party

(Adopted Unanimously)

The recent developments in the Socialist Party coming as a climax to the process of differentiation which has been taking place during the past several years, are of decisive importance for the future of the revolutionary movement in this country. A new stage was reached in the internal party struggle with the open split in the New York organization. The gradual extension of the cleavage on a wider scale has been accompanied by shifts of various kinds in the relationship of forces. Such shifts are an inevitable aspect of the struggle, and the precise outcome cannot as yet be predicted with certainty. With the approach of the Socialist Party convention, the lines will become more clearly drawn, and it may be expected that the present stage of development will reach its culmination at the convention itself.

The Old Guard represents social democratic reformism in the crudest form. The standpoint of this ossified and reactionary group in questions of domestic policy is basically class collaborationist. Its international position (support of League of Nations sanctions, support of "democratic" against fascist states) infallibly indicates that in the coming war the Old Guard will fall automatically into the policy of social-patriotism. At bottom, the factional struggle in the party is the reflection of a strong impulse in the ranks of the socialist workers and youth toward a revolutionary

against "Hitler aggressions, and to 'implement the League Covenant' by government sanctions. The Bauer-Dau-Zyromski Thesis openly advocates support of the war of "democratic nations" against "fascist nations." As early as August of last year, the Executive Committee of the Socialist and Labour International adopted a program of full-blooded social-patriotism.

The struggle against imperialist war means the struggle against the Second International.

10. During the past two years, the Communist International has passed from a policy which weakened and disoriented the revolutionary struggle against war to an active espousal of the policies of class treason and social-patriotism. By the Franco-Soviet Pact, the Stalin-Laval communique, the conduct of the Soviet Union representatives in the League during the Ethiopian crisis, and above all by the Seventh Congress of the C.I., the Communist International stands unmasked as the betrayer of social-democracy's betrayal on the issue of war, announcing itself as ready to do the hangman's job of turning over the proletariat of England, France and the U. S. to their national bourgeoisie in the coming war, in return for paper promises of protection for the borders of the Soviet Union. In England, the Communist party applauds the position of the Labour Party; in France, the Communist party supports enthusiastically the worst betrayals of Blum and Herriot; in Czechoslovakia, the Communist party votes for Benes and openly calls on the masses to fight for the Czechoslovakian bourgeoisie and thus for its master, French imperialism; in the U. S., the Communist party repeatedly declares its pledge to support the government in a war against Japan. The C.I. and its sections take the lead in demanding League and governmental sanctions against "aggressor" nations; in calling for support of democratic nations against fascist nations; in fostering the most degraded forms of pacifism; in pushing "vigorous" neutrality legislation on the part of the U. S. government. Throughout the world the Communist International prepares the sacrifice of the working class on the altar of imperialism.

The struggle against imperialist war means everywhere the relentless struggle against the Third International.

11. Throughout the world the only organized forces systematically advocating and conducting the revolutionary struggle against imperialism are the parties and groupings of the Fourth Internationalists. The Workers Party of the U. S. carries on this struggle in the closest solidarity with its comrades in all countries.

Against the betrayers, the Workers Party rejects every form of social-patriotism and social-chauvinism; it rejects every conception of national unity and national defense; it rejects all ideas of truce with the bourgeoisie state, democratic or fascist; it exposes the role of the League of Nations as the pawn of the imperialist member states; it opposes all forms of governmental sanctions or neutrality legislation; it rejects the sentimental illusions of pacifists and petty-bourgeois liberals; above all it directs its attacks against the enemy at home, against U. S. imperialism.

The Workers Party places no reliance on the "peaceful" intentions of bourgeois-democratic nations, nor upon spineless "united fronts" of liberals, ministers, bourgeois wo-

men's clubs and "anti-war" professionals; on the contrary, it attacks the whole conception of such reliance as aiding and promoting, and not in any way hindering the preparations for war.

The Workers Party calls for the continued effort to defend the Ethiopian peoples against Italian aggression, for the defense of the U. S. S. R., for unremitting struggle against the coming imperialist war. But for this defense and this struggle, the Workers Party calls at the same time for the sole means by which they can be, in fact, conducted: for the independent and autonomous action of the working class. It is the international working class, especially the Italian working class, together with the oppressed colonial peoples, who are the true allies of the Ethiopian peoples—not "peace-loving" Britain, nor the League of Nations, nor Stalin-Laval, nor Roosevelt, nor their own Christian Emperor and semi-feudal chieftains. It is the independent sanctions of the working class, its own boycotts, strikes, defense funds, mass demonstrations that can aid the battles of the Ethiopian peoples, not the sanctions of finance-capital and its puppet states. And likewise for the defense of the U. S. S. R. and the struggle against the approaching world war, it is only the independent action of the working class together with its allies under its leadership which gives hope to the working and exploited masses—a struggle not in collaboration with the bourgeoisie through the national state, but in ever sharper attack against the bourgeoisie and the national state.

The struggle against war is not and cannot be conceived as an "independent" struggle, having a special status above class conflicts. It is an integral part of the revolutionary struggle for workers' power. The class struggle means—not suspension of the class conflict until the war crisis passes—but the intensification of class conflict and the preparation to turn the imperialist war into a civil war for the overthrow of the bourgeois state and the victory of the workers.

More clearly than any other phase of revolutionary activity does the struggle against war attest the international character of the revolutionary movement. It is an international struggle and must be conducted in terms of an international strategy, through an integrated international organization. Thus the struggle against war poses, in the most intense form, the central task of the present period: the building of the Fourth International, the dynamic generator to drive forward the revolutionary advance of the working class. Threatening as is the oncoming of the new war, relatively weak numerically as are the forces now ranged against it, there is no reason to despair. Out of the last world war came the first great step of the world revolution. Yet, in 1914, the internationalists were an organized force in only one nation, and the betrayal of social-democracy came to the great mass of the workers as a shock that was unexpected and not prepared for. Today, organized groups of revolutionary internationalists exist in nearly every nation, and are actively forging the parties of the Fourth International; today the Second and Third Internationals have announced their betrayal beforehand, and we will thus not be trapped by surprise; and today we have the rich experience and lessons of the past generation to draw from.

The struggle against imperialist war is the struggle for socialism, is the struggle for the Fourth International, for the world revolution.

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READ THE NEW MILITANT

THREE EDITIONS -- THREE VERSIONS

BIOGRAPHY A LA STALIN

First Edition . . .

"L. D. Trotsky (N. Trotsky): born in 1879, active in the Workers' Circles in the city of Nikolayev; in 1898 exiled to Siberia, soon after escaped abroad and participated in the Iskra. Delegate from the Siberian League at the Second Congress of the Party. After the split in the Party, adhered to the Mensheviks. Even prior to the revolution, in 1905, he advanced his own and today particularly noteworthy theory of the permanent revolution, in which he asserted that the bourgeois revolution of 1905 must pass directly into the socialist revolution, being the first of the national revolutions; he defended his theory in the newspaper *Nachalo*, the central organ of the Menshevik faction published during November-December, 1905, in Petersburg. After the arrest of Khrustalev-Nosov, he was elected Chairman of the First Petersburg Soviet of Workers' Deputies. Arrested together with the Executive Committee on December 8, 1905, he was sent into life exile to Obozersk, but escaped en route and emigrated abroad. Trotsky chose Vienna to live in, and there he issued a popular labor newspaper, *Pravda*, to be circulated in Russia; he broke with the Mensheviks and attempted to form a group out of all factions; however, during the factional struggle abroad he made a bloc with the Mensheviks and the Vperedovists against the bloc between Lenin and Plekhanov who fought against the Liquidators. From the very beginning of the imperialist war he took a brilliant internationalist position, participated in the publication of *Nashe Slovo*, and adhered to Zimmerwald. Deported from France he went to the United States. On his return from there after the February revolution, he was arrested by the English and set free only on the demand of the Provisional Government, which was forced to intervene under the pressure of the Petersburg Soviet. In Petersburg he entered the organization of the 'Mejrayontsi', together with whom he joined the Bolshevik Party at the Sixth Party Congress. In July 1917, in Petersburg, after the July days, he was arrested by the Government of Kerensky and indicted for 'leading the insurrection', but was shortly freed under the pressure of the Petersburg proletariat. After the Petersburg Soviet went over to the Bolsheviks, he was elected Chairman, and in this capacity he organized and led the insurrection of October 25. Standing member of the C.E.C. of the C.P.S.U. since 1917; member of the Council of People's Commissars, first holding the post of People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs, then People's Commissar of War." (Our emphasis)

The above brief biography of Trotsky appeared in a note to the first edition of Lenin's *Collected Works*, Volume XIV, part 2, page 481. Lenin was then still alive.

Second Edition . . .

After Lenin died, a second edition of his *Collected Works* was issued by the Lenin Institute. We give below the "biographical note" of the Stalinist historians as it was dashed up after Trotsky's expulsion, in Volume XXI, page 571:

"L. D. Trotsky, (born 1879): worked in the city of Nikolayev, participated in the South Russian Workers' League. In 1898 was arrested and exiled to the Irkutsk province, from where he escaped abroad in 1902. In 1903 participated in the Second Party Congress, and after the split in the Party, while remaining with the Mensheviks, he participated closely in the Iskra. During the first revolution in 1905 he worked in Petersburg. Adherent of Parvus's theory of the permanent revolution. When the Petersburg Soviet of Workers' Deputies was organized, he entered into its Executive Committee and later became Chairman. After the arrest of the Petersburg Soviet, he was exiled to Siberia but en route to exile fled from Berezov and participated in the London Congress. Living in Vienna, he formed his own group, the ideological expression of which was a paper he published, *Pravda*. In 1912, participated in the so-called 'August Bloc', created for the struggle against the Bolsheviks. During the imperialist war he was a member of the editorial board of the internationalist organ, *Nashe Slovo*, published in Paris. He took part in Zimmerwald, holding a 'centrist' position, and not adhering to the Zimmerwald left. In 1916, on the charge of carrying on internationalist propaganda, he was deported from France to Spain, and from there, after his arrest, he was again deported to America. In 1917, upon his arrival at Petrograd, he joined the internationalist organization of 'Mejrayontsi', and together with them entered into the Bolshevik Party at the Sixth Congress of the C.P.S.U. and was elected to the C.E.C. After the Bolsheviks had conquered the Petrograd Soviet in September, 1917, Trotsky became its Chairman. After October, he became People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs. During the controversy over the Brest-Litovsk Peace, he was a staunch opponent of the latter, favoring the tactic 'No Peace, No War'. After the Brest Peace, he became People's Commissar of War and Chairman of the Revolutionary War Council of the Republic, up to 1924. During the discussion in 1920-21, he headed one of the factions formed at that time, defending the necessity of 'Stafifying' the trade unions. In 1923 he went over to the Opposition; from 1926 the leader of the 'United' Opposition. In 1927, expelled from the party." (Our emphasis.)

The above quoted and "improved" biography was to be found even in the "Third Edition" of Lenin's *Collected Works* up to 1931, and thereafter, until another "Third Edition" was issued by the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute in 1935.

Third Edition . . .

In this latest Stalinist falsification of history we find the following "biography" in the same volume XXI, on the very same page 571:

"L. D. Trotsky (Bronstein) born 1879—social democrat who headed a 'Centrist' tendency (Trotskyism) in the ranks of the Russian Social Democracy, and who subsequently slid down to the role of the 'advanced troupe of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie'. Participated in the Second Party Congress, after the split became a rabid Menshevik. Chairman of the Petersburg Soviet of Workers' Deputies in 1905. Adherent of the semi-Menshevik Parvus's theory of the permanent revolution. In 1912, organized the so-called 'August Bloc' for the struggle against the Bolsheviks. During the war rejected slogan of civil war, defeatism, and the necessity of breaking organizationally with the social chauvinists. His slogan 'No Victories, No Defeats' was a paraphrase of the slogan 'defense of the Fatherland.' In 1917, upon his arrival at Petrograd he joined the 'Mejrayontsi', and together with the latter entered the Bolshevik party at the Sixth Congress of the C.P.S.U. and was elected to the C.E.C. After October—People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs. On the question of the Brest Peace, first expressed himself in favor of the tactic 'No Peace, No Wars', and after the offensive was resumed, for a revolutionary war. After the Brest Peace—People's Commissar of War, and Chairman of the Revolutionary War Committee of the Republic (up to 1924). In 1920-1921, defended the necessity of 'stafifying' the trade unions, and organized a faction on this platform. In 1923-1924 headed the opposition; from 1926, leader of the 'Oppositionist Bloc' (Trotsky-Kamenev-Zinoviev). Waged a sharp factional struggle against the C.P.S.U. and the Communist International. In November 1927, together with his adherents, he attempted to stage anti-Soviet demonstrations in Moscow and Leningrad. Defended the views of the impossibility of building socialism in the U. S. S. R., of the inevitability of the degeneration of the Bolshevik party and the Soviet power, and the probable return to capitalism. At the Fifteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U., expelled from the party. In 1929, expelled abroad for underground anti-Soviet activity. Abroad, side by side with the White Guards he became one of the polarizing centers of the counter-revolutionary forces inside and outside of the U. S. S. R." (Our emphasis.)

In the Museum of the Revolution* in Moscow in a dark corner there is hung and, perhaps, is still hanging, a modest tablet. It bore the following inscription:

"In the nature of things, it is impossible to argue with Trotsky, for he has no views of any sort. 'It is necessary and obligatory to argue with confirmed liquidators and Otzovists but there is no arguing with a man who plays the role of a screen for the mistakes of both the former and the latter—such a man must be exposed as a diplomat of the worst type.'"

If one were to take Stalin at his own words, a tablet should be hung in his memory with the inscription:

"He never argued, he only falsified."

*In this museum there is supposedly preserved the record of each and every participant and event in the Russian Revolution (even prior to 1905). The above mentioned tablet is the only record of Trotsky's participation in the revolutionary struggles of the Russian proletariat. It was copied by a tourist.

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The Spanish Elections And the People's Front

By MAX SHACHTMAN

A singular unanimity marks the reception accorded the election victory of the People's Front by labor papers which are otherwise antagonistic to each other's views. The Jewish Daily Forward and the equally octogenarian New Leader vie with the editors of the Daily Worker in exulting the victory with an intoxicated enthusiasm which they do not allow a single critical comment to mar.

That the outcome of the elections reveals a distinctly gratifying advance by the Spanish working class is, of course, beyond debate. One must search far and wide in the modern history of the working class of the world to find a parallel to the amazing recuperative powers of the Spanish proletariat. What neither the social democratic nor the Stalinist press have obliged us with, however, is an explanation for the contrast between the resurgence of the formerly defeated Spanish working class and the continued paralysis of, let us say, the also defeated German working class. Unless one is to ascribe the causes of the startling contrast to some mysterious national superiority of Spanish proletarian physiology or intellect over the German, the difference must be sought for in another domain. Neither social democrats nor Stalinists are particularly anxious to probe for an intelligible answer to the question for the simple reason that it would fly in the face of their respective political philosophies.

The Great Value of Struggle

Both your regular social democrat and your official Stalinist placed the seal of approbation on the failure of the German labor parties—S.P. and C.P.—to lead the proletariat in direct struggle against the Fascist bandits before they came to power in 1933. At the same time, they "deplored" the armed struggle of the Spanish workers against the advancing reaction in October 1934 and more than hinted that it had all the intolerable aspects of a futile putsch. How many times did they both say—often in so many words: "It would have availed the German proletariat nothing to struggle against insuperable odds; and the Spanish defeat in 1934 showed how fruitless was such needless bloodshed as would have been involved by a similar attempt in Germany."

Yet, the lesson of the Spanish labor revival in not only unambiguous, but it speaks out conclusively against these present-day plagiarists of Plekhanov whose solitary contribution to the summary of the 1906 revolution in Russia was the lament that "they should not have taken up arms." The difference between Germany and Spain lies essentially in this: The German working class was defeated without a struggle. The Fascist thugs found that they could come to power without encountering any resistance from the proletariat. The ruling class was therefore able to say to itself: "If I could bring this gang of semi-armed mercenaries to power for the purpose of crushing every vestige of labor organization, without labor even attempting to fight them off, how much less have I to fear from the workers now that the Fascist muckelakes are equipped with the complete arsenal of state power? I can therefore be more arrogant and brutal; I can therefore have greater self-confidence. The working class could only say to itself, if I (read: my parties, my leaders) was not able to lift a finger against the Fascist trash when it was armed with little more than knives, how shall I be able to fight them now that they are armed with the whole repressive machinery of the state? And if my leaders stood petrified in their tracks when they still had the vast "legal" possibilities of fighting the Fascists, before we were dispersed and driven underground or under the yoke of Hitler, what reason have I to believe that they will be anything but less effective now, when Hitler has two machine-guns for every dagger he had yesterday?"

In other words, just because they were not led into struggle in Germany, the workers have less confidence in themselves and, contrariwise, the bourgeoisie has far greater self-assurance, firmness, solidity.

Reasons for Resurgence

In Spain, however, just because the workers fought, their mood and the corresponding mood of the bourgeoisie, are different. The workers think: Yes, we were defeated in one battle, but we showed the Fascists that we can and will fight, even under adverse circumstances. We have proved to ourselves that if only we organize ourselves better in this, that and the other respect, we possess an invincible power. The bourgeoisie thinks: We are not playing with a toothless old bound here, whom we can kick around contemptuously. This working class is a lion which showed his teeth and claws and inflicted some serious wounds upon us. And even if his leap was not well prepared, we did not terminate the fight by skinning his hide. In other words, in Spain the bourgeoisie emerged from the October with respect for the labor

People's Front Acts as Brake on Upward Movement of Masses

ing class and an idea that a measure of prudence was needed; the workers emerged from the battle with a high spirit of self-assurance and confidence in their ability to retrieve their losses in the very next battle.

Essentially, this is the explanation for the remarkable showing made by the Spanish workers in their speedy comeback. At the same time it is a pitiless indictment of the cowardly capitulation of the Second and Third Internationals in Germany in 1933, of their effrontery in attributing to the working class their own despicable cowardice. ("We would have liked to fight, but the masses were not ready.")

If the reader draws from the above conclusion that the Spanish masses did and do have the kind of leadership that offers an additional assurance of the final victory, he will have misread the situation badly. After having remained firmly asleep at the switch and deprecating the revolution of 1931 as a mere nothing, the Stalinists ended up, in October 1934, by grudgingly entering the united front of the working class organizations against which they had inveighed up to the last minute. As for the socialist leadership, it kept the Spanish working class in leash for as long as it could, trying it as firmly as possible to the "democratic" capitalist republic, demoralizing it month in and month out by the practice of coalitions with the bourgeoisie, and "organizing" the October insurrection for the grand purpose of "forcing" the capitalists to restore the socialists to their inglorious position of captives in the government of the "republic of the working classes."

People's Front—A Lightning Rod

Then, as if this record were not sufficiently ignoble, they—both socialists and Stalinists—capped it by performing the function of lightning rods, grounding into the harmless soil of "democratic" capitalism the increasingly menacing flashes of working class resurgence which has been rising for months like a black cloud bank that might inundate the rule of the bourgeoisie in Spain for all time. This not very laudable function was performed through the mechanism of the Spanish People's Front. To pass uncritically over the pompous phraseology of the People's Front in Spain would be just as criminal as it was to beat the drums for these other "victories" which were gained in Germany by the "Iron Front" in its time—and would lead to just as complete a calamity for the Spanish working class and any other that would emulate it, as it did for the German proletariat a couple of years ago.

The first question that arises in connection with the Spanish People's Front is: Is it correct for the workers to seek and arrive at an agreement with a bourgeois democratic party in the struggle against bourgeois reaction, even an agreement on the parliamentary field? Absolutely correct! But only under certain conditions and in certain ways. The principal condition, especially in elections, is that the party of the proletariat which makes the agreement with the bourgeois democrats, retains, absolutely, its political and organizational independence. It may not merge itself into the bourgeois party. It may not write a "common program" with the bourgeois party. In this or that district, the proletariat party, may vote for the candidate of the bourgeois party, in exchange for similar votes for itself in other districts. But from its own platform—and it must have one of its own—it must always point out why it has a program of its own, why it speaks from its own platform, why it has arrived at a temporary agreement with a bourgeois party, why the agreement is only temporary and cannot be permanent, and why the proletariat class and its party can never write a common program with the bourgeois class and its party or parties. Otherwise the workers' party loses its reason for independent existence; it is wiped out by the irreconcilable struggle of the classes.

What was inexcusably criminal on the part of the Socialist party, the Communist party and the Maurin-Nin party of "Marxian Unification" was not only that they wrote a "common program" with the discredited bourgeois parties—which was bad enough—and that thereby, politically speaking, they appeared before the masses in one party with the bourgeoisie, but that this "common program" was dictated and written by the bourgeoisie, and that in every other respect the joint party—under the pseudonym of the "People's Front"—was dominated by the bourgeoisie. In other words, if the class criterion which Lenin loved so much to apply—"Who? Whom?"—is employed in this case the result is clearly this:

Bourgeoisie Discredited

The "republican" bourgeoisie was so badly discredited in the eyes of the masses that it required a protective covering. In the "united

front", it was not "used" by the workers' parties—but the workers' parties used by it. It was not taken in tow by the socialists and communists—it dragged the latter in its wake. The payment which it made (the amnesty of the thirty thousand which leaves unaffected all those labor fighters who were imprisoned prior to the insurrection) was extorted from it by the overwhelming pressure of the masses who were storming the penitentiaries themselves. The payment which the workers made (restoration of bourgeois democratic power, new credit to the discredited "republican" parties of Azana and Martinez Barrios, etc.) were voluntarily, unnecessarily and unwarrantably given to the bourgeoisie as a gift by the labor leaders.

It is not so much the workers who needed the support of the bourgeois politicians, as the bourgeois politicians who urgently required the support and protection of the workers. They received the latter in the form of the complete subordination of the labor parties to the bourgeois parties in the "People's Front."

Program of People's Front

Take the question of the program, for example. Even assuming for the moment the admissibility of writing a common program with a bourgeois party—which we reject in principle—it is worth while examining the "program" that was finally adopted. In the January 16, 1936 issue of the Comintern publication, Rundschau, of Basle, we read that "in the minimum program of the Communist party for this electoral bloc stand the following demands: Amnesty for all the 30,000 political prisoners and for the more than 100 revolutionary fighters who are condemned to death; abolition of the reactionary laws, reestablishment of the rights of democratic liberties; national constitution for Catalonia; confiscation of the landed property of the aristocracy, the monarchists and all enemies of the people; dissolution of the Fascist and monarchist organizations, purging the army of Fascists; rehiring of all the workers discharged from factories after October 1934."

Thus the minimum program of the C.P. for the People's Front on January 16, 1936. Miserable enough, it will be said, and rightly so. But even this, which the Stalinists announced with such apparent intransigence as their rock-bottom, below which they would not move, is not to be found in the program of the bloc after it was formed—that is, with the exception of the proposal of amnesty for political prisoners and the promise to rehire workers discharged after October 1934. But in place of the "minimum" demands which the bourgeois allies (read: bosses) refused to include, the latter inserted a number of planks underneath which the three labor parties shamelessly signed their names. The People's Front program which makes the French People's Front platform and even President Roosevelt's program look like substantial Left wing documents, is summed up by the very same Rundschau of a week later (January 23, 1936), as follows: "Support of small industry and small commerce. . . In the field of financial reform the most important is the proposal to work for the 'Bank of Spain' so revising its activity that it may fulfill in reality its task, the regulation of credit. Unfortunately, the Republicans could not decide (!) to accept the more far-reaching proposal which demanded the nationalization of all banks. In the field of improving the lot of the workers it is promised: . . . 2. The reorganization of the labor courts and the establishment of their independence." (Not only are the class collaborationist "labor courts" to be "reorganized," but their independence—-from whom and what?—is to be established!) We forbear from quoting further. The program is simply inferior to the average petty bourgeois radical election platform. Compared with it, the average German social democratic party platform, even of the period of the "Iron Front" and "Comrade" Hindenburg, is a significant social document. In so far, therefore, as the program of the "People's Front" is concerned, the question of "Who? Whom?" is answered: The bourgeoisie wrote it; the proletariat accepted it. More accurately, the treacherous leadership forced it on the proletariat.

Relationship of Forces

On the distribution of candidates, the complete subordination of the proletarian wing of the Front to its bourgeois wing is also clearly evidenced. Bear in mind, first, that in the 1931 elections, following the revolution, the socialists were returned as the largest party in the Cortes. Most of the "Republicans" got in by the skin of their teeth. Since that time, the "Republican Left" parties have been considerably weakened and even more discredited among the masses. Since that time, also, the communist party has grown and the proletarian

forces in the country (also on a parliamentary scale) have been strengthened absolutely and relatively by the fact that women have the vote and that, this time, many anarchist and syndicalist workers decided to cast ballots. In face of these indisputable facts, the bourgeois wing of the Front was given the decisive predominance in the division of candidacies. With Catalonia having a list of its own, the division stood as follows: the Republican Left parties in the bloc were granted 170 candidates and the labor candidates only 143 (127 socialists, 14 communists and 2 syndicalists). Elected were more than 120 members of the bourgeois party and some 100 members of the labor parties.

To what relationship of forces in the country does such a division, which patently gives the bourgeoisie the upper hand, correspond? To absolutely none! It corresponds only to the contemptible attitude of groveling before their bourgeois allies—in whom they have more confidence than they have in the forces of the proletariat—which is shared equally by the socialist and Stalinist leadership. The Maurin-Nin party which signed the People's Front program and supported it in the election, is nevertheless obliged to acknowledge in the post-election number of its periodical, La Batalla (Feb. 21, 1936): "Catalonia apart, it is certain that, in the rest of the country the republican movement, as a force, is a veritable fiction, as it proved to be in the elections of 1933." This veritable fiction was given the leadership, the majority and the programmatic control of the People's Front by Caballero, Uribe, Maurin and Nin.

Treacherous Stalinism

And even though the masses, some deliberately, some instinctively are fighting to break away from the leading strings of Azana and Co., of the astute demagogues of the bourgeois parties—even though the masses are groping, in elementary ways, towards class independence, and showing that by themselves they are infinitely more powerful and effective than they are when held under the bourgeois yoke, the labor leaders seek to fasten it only the more firmly around their throats. Typical and characteristic is the Madrid dispatch to the Daily Worker of Feb. 25, 1936, that is, after the elections and the stormy movements of the masses: "Without consulting the Azana forces (Oh Heinous crime!) many Left local governments are active in Asturias province and other parts. A stupidly premature (not only premature, but stupid to boot!) attempt is being made to divide Azana from the Left allies, the socialists and the communists." A more truly classic picture of social democratic treachery of the Scheidemann-Wels type could hardly be furnished than what is reflected in the two sentences quoted!

Is it surprising therefore that in addition to the hysterical praises sung to the Spanish People's Front" by the Stalinists, the Right wing of the social democracy should also give it the accolade of approval? Everything the Stalinists stand for is contained in the comment on the "victory" contained in the February 25, 1936 issue of the Jewish Daily Forward, written by its foreign editor, D. Shub, a biological Menshevik: "The present victory over the reaction was made possible thanks to the fact that all the progressive parties and groups united in a democratic People's Front which put forward a joint list of candidates in most of the districts of the country. Into the People's Front entered the socialists, the syndicalists, the radical bourgeois republicans and also the communists, who gave up their own communist program in favor of the moderate (Hear! Hear!) democratic program of the People's Front. . . What the Spanish socialists did not succeed in attaining by means of a general strike and a bloody armed uprising sixteen months ago, which cost hundreds of human lives has now been attained in a peaceful way by means of the usual methods of democracy."

Shub rolls off these formulae with ease, because he has been repeating them for years. He hailed the victory of the social democrats in electing Hindenburg to the German presidency in exactly the same terms and spirit. In essence, it was just the same kind of victory, too. That he can now include the Stalinists in his comments that he now agrees line by line with their evaluations, is no sign at all that he has moved closer to Marxism. It only means that the Stalinists have moved all the way to Shub. On these grounds, he has every right to felicitate himself. The Spanish workers have not.

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"Speed Up or the Scabs Will Take Your Jobs--" Straw Boss? No, West Coast C.P.

O oamoured have the smaller American editions of Stalin become, that Stakhanovism has been introduced, or rather an attempt at introduction to the longshoremen, in San Francisco, has been made.

The C.P. Waterfront Worker of February 3, 1936 (p. 8) contains the following choice morsel intended, no doubt, to warm the cockles of the hearts of all stovedores—"Laxness must be eliminated, working-class discipline must be enforced."

"Today, we face a new problem—a problem if not met squarely and honestly will wreck the organization we sacrificed so much for and fought so hard to build. That problem is the amount of work performed per gang per day. In the Blue Book days, 30 or 40 tons per gang per hour was considered an average hours work. Today, 30 or 40 tons is considered a good 4 hours work. Everyone will admit 40 tons is too damned much cargo to move in one hour, but at the same time 40 tons for 4 hours is not a helluva lot. After all, we still live in a capitalist society, the shipowners still own the ships and

he must take profit; if he cannot, he will refuse to operate. Or if operating costs become too high, when it would prove cheaper for him to use scabs and look out the Union men, that is exactly what he will do." (My emphasis, B. M.)

Let the shipowners tremble at the roar of this militant blast from the Stalinists—"Toe the mark, boys, or we'll anger the bosses." "After all, we still live in a capitalistic society!"—"the speed-up isn't as bad as it might be"—etc.

We have no doubt the longshoremen will give these capitalist lackeys the answer they so richly deserve. These workers who saw their striking comrades shot by the bosses' thugs, will turn to these Stakhanovite henchmen of Hearst, Plisat and Giannini and say, "You can fawn upon the ship-owners—but for us union conditions were won by strike action, not by class-collaboration with finks and bosses. We intend to stand our ground, and fight for union conditions won at the cost of working-class lives. Working class discipline—hell! You mean the speed-up!"

Sharecroppers Take Vote on General Strike

By H. L. MITCHELL

Executive Sec'y, Southern Tenant Farmers Union

MEMPHIS, Tenn.—Members of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union in an effort to bring some measure of justice to the workers on the cotton plantations of North-eastern Arkansas are now taking a vote on a proposal to call every one out on strike throughout the entire area.

New evictions of union members are reported daily. Most of them are made without any sort of settlement of wages due the workers. Government payments or subsidies are also refused. Planters offer Yellow Dog contracts in an attempt to force sharecroppers and tenants, as well as day laborers, to accept worse conditions than ever before—with the provision that each worker accepting shall give up union membership.

Efforts by interested people such as Brooks Hays, Resettlement Administrator of Washington, and others of Arkansas to act as mediators in the intolerable situation now existing have been repulsed by plantation owners. They refuse to deal with the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, and threaten widespread violence. Reports from reliable sources, union and non-union, indicate that bands of outlaws are being formed to wipe out the Union. Continued threats to stage another "Elaine Massacre" (massacre of Negroes, Elaine, Arkansas, 1924), are being made by the planters. This time they plan murder of whites as well as black Union men.

The Union has offered to meet a committee of responsible plantation owners and attempt to get a settlement of the controversy which cannot go on forever. We are ready at any time to negotiate a fair and just contract. Our demands are as follows: Just and adequate settlement at end of season, legal rates of interest on advances made sharecroppers and tenants, wages of \$1.00 per 10 hour day with 15 cents per hour overtime for all work done by day laborers, and a written guarantee binding owners not to interfere with Union organization or to discriminate against Union members.

Mass Evictions Continue

The mass eviction of Union families continues from many plantations with no let up in sight. Men, women and children are set adrift on the highways. When they find a place of refuge in tents (supplied by the Union), churches, owned by themselves, in homes of other Union members they are hounded by threats and warnings, many of them saying, "leave the state or be lynched." Dynamite was recently placed in the tent colony near Parkin. A few days later a mob led by the County Sheriff served notice on the homeless people gathered there to leave within 48 hours. The governor of the State of Arkansas, J. Marion Fairrell, made a "so called" investigation and with a bucket of white wash exonerated his friends the planters.

Relief from all governmental sources is effectively blocked. State relief administrators at Little Rock, Arkansas, of the various agencies set up to provide for people, flatly refuse to carry out orders from Washington. The control of the plantation interests extends to the very doors of the capitol. Planters and Peace Officers have sent guard threats that they are prepared to prevent the Union relief committee from distributing food and clothing contributed by sympathizers and supporters of the sharecroppers cause.

Help is needed. Postest those conditions to the President of the United States. Ask your senators and congressmen to demand a congressional investigation. All contributions should be sent to Box 5215, Memphis, Tenn.

READ THE NEW MILITANT

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St. Louis Retail Clerks Ask Aid in Strike

(Continued from Page 1)

ally and in spreading the boycott of Kroger stores since very early in the strike have been the Progressive Miners of America and the United Mine Workers of America (District 12). Both of these organizations have placed Kroger on their "we don't patronize" lists and all have posted notices to this effect. In some cases locals of these unions have placed a fine of \$25.00 on any member of their organization caught dealing with Kroger. Many other unions here are helping financially and by having their members refuse to buy Kroger goods.

Issue Strike Bulletin

To answer the lies and slanders that the Kroger company is putting out over the radio, in the newspapers and through their other paid mouthpieces, the union has gotten out a strike bulletin in which they tell their side of the story. In the February 28th issue of this strike bulletin we read that after almost four months of hunger, hardships, and privation the union is standing pat on its original demands, and furthermore that their ranks are holding firm and not a man has deserted.

The union with only 146 men is fighting a gigantic chain grocery store which has thousands of stores all over the country. In order to make this fight effective they must hit Kroger in the heart, i.e., the pocketbook. This can be done only by acquailing the people and particularly the union men and women who normally trade with this labor hating corporation that Kroger is unfair to organized labor so that they can buy their groceries elsewhere. Any individual or organization desiring to help the progress of this strike can do so by placing a picket in front of the Kroger store in their community, by having their organization put Kroger on the "we don't patronize list," or by sending a donation to Oscar T. Wiles, Secretary, Warehouse Workers Union, No. 667, 4046 Polson Avenue, St. Louis, Missouri. (Note: If you can picket a Kroger store in your community write to this organization and picket signs will be sent by return mail.)

Arrest 14 in NY WPA Protest

Fourteen workers, members of the Workers Alliance of America, were arrested at the Port Authority Building, Thursday, March 5th, while demanding the Asst. W.P.A. Administrator, Mr. Ring, see them regarding their reinstatement on W.P.A. jobs from which they were arbitrarily dismissed. For the second time Ring broke his engagement with the workers. In the meantime, these workers, who have families to feed, were given the famous "runaround" by the city authorities and the W.P.A. officials. While shouting such demands as: "See our Committee—Give us Jobs—And Feed our Families," guards ordered the workers to leave the building. The order was ignored and the shouting continued. The group was placed under arrest.

Following this, a messenger from Ring arrived, promising an appointment with his assistant. This was rejected and an appointment was wrong out of Ring.

As the workers proceeded peacefully to leave the building the guards attacked them brutally. Office workers on the floor, numbering about three thousand, who had witnessed the whole affair and had expressed themselves in sympathy with the workers demands, jumped in at this moment to protect them from the brutal assault of the guards. About five thousand people employed in the Port of Authority Building gathered outside to see the workers taken away by the police.

Among these arrested were Henry Ronke, M. Felschmann, Harry Winthrop, Harry Shepard, M. Liebowitz and others.

This is the "Security" promised to the workers by Roosevelt and carried out by his office boy Victor Ridder. Workers are now being laid off by the thousands,

Demands Pres. Act on Cal. WPA Layoffs

BERKELEY, Calif., Feb. 27—Faced with mass dismissals on WPA projects delegations of the Professional Workers Union sent representatives to the city managers of Berkeley, Oakland and the Board of Supervisors of Alameda County and forced the officials to allow the use of the long distance phone to one of its representatives, George Grayden, who depicted the local situation and presented the union demands to Pres. Roosevelt.

The union is seeking affiliation to the Gov't Employees organization of the A.F. of L. and has the support of the Central Labor Council of Alameda County in this request. It is also planning a mass meeting on the WPA situation in the latter part of March.

The text of Grayden's speech follows:

Mr. President: I am a spokesman for a committee of the Union of Professional Workers of the East Bay, speaking from the Alameda County Court House, California.

The thousands of us now working on WPA projects are concerned about the large number of men and women who are facing discharge within a few weeks.

Those of us working on the National Guide, a Federal Project are reaching a state of panic as March tenth approaches when 66 per cent of the Personnel are to be discharged.

New projects are not being set up rapidly enough to take care of these now working on WPA projects and most serious of all is the situation of the rapidly increasing unemployed who are forced to ask for relief and by your ruling denied opportunity of assignment to WPA projects.

We submit that the relief allowance in California is inadequate to maintain a family above a slow starvation level, with the payment of rent, service bills and medical care beyond the aim done allowed.

We ask that you assure us of continuous employment at wages sufficient to maintain our families on a basis of health and decency.

We submit that as American citizens, in this marvellously rich country, that we are entitled to an abundance that we are anxious and willing to produce.

We demand that the Federal government provide work for all the unemployed and at once.

That the meagre allowance given the unemployed in California be eliminated in favor of work at decent wages.

Mr. President, we are determined to end the misery we see about us. This suffering that is sending our friends and neighbors to the insane hospitals, to the taking of their own lives, condemning our children to idleness and forcing many to lives of crime.

We demand security of employment. The withdrawal of your order discharging the thousand workers from WPA in California, each month, and we demand the immediate setting up of new projects to care for all these to be released March 10 or thereabouts and the immediate setting up of a program that will provide employment for all the unemployed.

F. D. Sharpens Relief-cut Axe

(Continued from Page 1)

ferno of famine. Beyond the immediate perspective of struggle, there lies also the necessity of revolt. Every worker in this country has felt acutely the distinct contradiction between modern property relations and human relations. As workers, we do not have the time to build Farmer-Labor parties in order to elect reformist dog-catchers and congressmen. The choice during the next few years is not between reform and reaction. The choice lies between revolution and starvation!

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Workers Press for Action in Spain

Shuffle New War Cards at London

Revolutionary Working Class Can Upset Apple-cart of Capitalist Politicians and Warmakers

Statesmen and diplomats of the Powers met at London this week not to decide the issue of war or peace in Europe, but to decide, if they could, how and by whom and against whom the inevitable war shall be waged.

Hitler's reoccupation of the Rhineland and his open offer of a bloc of western powers against the Soviet Union has once more precipitated the bubbling and uneasy solution of European alignments and forced the search for a new formula and a new compound. Irritants abound and the hurried chemists at London feared momentarily to see their whole laboratory go up in the smoke and thunder of a shattering explosion carrying issues, conflicts and men beyond their control.

Nazi Army on the March
For while diplomats parleyed at London, Germany was marching more thousands into the Rhineland. The French War office claimed that 90,000 German soldiers now stood poised at the French frontier. Estimates which included the Storm Troops, labor corps, and police carried the total to more than 200,000.

Along the French border into the chain of mighty forts that France has built since the last war, more than 150,000 troops were moved and the border towns placed on a war footing. From Czechoslovakia, Belgium, Rumania, Bulgaria, Albania and Italy came reports of mobilizations, preparations and the wheels of the whole war machine of Europe started to turn more rapidly.

At London the ironic comedy of imperialist horse trading was being played on with a number of important changes in the dramatic personnel.

Only a few months ago French imperialism was the buffer between Britain and Italy over the issue of Ethiopia. Today it is Britain who stands with arm upraised to protect the Third Reich from the blows of an angry France. Italy is carefully straddling while she waits for one side or the other to pull her chestnut, an Ethiopian settlement, from the fire. While three months ago it was Italy who thundered threats to quit the League, today it is France who says she will bolt if in this crisis the League fails to serve her purposes.

By marching into the Rhineland ten days ago Hitler set the long and tangled European fuse spluttering. It splutters still and no man can say whether today or tomorrow it will end in the weak pop of a firecracker or blow up the works. Meanwhile what is going on today is the scramble for safe positions.

Main Positions in Rhine Conflict
At present it is possible to summarize the main positions somewhat as follows:

France would like to crack down on Hitler if it were possible to do so without throwing either Britain or Italy or both to Germany's side. This being unlikely, France will retreat to its second line of defense, which demands of Britain a hard and fast military alliance with automatic guarantees of British military aid the moment Germany attacks. At the same time France will move to wean Italy away from the dangerous threat of an Italo-German rapprochement and possible alliance by forcing a settlement of the East African issue on Mussolini's terms. Lastly, France will announce that the "collective security" racket has petered out and continue to build its armaments and alliances to the maximum extent possible.

Britain fundamentally would like to come to terms with Hitler and at the same time retain the indispensable friendship of France by weaning the latter away from Moscow and giving Hitler a free hand in the East. In other words, while French imperialism considers a rearméd Reich on its borders as its immediate enemy, Britain sees more logic in tying the Third Reich into a series of pacts which will consummate Hitler's offer to preserve the Western European status quo and open the valve to let off steam at the expense of the Soviet Union. An inter-imperialist war will hasten the disintegration of the British Empire. Nowhere is that better realized than at No. 10 Downing Street. (Whatever the zig-zags or middle roads it takes, British imperialism will orientate itself

Service Strike Terminates in Compromise

N. Y. Realty Board Refuses Reinstatement of Many Strikers

The Building Service strike is over. Under a compromise settlement on the question of firing all strikebreakers and rehiring all strikers, the union leadership agreed to call off the strike and to leave all questions of wages, etc. to arbitration. While some dissatisfaction exists in the union with the way negotiations were carried on, and the compromise reached, yesterday's union membership meeting indicated that the settlement, hailed as a victory by the leaders, would be accepted.

Different interpretations of the agreement have been given by union leaders and spokesmen for the Realty Board. The former, basing themselves on one clause, claim that it meant the rehiring of all strikers. On the other hand, the bosses claim that a qualifying clause left the door wide open to any landlord to refuse to hire union men who had been guilty of "violence" during the strike, and to retain strike-breakers hired in "good faith."

The final interpretation of this section will be determined by the militancy and solidarity shown by the returning strikers and the leadership given them. Already, in some cases, building crews have met and decided that all or none go back to work.

The Settlement
The terms of the settlement are in part as follows:

The terms of the agreement entered into between the parties on Nov. 21, 1934, and of the Curran award shall continue in effect, except that there shall be an immediate arbitration of the minimum standards of wages, such standards to become effective from the date of the award.

At the end of one year, from this date, there shall be upon application of either party the further arbitration of minimum standards of wages and hours, the award to be effective for the second year hereof. There shall be a further arbitration of minimum standards of wages and hours at the end of the second year upon the application of either party, the award to be effective for the third year hereof.

This agreement is to continue in effect for a period of three years.

Signatory members who ratify this agreement are to immediately proceed to restore their employees to their former positions. If individual disputes arise in connection with the return of the employees to work, such cases shall be submitted at once to Mr. Hugh S. Robertson as impartial arbitrator, who shall consider all circumstances and whose ruling shall be final.

The representatives of the union hereby agree to send their members back to work.

The immediate arbitration of the minimum standard of wages herein provided for is to be conducted by the Hon. Ferdinand Silcox.

Mr. Hugh S. Robertson, who is to have final say on whether men are to return or not, is an architect. The head of the arbitration board, Ferdinand Silcox, is an assessor.

Goodyear Picket Line Retains Firm Control; Prepared to Counter Bosses' Vigilante Terror

Union Plans to Mobilize All Ex-Soldiers

AKRON, Ohio.—In its fifth week the furious struggle, conducted by the Goodyear rubber workers for the right to have a union of their own choice, enters a crucial stage. On Saturday, March 14, the union rejected the so-called settlement proposal advanced by the company, as promptly as it had previously rejected the McGrady conciliation proposal. The company thereupon again served notice that it intended to reopen the plants, and that it would refuse employment to all strikers. The next morning at 4 A.M. more than 6,000 men were on the picket line.

Vigilante forces which have been organizing under cover for some time have now come out in the open under the high sounding name of a citizens "law and order league." The former Mayor in a prepared statement has announced his acceptance of an invitation to lead strike-breakers into the plants through action of these vigilantes. Ominously there appear simultaneous reports that a quantity of guns and ammunition has disappeared from the national guard armory.

The company's offer included: Return of all employees without discrimination; meeting with all groups (this would ostensibly include the company union); notice to be given of wage changes; negotiation on working hours; advance notice of layoffs.

While the union did not place itself in the position of rejecting all of the points in this offer it nevertheless declared for non-acceptance in view of its most pressing demands being ignored. These demands were reiterated at the Saturday meeting and they include: Restoration of all wage reductions since Jan. 1; a uniform thirty-six hour week; straight seniority rights; notice of layoffs. However, it is now clear that the company never meant to negotiate in the first place. It should be remembered that last spring the company agreed to meet representatives of the workers and then promptly made a farce out of it.

(Continued from Page 4)

WPA - 1936 Football

(Special to the New Militant)

By JAMES EVANS
WASHINGTON, D.C.—There is a degree of prosperity—in political speeches. Certainly, the President himself is a picture of prosperity. Just take a look, folks, at that great big smile which will increase in breadth from now until the November election. Of course, the Democratic jackass has gone a bit lame under Franklin's jockeying; but depend on Old Doc Farley to get the beast in prime shape for the coming sweepstakes.

The other side of the picture is considerably darker. In an article, last week, I commented upon the decision of Federal Administrator Harry L. Hopkins to fire 700,000 WPA workers, under the pretense that the majority would be re-employed by private industry. It is not necessary for us to go into an extensive analysis of this lie. Roosevelt's own Bureau of Labor Statistics reported an unemployment increase of 650,000 in private industry during January of this year. The National Industrial Conference Board went the Bureau one better by estimating the increase at 700,000. Finally, the conservative statisticians of the American Federation of Labor declared that 1,200,000 workers were dismissed in January, the largest turn-over in five months. Profits, incidentally, increased fourteen percent during 1935.

Roosevelt finds himself faced with a dilemma. Opposition to his new tax bill, an exceedingly mild measure, must be mollified by firing enough relief workers to balance any increase in taxes. At the same time, WPA must be used as a political tool.

Extracts from the Rabble-Rousing Radio Speech of Former Mayor of Akron

AKRON, Ohio, March 15.—The speech was devoted mainly to an attack on "labor agitators and Communist leaders who brought with them all the tricks of their trade necessary to create riots and civil commotion, lawlessness and disorder in our peaceful and law abiding community. I could not address them as fellow citizens, nor could I stretch a point and call them fellow Americans."

No one before, he said, has come to the radio "and told you the real truth about what is back of the whole strike problem here in Akron." The henchmen of these outside agitators "were busy arming the pickets with clubs, iron pipes and revolvers. . . . They came into our community with the sole intent to either make the Akron rubber industry 100 percent unionized or to wreck the industry! And wreck the city in the effort! . . . Patience has ceased to be a virtue."

He stated that Sparks, a private citizen, had a right to speak the same as any private citizen on this matter affecting the whole community. He also represented Goodyear men loyal workers who had asked him to speak. "The specter of sickness and hunger now makes it imperative that these men do go to work."

"For the past three weeks there has been no semblance of law and order nor any apparent desire on the part of those in authority to correct the situation. Homes have been bombed, windows smashed. Thereupon Sparks mentioned about twenty alleged instances of 'violence' ascribed to the strikers. 'Right at this moment out of town leaders and agitators are

Appeal Hearings on Sac'to C. S. Cases Expected Soon

Final steps toward obtaining a transcript of the record of the trial of the Sacramento criminal syndicalism prisoners are being taken this week by the defense, and the attorneys will begin work on the appeal briefs in a few days. It is expected that date for the appeal hearing will be set in the near future.

Repeated efforts by the defense to force the State to provide several copies of the transcript were blocked by the prosecution. Attorney Raymond W. Henderson, retained by the National Sacramento Appeal Committee on behalf of Norman Mini, tried to compel enforcement of all the prisoners' rights to copies of the transcript. He, as well as Leo Gallagher acting for the other prisoners, was denied relief by the higher courts of California.

In effect the court's attitude would deny the defendants their right to appeal. The only alternative has been for all the defendants to waive their right to separate copies of the transcript and to unite in applying for the single copy which the State is willing to provide.

Defense Difficulties Overcome
Some time ago Attorneys Henderson and Gallagher agreed to apply jointly for this transcript on behalf of Norman Mini and two prisoners represented by Gallagher. This did not break the log-jam, however, because five other prisoners, defended by the I.L.D., were technically representing themselves rather than retaining an attorney.

A short time ago the I.L.D. finally agreed to advise these self-defendants to give Gallagher a retainer as the only way to realizing an appeal. They have now done so.

The hearing of the State Board of Prison Terms, at which sentence will be set for Norman Mini and the other prisoners, has been postponed for a few weeks. In the meantime, the N.S.A.C. is pushing its drive to win support for the idea of minimum sentences for all the Sacramento prisoners. A number of trade unions are sending resolutions to the Board, and petitions and other resolutions.

As part of its campaign on behalf of all the Sacramento prisoners, the N.S.A.C. is supplying friends with post-card appeals to the State Board of Prison Terms. Last week the League for Industrial Democracy distributed 3,000 such cards to its members throughout the country.

The Hearst and other reactionary forces in California are bringing pressure to get the Board to set long sentences. The Board can set sentences anywhere from one to fourteen years. If it were to set one-year terms, the prisoners would be free in April. The Board's action, in the last analysis, will be a reflection brought upon it.

Gum Miners Reject Bad Settlement

By PAUL FIELDING

AKRON, O., Mar. 15.—"No, no, a thousand times no, 'I'd rather stay out than say yes!'"

sang five thousand Goodyear strikers in answer to the company's proposal to go back to work.

Five thousand fighting gum miners, on strike for the fourth week, shouted down a plan to go back to their jobs with nothing, and left for the plant to tighten the picket lines.

For two hours the men stood in line, braving rain and snow, waiting to get into the Akron Armory, the largest auditorium in the city. But it even it was too small. They formed a double line around the building, and when they finally got in the hall, they picked the seats and aisles, and stood on the window sills and balcony.

Across the street company men watched the crowd, and went back to their bosses with an unfavorable report.

The meeting climaxed a week of jockeying between the company and the union leaders. But the strikers were ready for anything. As each union official entered the hall—from the highest generalissimo to the lowest petty officer—the men shouted NO!

Secret Ballot Howled Down
It had been planned to cast secret ballots, but the workers flatly refused. Each time they spied the ballot boxes, a howl went up: "Take them out! Take them out!"—shouts rose to the rafters. The meeting could not go on until the boxes were taken from the building.

The company plan was put before the group. A rank and filer took the floor and substituted a resolution which rejected some points, amended others, and proposed new ones. All in all, it was little more than Goodyear had proposed a week before but had withdrawn.

"Those supporting the resolution raise their hands," John House, union president, said.

Every hand but one went up. "Those opposed?"

One lone hand rose

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Soil & Profits 'Conserved'

(Special to the New Militant)

By JAMES EVANS

MEMPHIS, Tenn., March 7.—Their immaculate clothing flecked with the blood of the share-croppers, the wealthy planters and landlords of this region gathered here to make a deal, under the guise of "soil conservation," with the Department of Agriculture. The participants spoke to each other in soft, insistent voices; the air being heavy with Southern courtesy and the smoke from two-bit cigars. It was a gentlemen's gathering, suh! The Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, representing 25,000 croppers and having headquarters in this city, was not invited to send any delegates. The gentlemen lost their temper only once: when the representative of the Department insisted upon paying them five, instead of six, cents per pound for unground cotton.

United States Senator-elect Allen Ellender, of Louisiana, did offer a resolution asking Secretary Wallace to give "due consideration" to the small farmers. "Nobody took Al's resolution very seriously, not even Al himself. Everybody knew that the Senator had to make some sort of gesture in order to keep Huey Long's political machine going. A round dozen of the smaller landlords voted for Al's proposal on a standing poll.

Dividing the Spoils
The conference recommended a division of benefit payments that naturally gives the tenant zero. Thirty per cent will go to the person responsible for the "conservation," and, needless to say, tenants who claim such responsibilities will be endangering their lives. Thirty-

Azana Lays Ground For Suppression

Leaders Still Playing Fatal Game with Republicans

By ALFREDO ROJAS

The first sessions of the Spanish Cortes are taking place in the midst of wide, but still sporadic, battles of the workers and peasants against landowners, police and troops. Partly concealed by the press censorship of the Azana government, and especially suppressed by the bourgeois news-services to other countries, the clashes have grown in extent throughout the month since the elections.

The continued initiative of the masses is especially evident in the south of Spain, where the landed estates predominate and where the land-workers and peasants have been exploited most bitterly. To say, however, that the masses are seizing the land would be an exaggeration. Powerful demonstrations involving the whole population have demanded the expropriation of the land, in many places in the southern provinces, and these demonstrations have often gone over to popular riots on the estates of particularly hated landowners, some of whom have been killed in such clashes.

Peasants Waiting

The raiders have usually withdrawn before police and troops have arrived; for, by and large, the peasants believe that the new Cortes will decree the land to them and are waiting for that. When they discover that Azana's land program is merely a repetition of that of 1931—division of a few grandees' estates and the Jesuits', preceded by interminable legal steps plus a scheme for government purchase of estates for distribution; in other words, no serious move toward solving the agrarian problem—there is no doubt that the peasants will overrun the estates.

Whether they will thereafter be decimated and driven off the land or whether they will remain on the land depends primarily on whether they are backed up by the workers in the cities, which can only happen if the workers' parties take the road of intransigent struggle against the bourgeois regime of Azana.

The workers' struggles in the cities have received more attention in both the Spanish and the American press, these facts being less easily suppressed. What has not been made clear is that in practically every instance where a worker has been killed, the proletarian organizations have answered not only with huge mass funerals but with 24-hour general strikes in the localities involved.

The Firing of Churches

In an effort to stir up resentment against the workers, the world press has widely publicized the burning of churches by demonstrators. The press has naturally concealed the peculiar role of the church in Spain, which is not merely a reactionary institution serving to bind the masses spiritually to their masters, but is the most powerful landowner and industrialist in the country and the cruelest in its domination of its land-workers and wage-slaves.

For peasants and workers to burn a church in Spain today, is the exact equivalent of the burning of the castle or manor of a hated lord in feudal France. The brutality of the Spanish priesthood evokes spontaneous retaliation from the masses they oppress; but we can be assured that the mere loss of a church here and there is as nothing to the frenzy which the clergy will display when they are threatened with no bodily violence at all but with systematic expropriation by the organized proletariat.

Azana Consolidating Power

Azana follows a clever strategy of superficial conciliatoriness toward the proletariat, biding his time until his government has been consolidated. Arrests of the handful of those who officially term themselves Fascists, a mild censorship of the Right press—but also of the labor press—numerous declarations of loyalty to republican principles—Azana has given little more than this in return for solid support from the proletarian or-

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Comments

On Life, Liberty and Pursuit of Happiness

By BILL REICH

Great Minds...

"If there were no aliens in this country there would be no unemployment problem," asserts Representative Dies who is forming an organization to be called "The Americans" for the purpose of carrying on a national campaign to deport 6,000,000 aliens. "Russia has, to all intents and purposes, withdrawn a fertile and populous land of over eight million square miles in extent, with a population of 165,000,000 from the usual economic intercourse with the world. This has upset the delicate economic balance of Europe," proclaims Rear Admiral Yates Stirling, Jr., commander of the Brooklyn Navy Yard, in the Hearst press. He advocates aligning ourselves with Nazi Germany "not only for laying forever the ghost of Bolshevism but for opening up the fertile lands of Russia to a crowded and industrially hungry Europe."

Safety...

\$150,000 was appropriated for machine guns, floodlights, electrical devices and tear gas for the defense of United States Mints. "Evidently you're looking for an attack by the regular army," remarked Chairman Buchanan of the Appropriations Committee. "You can't tell what sort of an attack will be made," replied W. C. Cram, technical advisor of the Treasury. "We might be attacked by a mob." The New York City Police Dept. requested quotations on a new "electrical glove" to be worn in subduing strikers. The apparatus consists of a battery and induction coil carried on the hip with wires running to the glove. Voltages up to 5,000 can be obtained. Twenty-five 12-year old New York boys were arrested, jailed, shown the electric chair and fingerprinted as part of their instruction in the suppression of crime. After finishing the course they were presented with badges bearing the slogan "Crime Can't Win!"

Blue Eagle...

The National Association of Cotton Manufacturers reports that mills continue to operate in compliance with NRA codes and that its policing unit has had practically nothing to do. One mill was reported to have increased hourly rates. Textile mills in Macon, Ga., have gone back to the 50 hour week with no increase in pay (one back increases granted under the mill requiring employees to pay NRA); millinery manufacturers in Buffalo, N. Y., announce an increase in weekly hours from 35 to 40; workers of the Monzie Shoe Co. in Tennessee are on strike against increasing the shift from 8 to 10 hours; employees of the Ideal Hosiery Co. are striking against a 10 percent wage reduction; two men were killed by deputies in a dispute over wage cutting at the Monarch Textile Mill, Union, S. C.; investigators for the Labor Department found "home work" rampant. Visiting 179 listed employees of the Rhode Island lace industry they found 279 other persons working on the same production, more than a sixth being children. In 75 percent of the cases weekly earnings were less than \$10. Anna Schlorer Smith, Philadelphia mayonnaise manufacturer and owner of Blue Eagle No. 13, slashed her throat when her employees struck in protest to an increase in hours to 50 and a cut in wages from \$13 to \$10 per week.

Housing...

About one third of America's dwellings "are of a character to injure the health, endanger the safety and morals and interfere with the normal life of their inhabitants," reports Edith Wood of the PWA Housing Division after an extensive survey of homes in New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania. "Housing, public works and other projects on which material costs are relatively high will have to take a secondary place," states the Advisory Committee on Allotments President Roosevelt's four billion dollar relief fund.

Unemployment...

Two thousand hunger marchers from the Canadian west coast are corralled in a concentration camp at Regina, Saskatchewan, to prevent them from marching on Ottawa. Prime Minister Bennett stated to members of the group that there would be no recognition of "Soviet agitators and Soviet committees." "You don't want work," he continued. "You want adventure and hope this organization you are building may overawe the government and break down law and order." FERA colonists at Matanuska, Alaska, complain that they have no houses to live in, food is exorbitantly expensive, schools are not ready, and mosquitoes are unbearable. President Roosevelt announces: "Harry Hopkins and I are considering offering a medal to the State Administrator who causes us the fewest headaches."

A Survey of the Automobile Industry

Detroit and Toledo-Striking Contrast in Organization Methods

moment the "left wing" was nowhere to be found. When the blow came, the men were simply bewildered and stunned. Nobody was on the spot to give them the necessary advice and point the road. The auto-workers protested in the only way they knew how—with their feet.

After that betrayal, the A. F. of L. bureaucrats left the auto workers to the tender mercies of the Automobile Labor Board. When after some nine months meditation, Dr. Wolman at last got around to holding "elections" in the automobile plants and the results showed some 4 percent for the A. F. of L. Green and Dillon got terribly indignant. They threatened retribution. Fearing that the ground was just slipping underneath their feet they promised to start a giant organization drive to organize the whole automobile industry.

Dillon Blocks the Road

The organization drive, if it can be honored with that name, just evaporated into thin air. Because the auto workers wouldn't respond? The direct opposite is true. Every "spontaneous" outburst of the auto workers at Murray Body, at Hupp, Kelsey Wheel, the wet sanders in Lansing, was sidetracked by Dillon and referred to some governmental agency. Everyone in Detroit acquainted with the situation knew that the Dillon office feared to organize the men and was deliberately sabotaging all attempts.

The influx of thousands of new young workers of the basic industries in the A. F. of L. and the growth of mighty organizations in the nerve centers of American industry did not signify the corresponding growth and importance of the present leadership, but, on the

contrary, heralded their downfall and disappearance from the trade union scene. Apparently the bureaucrats knew this very well, and that is why they so assiduously and carefully sabotage every step of the locals themselves.

Good Opportunities Missed

After a year and a half of such experience, the period of easy unionization is definitely ended. Now, something more than small initiation fees and dues are necessary to attract the automobile worker. Still 1935 was an excellent year to start a serious organization drive. For one, 1935 was a "boom" year. More men employed in the industry than at any time since 1929. Undoubtedly the A. F. of L. would have regained major positions in the industry, had it seriously proceeded with its promised campaign.

A triple alliance would have been formed of auto, rubber and steel. The confidence, such a move would have inspired, would have been immense. The men would have returned to the firing line, and a serious offensive could have been launched against the company unions.

These are all the things that might have been done, were the present A. F. of L. leadership seriously concerned about organizing the automobile workers. Instead it did nothing—and when the workers here and there timidly attempted to start organization on their own account, they were ruthlessly and brutally squelched.

That is why trade unionism is at low ebb in Detroit today. These are the "objective conditions" which made it so difficult to stir up the Detroit Chevrolet workers and interest them in the strike in Toledo. After a year of such sterling labor

activity," the A. F. of L. federal locals might have lost all standing in the industry, had another center of attraction existed. At first that seemed to be the direction.

M.E.S.A. Stagnates

The Mechanics Educational Society, which organized the key men of the industry, the tool and dye makers, led brilliant, spectacular battles in almost every plant in Detroit and apparently were destined to sweep the whole field. But after the sell-out of March 25, 1934, instead of pushing on and taking over the leadership in a great organization campaign, it began stagnating. No serious attempts were made to get in production men, its membership slumped and the union was torn by an internal cancer of factional struggle between the various cliques, which paralyzed its activity and rendered it helpless. Unless the M.E.S.A. can cleanse itself—and that in short order, and begin an earnest drive for the production men—it will cease to be an important factor in the industry. All indications point at the present time to the fact that for the immediate future, the A. F. of L. federal unions are destined to be the shell within which the auto workers will organize.

We have spoken previously and are ready to repeat again the story of the periphery of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy. We can even add: Dillon and Green are deliberately delaying the formation of an International in the automobile industry, for fear that they cannot yet control it; they intend moreover to exclude from such an International the tool and dye makers, the maintenance men and other workers claimed by the various International unions. All this is true, but axiomatic to a revolutionist engaged in trade union work. If we wish, however, to do more than just "expose" the bureaucracy, if we would actually do battle with it and destroy

it, we must do more than propagandize; we must extend our organizational base in the auto industry because events have proved, we in the W. P. are the only ones who can do the job. We must fuse our ideas with the workers inside the federal unions, to help them "arm" themselves against their enemies and to organize "pressure" for the calling of a democratically controlled convention to establish an International union and to begin an organization drive by September in preparation for a general strike.

Workers Must Prepare to Strike

All the elemental forces of the industry are again turned loose full force, and are inexorably driving the men onward towards the path of unionism. Bitterness and resentment are accumulating so rapidly, that when the explosion occurs, the Toledo strike will look like a tea-party in comparison.

The workers have had a year's experience with the Auto Labor Board. Some 200,000 of them participated in the A. L. B.'s "elections" and while it was a bitter pill that Green and Collins forced them to swallow we say with confidence: it was not in vain! They have learned more in these last few months of "collective bargaining" than the previous five years put together. In plant after plant, members of the bargaining agencies have clashed with the management and have found that beyond getting a light bulb replaced or a water heater repaired—their power did not extend. If their demands were not acceded to, they of course had the opportunity of appealing to Dr. Wolman! Now, their only recourse is... strike, and for that they must have an organization.

So, having passed through the glorious run around of Roosevelt, Wolman, Green, Collins and Dillon, they are back at the starting point, more experienced, more steely and better prepared for the battle.

It is now the duty of the conscious revolutionists not to lag behind, but to be prepared to guide the workers and help them in their coming struggle. This task, of organizing this key industry, the "nerve center" of American economy is the most important and significant one since post-war days, galvanizing the key industries, the opening up a completely new phase in American unionism and the labor movement of this country. If we succeed, our position in the American labor movement is secure and we shall be prepared to lead the workers forward to victory.

A Letter the Daily Worker Dared Not Print

To the Editor of Daily Worker,
50 East 13th Street,
New York City
Gentlemen:

In a Daily Worker editorial of June 17, 1935, we read:

"Joseph Zack and Jack Taylor, the two choice morsels which the Trotskyites fished out of the garbage discarded by the C. P., have been expelled and are now publishing a paper of their own..."

An honest worker may be forgiven if he holds his nose..."

This section of the above dated Daily Worker editorial runs true to Stalinist form and method of "discarding garbage" in the form of Daily Worker editorials for the consumption of "honest workers" who "hold their nose"...

You hold it is the policy of the Daily Worker to give the "honest workers" the truth and nothing but the truth—yet you deliberately print a trumped up account of my "expulsion" from the Workers Party of the U. S.

The New York Times gives "all the news that's fit to print" providing they do their own "fitting"; the Daily Worker prints a "fitting" account of Jack Taylor's "expulsion"...

Need I say that this "expulsion" is the brain child of the Daily Worker editor? ... Need it be said that Stalinist brain fever (perhaps clairvoyance with Stalinism as the medium) has produced a picture of Jack Taylor "expelled" from the Workers' Party of the U.S.A. and publishing his own paper?

For the "honest workers" who "hold their nose" against the Stalinist stench known as Daily Worker editorials, let me say the following:

Jack Taylor has not been expelled from the Workers Party of the U. S. and he is not publishing or helping to publish an independent paper.

Finally let me remind you—although you cannot have forgotten this fact—my resignation from the Communist Party was published in the Militant two months prior to my being "discarded" by the C. P. bureaucrats.

Stalinism has now been "discarded" what you call "garbage" for years. Thousands of "discarded" revolutionaries are exiled to Siberia and others held in Stalin's jails. This "garbage" is composed of those Marxists who can see the difference between the Menshevism of Stalin and the Bolshevism of Lenin and Trotsky.

This, gentlemen, is the truth—but to get the truth it is necessary to discard the Daily Worker and to read the New Militant, organ of the Workers Party of the U.S.

—JACK TAYLOR

Plenum of N.C. of W. P. Spikes False Rumors

The June Plenum of the National Committee of the W. P. took note of rumors to the effect that there are leaders and members of the W. P. who advocate that the W. P. should join or merge with the Socialist Party. Occasionally it is necessary to take account of rumor and gossip, no matter how absurd and irresponsible it may be, simply because it is so persistent. Solely on this ground, the Plenum hereby states that all such reports are absolutely without foundation, that no leaders or members of the W. P. advocate or have advocated any such program.

The position of the W. P. on the Socialist Party and the Second International has been clearly and explicitly set forth in the Declaration of Principles adopted at the merger convention last December of the former Communist League of America and the American Workers Party. We repeat it here both because of the intrinsic soundness of the analysis there set forth and because it is the best and simplest way to indicate how incompatible with the basic Declaration of the W. P. is advocacy of a proposal that it should join or merge with a party of reformism and pacifism:

"The Socialist Party is not a party of revolution but of reform and pacifism. The fundamental error of all wings of the party is their false conception of the nature of the state and of the colonial question. From this flow its parliamentary illusions, its notion that the workers can achieve power within the framework of existing state forms, its fetishism of capitalist democracy, its policies of class collaboration, and betrayal of colonial revolts and revolutions. It is affiliated and gives allegiance to the bankrupt Second International, which bears the responsibility for supporting the last imperialist war, and whose leading section, the German Social-Democracy, openly aided the capitalists to suppress revolutionary uprisings of the workers and made possible the triumph of Fascism in Germany. The Socialist Party conducts no struggle against the reactionaries in the trade union movement and important sections of the Party are directly associated with these elements. Though now, as at other periods in its history, the Party contains many militant and leftward moving workers, the powerful right wing elements in the Party openly spurn and combat all revolutionary tendencies. The radical phrases of the centrist wing represented by the 'Militant' leaders serve as a cover for an essentially reformist attitude and a policy of capitulation to the right wing. The Party and the Second International with which it is affiliated therefore serve the purpose of hindering the consistent development of the workers to a revolutionary position. The genuinely revolutionary workers in the Socialist Party can carry out the implications of their position only when they break with the reformists and social patriots and unite with the Workers Party and the New International."

The merger of the former A.W.P. and C.L.A., after more than a decade of splits and disintegration in the revolutionary movement, was in our opinion an historic turning point. The founding of the new party on the basis of the Declaration of Principles was the one possible step toward revolutionary unity. We believe that in ever increasing numbers the vanguard workers who are today in other parties and groups or have no political allegiance will realize with us the crucial importance of breaking with reformism and centrism and uniting the revolutionary forces on the basis of revolutionary internationalism and under the banner of the Fourth International.

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Tobin's Union-Busting Drive Against 574—and their Reply

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn.—The Central Labor Union committee has returned from Indianapolis bearing a set of written demands from D. J. Tobin which outline the basis on which General Drivers Local 574 can be reinstated in the Drivers International. These demands bear witness to the ruthless tactics to which Tobin will stoop in his burning desire to get revenge for an imaginary grievance. Here are his demands:

1. That all inside workers be denied membership in the union.
2. That no worker who does not devote at least 51 percent of his time to driving or other actual work on a truck be permitted to be a member.
3. That the ice drivers be in a separate union. That the coal drivers be in a separate union.
4. That the taxi drivers be in a separate union.
5. That all independent truck owners be denied membership in any union.
6. That a new charter be issued on the following basis:

- a. All present officers and active members in Local 574 be denied membership under the new charter.
- b. All applications for membership be subject to the approval of Tobin. (This would mean that any worker who is even suspected of having taken an active part in the union would be unable to remain a member.)
- c. That the Teamsters Joint Council reorganize the local under the direct supervision of a special representative of Tobin.
- d. That all actions of the union be subject to the approval of Tobin.
- e. That Tobin receive the delinquent per capita tax of Local 574, the amount to be determined by the General Executive Board and to be not less than 50 percent of what Tobin estimates the local owes. (Tobin's estimate, by the way, is almost double the actual amount involved.)

Tobin Program Worse than Bosses

This program was planned deliberately to cut the union up into small helpless units and to strip it of its fighting ability. Tobin does not want a union in his International which has the power of 574. A few unions like 574 and it would be impossible for him to maintain his bureaucratic control which constantly struggles unionization of the truck drivers of the nation.

In this desperate attempt to protect his pie-card, Tobin is putting forward the same program which the Citizens Alliance put forward last summer. Once again he plays into the hands of the employers as he did through his editorial writing during the 1934 strikes. In fact he attempts to go even further than the bosses did. Not only does he deny that the inside workers have a right to belong to the union, but he attempts to confine the mem-

bership of the General Drivers to workers who spend at least 51 percent of their time on trucks, and then they can be members only if the truck is used to haul certain Tobin-approved commodities.

After reading the Tobin manifesto to the assembly, Jean Spellman, spokesman for the G.L.U. committee, moved that the report be referred to the Teamsters Joint Council for action.

Slander Used in Election Campaign

At this point several delegates took the floor demanding to know why and how intimate details regarding the Local 574 charter fight had come into the hands of the candidate opposing William S. Brown in the aldermanic race in the third ward. Brown, the president of 574, played a militant role in the 1934 strikes and, in keeping with his fighting ability and instincts, waged a splendid and clean fight in the election campaign. But despite this fine record he was not invited to speak to the assembly on this issue which is of such vital importance to his union.

Joe Hork, a member of the 574 executive board, was denied the floor when he attempted to speak on the tactics employed against Brown in the campaign.

Many delegates took the floor to speak of the great gains which the General Drivers have brought to the entire labor movement. Specific instances were cited, such as the New England construction job where the truck drivers threw their strength into a fight which had begun to appear quite hopeless to the building trades unions.

Travesty on Union Democracy

At this point in the debate, which had by now become very heated, a substitute motion was made to throw the Tobin demands in the waste basket. This motion was later ruled out of order on the grounds that it was a negative motion and could not be voted on.

Delegate Wachter pointed out clearly and completely what a travesty of trade union democracy Tobin's policies represent. He pictured how the overwhelming majority of the delegates were in complete sympathy with Local 574 and showed that the differences of opinion in the matter lay principally in the relative courage of the delegates in determining a course of action.

Questioning sharply Tobin's right to the dictatorial powers which he assumes, Wachter proposed that the Central Labor Union appeal Tobin's decision to the convention of the Drivers International and that in the meantime the whole matter be left pending with complete recognition of 574. Wachter was unable to obtain a vote on his proposal.

Threaten Charter Revocations

Speaking for his motion to refer Tobin's demands to the Teamsters Joint Council for action, Spellman told the assembly that, while he was in Tobin's office, Tobin had held a telephone conversation with Green in Washington and that Green had promised full co-opera-

tion to Tobin. Spellman then carefully explained that this would mean that if the C.L.U. or any union attempted to defend 574 that their charter would be immediately revoked. He then predicted that if his motion was not passed the C.L.U. charter would be revoked at once. He stated further that the present officers of Local 574 should be willing to step aside as Tobin demands.

Attempting to get the floor to answer Spellman's statements, Farrell Dobbs, secretary-treasurer of Local 574, was denied that privilege, and the Spellman motion was railroaded through.

An analysis of Tobin's demands shows that the voluntary withdrawal of the present leaders of 574 will not satisfy the lust of D. J. Tobin. He clearly states that he will be satisfied with nothing short of the complete disorganization of the local, the sacrifice of all the gains for which Henry Ness and Jack Belor died, and the expulsion of scores of militant members from the union. Tobin demands more than the heads of the leaders—he demands the complete strangulation of the union.

Reactionaries Meet Defeat

With the matter now in their hands, the Teamsters Joint Council will attempt to carry out the Tobin program. But despite the action railroaded through the assembly, the reactionary bureaucracy was badly defeated.

The issues in the fight are clearly defined, and the progressive thinking delegates are well informed as to the real meaning of this program to the movement. Their sympathies are completely with 574, and they will carry their opinions back to their unions with a recommendation that they continue to support the drivers. The standing of Local 574 will continue to be very high among union men.

Delegate Crowl, business agent of the iron workers, told the assembly that on the army job, and every other union construction job where the ironworkers are employed, if any union refuses to demand that 574 men deliver their materials, the ironworkers will tie up the job.

Local 574 will not give up the gains it has made through the bitter struggles of 1934. The sacrifices made were too great to permit Tobin to so lightly cast aside everything that Local 574 stands for.

The membership of the General Drivers is up in arms over this outrage. They recognize the Tobin demands as a twin sister to the vicious propaganda of the bosses.

Local 574 will fight Tobin on every front and defeat his Citizens Alliance program.

Every union, every liberal and radical organization must take a clear cut position in this fight. The workers of Minneapolis must respond in the same splendid manner that they did last summer in the struggle with the Citizens Alliance. Smash all union-smashers! Make Minneapolis a union town!

Green had promised full co-opera-

MARCH OF EVENTS

By JACB WEBER

England Ends Versailles Treaty

Hardly one week after the Tories took over the British government the new foreign minister, Hoare, resorted to direct action to resolve the contradiction between the reality of German rearmament and the fiction of the maintenance of the Versailles Treaty. The tripling of the German navy is "legalized" by the Anglo-German agreement. In this fashion British imperialism tries to solve a number of its problems, external and internal. Faced with the possible danger of a new naval race in the North Sea with a resurgent German militarism, British capitalism preferred to make concessions relatively harmless to herself, even if a menace to her former allies. England thus takes one step further in encouraging Germany to seek the salvation of its capitalism by expansion to the East, at the expense of the U.S.S.R. A German navy of the size permitted means the control of the Baltic Seas, hence the possibility of attacking Leningrad safely.

At the same time the English ruling class serves notice to France that the latter had better come to terms also with Hitler and abandon the Soviet Union to its fate. This act makes of the Franco-Soviet pact virtually a scrap of paper, for in that pact France can "legally" be released from its operation in case England and Italy refuse to define the aggressor in the coming war. England is doing everything possible to force France to repudiate the military alliance with Stalin. Internally the British Tories are preparing for the coming general elections. They can point to the naval agreement as being one step in the direction of limitation of armaments, which adds nothing to the British naval budget at the moment. If the Tories are successful in the elections there will be an entirely different aspect of things after the elections. The naval race will then be resumed full speed ahead.

Stalinism Grovels Before Imperialism

The nearer the war of intervention, the more desperately the Stalinists grovel before world imperialism to prove that the Soviets are not really a menace to the bourgeois ruling class. Ambassador Troianovsky, former Menshevik and fit representative of the corrupt Stalinist bureaucracy, assures America that the Soviet Union under Stalin is merely the continuator of the policies of the Kerensky Provisional Government. And in this he tells the truth. The Stalinists are

engaged in erasing every trace of the October Revolution in order to prove their worthiness to exist side by side with reactionary world imperialism. As the preliminary to further concessions to reaction, the Stalinists are proceeding to annihilate physically all Bolshevik oppositionists, past or present. This can only mean a further attack on the working class in the Soviet Union, an added preparation for the betrayal of this working class as well as the world proletariat to bourgeois reaction, solely for the purpose of maintaining in power the reactionary Stalinist bureaucrats.

Only one force stands in the way of Stalin and endangers his "success" in blocking the road to power of the proletariat of Western Europe. That force, still small but growing in influence through the power of its correct Marxist approach to the revolutionary tasks of the working class, is the nucleus of the Fourth International, the inheritors of the militant traditions of the Second and the Third Internationals. To the Stalinists the Fourth International is a greater menace than capitalist imperialism. The next wave of revolution, organized under the banner of the new international, will sweep out of power and into utter oblivion the corrupt bureaucracy that exists only so long as the workers suffer defeats. The venomous hatred manifested by Stalin for the "Trotskyists," the attempt to confuse the workers by slanders and by lumping together the counter-revolutionary imperialist robbers and the Bolshevik-Leninist vanguard—the two extremes of the class struggle—are themselves the recognition that the Stalinists will have to pay for their crimes the moment the workers become aware of them.

The Fourth International alone can accomplish this necessary task of ridding the working class of the poison and treachery of Stalinism. It is the builders of the Fourth International who alone can forewarn the advanced workers against the betrayers who are already sowing the seeds of social patriotism in preparation for the next war. The justifiers of the Franco-Soviet Pact, the lackeys of Soviet diplomacy, are working, in the interests of a privileged clique, to fasten more firmly on the necks of the workers the yoke of capitalism. The Stalinist Defenders of the Soviet Union are ready to become also the Defenders of the Allies of the Soviet Union, the upholders of French militarism. With England already openly tossing aside the Versailles Treaty, the Stalinists are becoming the champions of this treaty insofar as it aids Stalin in his reactionary alliances with capitalist imperialism.

The Manager's Corner

(Continued from Page 1)

far from this goal. But here comes some good news. The New York party district has pledged itself to raise not less than half of the amount stipulated. And, while these comrades were a bit slow in getting started, they are leaving no pebbles unturned now. Very extensive preparations have been made to make good on the pledge. We shall render regular accounts so that every reader may watch how well this district puts its words into action.

The Boston branch made a preliminary pledge of \$53.50 and in accord with the habit it has already established it proceeded to make good right away. Last week we reported \$25.00 from Konikow. There was a slight error. It should have been listed to the credit of the Boston branch. In this issue we can report an additional sum of \$14.00 for this branch. In other words \$39.00 on its account made good already. Of course, the pledge was only a preliminary one.

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in such a way that the increase of circulation, getting new subscribers and more extensive bundle sales becomes an important feature. All funds received for new subscribers at the new rate, whether they be regular subscribers, or whether these are obtained by the club plan system, together with amounts for greetings obtained are recorded as part of the campaign. On this basis we have received during the last week the following amounts:

Contributions:
Boston Branch \$14.00
Brownsville Br., New York... 2.50
J. Rorty, Conn. 1.00
Back Seat Driver, N. Y. C. ... 1.00
Hildegard Smith, Kansas... 1.00
Grote, Branch 3, N.Y.C. 10.00
Astoria Branch, N.Y.C. 1.00
Bronx Branch, N. Y. C. 3.00
Flatbush Branch, N. Y. C. 1.00
Center Branch, N. Y. C. 8.00
Harlem Branch, N. Y. C. 11.28

Total \$53.78
Total reported last week: \$54.00
Subscriptions (Club Plans):
Center Br., N.Y.C. (8 subs) ... 3.00
Minneapolis Branch (8 subs) 3.00

Total \$ 6.00
Grand Total \$113.78

Special Subscription Contest
For the best subscription getters, during the period from July 1 to September 1, the following prizes will be awarded:

Any comrade sending in 10 new yearly subscriptions (\$2.00 each), or 20 new subscriptions (\$1.00 each) will receive a complete set of Trotsky's "History of the Russian Revolution" in three bound volumes. Any comrade sending in five new yearly subscriptions or 10 six months subscriptions will receive a bound copy of "The Correspondence of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels."

Of course, these are subscriptions for the eight-page issue only. We shall keep an exact account of all subs received and make sure that the prizes are awarded properly and only to those who reach the goal set during the period stipulated.

In each case we will also change the prizes for an equivalent of any set of books from the Pioneer Book Shop if so desired.

From The Very Beginning

By AL DASCH

The week of July 4th is a fitting one to review some of the revolutionary traditions of the American working class. Class struggles in America did not begin with July 4, 1776. Nor did the first American Revolution solve the contradictions in American society.

The history of this country is replete with class conflicts. From the time of the first indentured and chattel slave down to the modern wage earner an unceasing struggle has taken place between the contending classes. Nor is this strange. For America, almost from the day the colonies were founded, has been subject to the laws of the class struggle. Those who are ignorant of the past, or who deliberately seek to hide and distort its revolutionary traditions may deny this; but the past itself is the greatest living proof of the class battles in American society.

A Legacy of Force

The past has bequeathed the proletariat of today a rich legacy. Revolutionary actions of previous generations hammer home the necessity of revolutionary methods today in order to abolish the ills and ailments of present day society. The lesson they teach is that America was born and matured in violence—that those who struck out for their rights relied not upon "Eternal Truths," but upon the more substantial method of force. It was in this way that the progressive factors in American society were permitted to expand and the basis laid for a social change.

A century before the armed conflict between the colonies and the mother country, England, two of the largest colonies, Virginia and New York, were plunged into the throes of a civil war. These were the Bacon and Leisler uprisings, taking their names from the leaders of the oppressed who headed these revolts. Both met with temporary successes but were later suppressed with the utmost cruelty. The reasons for the rebellions and the severity with which they were put down is given by a member of the then existing Virginia Council. While his description refers specifically to Bacon it fits perfectly the rebels in New York.

The Rebels of Yesterday

Bacon gathers about him a rabble of the basest sort of peo-

Heritage of Class Struggle in U.S. History

ple, whose conditions are such as by a change could not admit of worse, with these began to stand in defiance against the government. . . . These are the men that are set up for the good of ye Country; who for ye ease of the Poor will have no taxes poled . . . Would have all magistracies and government taken away & set up one themselves & to make their good intentions more manifest stick not to talk openly of sharing men's estates among themselves."

How familiar is this cry from the lips of a colonial master, to us today?

The American Revolution of 1776 was the class struggle breaking out into the open and taking place by armed means. Underneath the surface of the civil war was, of course, a clash of economic interests. England by a series of decrees was hampering the development of the colonies. The mercantilists (who were the ruling class in England) prevented the establishment of American industries so that their own factories would have a market. They succeeded in passing laws forbidding the colonists to expand westward. They prevented the shipping of American raw materials to other nations and imposed restrictions upon the colonists purchasing goods from other countries. In short the domination of England was becoming a fetter on the growth of the colonies. The interests clashed—civil war was the result.

Suppressing the Poor

For as the heritage of 1776 lies not in the eloquent phrases of the Declaration of Independence or the revolutionary fathers. The Declaration of Independence is violated by the capitalist class whenever their interests clash with those of the working class. As for the leaders of the revolution, they were almost entirely motivated by personal interests and not idealistic conceptions. The revolution did not live up to its fine promises once it succeeded. Witness for instance, the revolt of Daniel Shay, an army colonel, and those he led in an at-

tempt to garner for the workers and poor farmers the promises made to them. Shay and those with him were defeated by an army, especially raised for that purpose. But that action destroyed the myth that the revolution was fought for the inalienable rights of man. Wherein then are the revolutionary traditions?

The revolution broke the domination of the mother country and liberated the colonies. It opened the west for expansion and made possible the unleashing of the productive forces in American society. Besides it set up a republican form of government and gave an impetus to the progress of revolution in Europe. As such, it was progressive and we salute it. The heritage of the inalienable rights of man and the heroic suffering of the soldiers in the colonial armies belong not to the American bourgeoisie who are only too anxious to forget the revolutionary actions of the past, but to the American proletariat who will truly complete the first American Revolution by the establishment of a working class dictatorship.

The bourgeoisie claims that the Revolution abolished the difference between classes and the necessity of strife. But the whole history of America since then is a history of violent clashes between exploiter and exploited. From Shay's Rebellion down to the present day a red thread of revolt runs through American society. Nat Turner's revolt, John Brown, the civil war, the strike years of 1877-78, May 1, Homestead, the large and fierce strikes of the present period, all bear witness to the class conflict raging in the United States.

Marx, in the introduction to the first volume of Capital speaks of the stimulating influences of the American Revolution of the 18th century and the American Civil War of the 19th on European society. The first influenced the course of the Great French Revolution and brought in its train a spread of democratic ideas through Europe. The second helped bring about a series of important reforms in the old world. Who can say that the revolutionary events which will take place in American society in the 20th century will liberate not only the American proletariat but that of the entire world?

hands of the Executive Board including the power to suspend and expel members. The present very limited democracy would be succeeded by a bureaucratic dictatorship of the officers and the Executive Board. The road would be clear for further expulsions of members if they raised any organized objections to these measures or to any policies which the clique sought to pursue.

Effect on Other Unions

If the Administration succeeds in carrying through its program it will give the Green-Wool leadership encouragement in their present campaign to expel the communists from the unions—which is their device for labelling and getting rid of the progressives.

If minority groups can be suppressed in one union, then they can be suppressed in other unions as well. It is to be expected that the reactionaries in other A. F. of L. unions will not be slow in seizing upon similar "reorganization" measures. The demagogical cry will be raised that progressive groups based upon a simple trade union program are taking orders from "outside organizations" meaning by that the working class political parties. The pretext for the suppression of the progressive minority groups will have been obtained by the precedent set in the case of the Teachers Union. Thus the investigation of Local 5 acquires significance for the progressive forces in the entire labor movement. It is not an exaggeration that these machinations endanger the existence of the progressive forces.

It thus becomes the duty of the progressives in other unions to come to the assistance of the large militant membership of the Teachers Union in their efforts to preserve the unity of the organization against the Administration splitters.

The "Investigation" Maneuvers
If the Lefkowitz-Linville faction succeeds in its present move to reorganize the Teachers Union, the results will probably take this form:

1) Leaders and many prominent members of the union will be expelled or excluded from the "reorganized" union.
2) The minority groups will be dissolved and legalized. They will be prohibited from holding group meetings, issuing literature and appeals to the membership, presenting motions and resolutions in the name of the groups. They would likewise be prohibited from putting up slates of candidates in the elections or to conduct an organized campaign in behalf of their candidates. The growth of the Opposition would probably be checked for the time being, at any rate.

3) The policy of no membership meetings with power to decide policies would be continued.

4) The Delegate Assembly would be stripped of its present powers to review decisions of the Executive Board; its policy-making powers would be taken from it.

5) All power to determine policies would be concentrated in the

Protest Meeting
Friday, July 12, 8 P.M.—A.J. Muste speaks on "Recent Events in Soviet Union" at 1776 Pitkin Ave., B'klyn.

Bolshevik Speaks for Fourth International at SFIO Congress

The following is a summary of the speech of Molinier, for the Bolshevik-Leninist group, at the Mulhouse Congress of the Socialist Party of France:

He explains why some of the members in various sections will vote against the report of the delegates to the Second International.

What is involved here at this time is not the question of approving some points of opposition of the French delegation but of posing here briefly the international problem in all its amplitude.

This is the key question which determines all others, which delineates the political evolution of the tendencies: the crossroad where they meet or divide, a problem which determines their will to carry on a real struggle against war. It is on the international scale what armament is on the plane of the struggle for power.

And this question of the International poses itself again and again every time the question of war or the seizure of power appears in a sharp form. The dilemma: Either "gradual national and international development" or coordinated international revolutionary action.

This difference crops up in all the debates.

Of what value are internationalist phrases if you are organizing for nationalism? At this time only the bourgeoisie acts in concert in the world and when the socialist delegates go to these conferences they act there as hirelings of their bourgeoisie.

Have we an international? That is, have we a coordinated political organization of international struggle? What do those think of the Second International who still have authority in the eyes of the majority of this Congress?

Lebas said at the National Congress on February 29, 1920:

"... The war, as comrade Rafin-Dugens, has so correctly observed, has killed not only men and destroyed wealth . . . one of its corpses, one of its victims was the International. . . ."

"... One must examine the situation created in the Party in all countries and observe more over if we can agree on saying how we can reconstitute it, this International, whatever number we give it. . . ."

"... These, of course, are the reasons why the Federation of the North has decided in almost complete unanimity to propose to the Party to withdraw from the Second International. This, of course is not because we are throwing mud at it but because we very sincerely believe that we can work more effectively for the reconstitution of the new International outside of the old and decadent one rather than by remaining inside it."

Paul Faure at the National Congress, February 29, 1920:

"... We ask, comrades, that the French Socialist Party leave the Second International."

"I listened to Renandel and vainly sought in his speech for decisive reasons which to my mind he did not produce for maintaining our adherence to this organization."

"Our resolution remains no-

shakable. We became more and more impatient, understanding that from the socialist standpoint the atmosphere of the Second International became absolutely unlivable. . . ."

Since when has it come back to life?

Defeat in Italy, in Germany, in Austria, in Spain, in Belgium, where the former president of the International presides at the imprisonment of striking miners! The corpses are rotting.

The Third International?
Let us consider it. It must be said:

It bore the banner of revolution throughout the world.

Did it organize the split? Does it mean to split when one fights for principles?

It degenerated with the degeneration of the Russian revolution; it has seen its death certificate signed by Stalin.

It is now the International whose parties after many zig-zags are becoming the means of national defense in conformity with the fluctuations of the foreign policy of Russia; such a betrayal means placing the official seal upon the tombstone of the oppressed of the entire world.

(Molinier retorted to Dormoy who interrupts him at this point:) "It is only natural that you defend Stalin after he has sunk to your level."

WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

Unity of the Second and the Third Internationals?
On what basis? The basis which allows the same class influences, the same germs of difference to exist?

Or our basis? Coordinated, joint, action against capitalism, which is concentrated and spirited action driven forward. Never class peace! No theory of socialism in one country.

In the present state of things one must base himself on experience to rebuild the International.

WE MUST BUILD THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL which means to take into account the life and the death of the others.

In many countries: Holland (R. S.P.-O.S.P.), America (C.L.A.-A.W.P.) unity was achieved on this basis.

All the living forces of the two Internationals must be organized on this basis! What about the big parties? Win over the decisive elements.

For that: without subordinating daily action to the creation of the Fourth International, we will group around us on the principles of revolutionary action all the active forces of the Party, and with them pave the way for the Fourth International.

Molinier's speech was for the most part heard in intense silence, interrupted very infrequently and applauded lustily by a small minority of the Congress.

The defense of the Stalinist policy fell upon citizen Grumbach, one of the most active defamers of the Communist International in its best days.

READ THE NEW MILITANT

Zack Expelled from Workers Party

Joseph Zack has been expelled from the Workers Party of the U. S. for gross violations of discipline. He wrote to a leading comrade in Minneapolis advising him to violate an N. C. decision on a grave trade union matter in action. He further openly violated party discipline by contradicting and challenging to a debate the Party speaker presenting the Party point of view at an open mass meeting in New York. He has been participating, without any consultation even with the Party, in efforts to launch a paper to be called "Independent Unionist"

which has for one of its slogans:

"For A New Progressive Federation of Labor." The W. P. has never issued any such slogan; it is contrary to the Party's trade union line. The fact that Zack is now announcing himself as speaker at a public meeting at which he promises to "expose" alleged controversies within the W. P., furnishes additional confirmation of the correctness of the action taken some weeks ago by the Political Committee meeting jointly with the N. Y. District Committee in expelling him from the Party—not for his views which he was given every opportunity to set forth in the regular channels within the Party but for flagrant and persistent disregard and violation of the elements of revolutionary discipline.

LECTURE

The Truth About "Trotskyism"

A REPLY TO OLGIN'S PAMPHLET AGAINST "TROTSKYISM"

What is the connection between the new slanderous attack and—
—Stalin's Campaign Against the Bolsheviks in Russia?
—The Social-Patriotic Policy of the French Communist Party?
—The Right Wing Swing of the American Communist Party?
—The growth of the movement for the Fourth International in France, Holland and the United States?

Speaker:

MAX SHACHTMAN

Editor, The New International

WEDNESDAY, JULY 17th at 8:00 P.M.

At IRVING PLAZA

Irving Place and 15th Street, New York

Questions and discussion in Jewish and in English
Auspices: New York District, Workers Party of the U. S.

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Labor Party Confusion

As the Workers Party predicted from the outset, the Communist Party gets into hotter water all the time with its mass-class-not-reformist-not revolutionary but class-struggle Labor party.

There is quite a flurry of Labor Party talk these days among the Old Guard of the Socialist Party and certain trade union leaders, as well as among some sections of the workers. Typical of a good deal of this talk was Sidney Hillman's speech at the Taminant Economic and Social Institute of the S. P. Old Guard recently. "Labor is now looking to the president for leadership," says Brother Hillman. But if "the conservatives in both old parties will not permit the president to carry through the New Deal program" then workers, farmers, etc. will be turning to a new party.

Fervently Brother Hillman prays that such a Party "will not go along the lines of the share-the-wealth groups and advocates of overnight panaceas." He was "particularly bitter," the papers report, in his criticism of liberal and radical critics of the New Deal, Senator Borah, Clarence Darrow, "the left wingers, radicals and college boys."

Thereupon the Daily Worker bursts forth in editorial and cartoon. "But what kind of a Labor Party, Mr. Waldman?" We charge that "the Old Guard of the S. P. and the top bureaucracy of the A. F. of L. are planning a Labor Party in name only." What did the C. P., Browder, Stalin and Co. expect to happen when they came forth with their Labor Party slogan? What could happen other than what has actually occurred—confusion among the workers, a golden opportunity for the bureaucrats and fakery to practice their mislead-

ership, to divert the growing discontent among the workers into the safe channels of a Labor Party?

Yes, editors and cartoonists of the Daily Worker, an "anti-capitalist," not a pro-New Deal party is what the workers need. That can only mean in this period, a revolutionary Marxian party, not an attempt to lead the masses in this country into some replica of the British Labor Party or the German Social Democracy. But the C. P. is no longer a revolutionary Marxian party. It lacks consequently the intelligence and the courage to call the workers to rally under the revolutionary banner. It joins with Hillman and Waldman and others of that ilk in singing the Labor Party chorus. Only it protests that it is singing out of another book!

For a Fighting Auto Union

The announcement by the American Federation of Labor that a convention of Federal automobile locals is to be held on August 29 indicates a triumph for the militants in the industry and at the same time means that they must work more quickly and seriously than ever to organize their forces for a decisive battle with the reactionary bureaucrats of the A. F. of L. The latter would never have consented to a convention at this time had not the conduct of the progressives during the recent Chevrolet-General Motors strike in Toledo and elsewhere, and subsequent to the strike, demonstrated that the latter meant business and would not tolerate further delay in setting up an international. But the bureaucrats will now seek to control the convention and through it the new organization.

The progressives must work to send honest and militant delegates to the convention and to establish at the convention an organization based on democratic control by the membership, not bossed by Green, Dillon, Collins and Co.; an industrial union with jurisdiction over all workers employed in the automobile and auto parts industry; with no discrimination against members or prospective members because of religion, nationality, race, color, or political affiliation; relying not on favors from the bosses or government boards but on the militancy and solidarity of the workers.

The Workers Party now, as for many months past, calls for the most loyal and enthusiastic support of the militant forces in the automobile unions seeking to realize this program.

Italy Prepares Ethiopia Rape

(Continued from Page 1)

made up chiefly of cotton, sugar, oil, etc. Recently it has been discovered that Ethiopia is probably rich in important natural resources such as gold, silver, iron, etc.

But that which has led to conflict in the past and which is most likely a great contributing factor to the present turmoil is the fact that Ethiopia is completely surrounded by "neighbors" without an outlet of its own to the sea and that in its interior lies Lake Tana from which rises the headwaters of the Blue Nile that water the fertile cotton regions of the British-controlled Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. As close as is possible to give boundary lines without a map, Ethiopia is bounded on the North by Eritrea (Italian); on the East by French and British Somaliland; on the South by Italian Somaliland and the west by the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. France permits the use of its railroad which is Ethiopia's only connecting link with the sea, running from Addis Ababa to Djibouti, a French possession.

Only the other day England was ready to grant Italy Solasie an outlet to the sea through its Somaliland, in an effort to arbitrate the Italian-Ethiopian differences, but Italy balked.

Britain's Stake

England's concern in the matter, its offer for an outlet to the sea and gratuitous grants of land in Ethiopia proper to Italy—besides its game on the European continent—can be understood only if the strategic importance of imperialist hegemony over the Lake Tana region is taken into consideration. As stated before, it is from this region that rises the waters which makes of British-controlled territory in Eastern Africa so economically valuable a possession. Facts and agreements have been in existence for decades and only recently it has been reaffirmed that no dams be constructed in the Lake region which might impair the flow of water to its neighboring territory. The gobbling up of Ethiopia by any of the imperialist powers involved would give it a strategic importance in the entire of eastern Africa.

The question might well be asked: how is it that, granting its strategic importance, no power has seen fit to conquer this territory? First, it can be answered, it is not so easily conquerable. Or rather it wasn't. Probably with ultra-modern instruments of warfare, Ethiopia could be ticked. It must be remembered that Italy has already suffered a shameful defeat at the hands of these backward tribesmen at the close of the century.

And secondly, and probably most important of all, is the need of

keeping a black Christian buffer state to counteract the sentiments of the rest of the native Africans who are Mohammedans. It was just this fact that scouted the ambitions of the Mad Mullah, a number of decades ago, who started a movement to drive the Christian imperialists out of Africa. This undoubtedly the powers, particularly that power which has had the most experience in imperialist conquest, Great Britain, has well understood.

Mussolini's Alibi

The so-called cause for the present conflict is the result of a series of border incidents along Eritrea some months ago. Some Italian soldiers were found dead, killed, perhaps by Ethiopian soldiers. But the facts already brought out prove that these Italian soldiers were killed sixty miles within the Ethiopian boundaries, which if one were to go in for this aggression and aggressive business, would certainly prove Italy the aggressor.

Italy used this incident, however, as the nub around which to start long desired operations. Anyhow, if Duce argued, Abyssinia needs civilizing, Italy needs room for its people to expand, a modern power needs colonies and the Italian people need to satisfy a long standing desire to national pride. All of which means Italy wants Ethiopia. But Italy cannot go it alone. At least for any length of time. Britain and France are directly involved. From a little distance so are Japan and Germany. So far France is pretty well lined up with Italy and has been driven even still closer as the result of the Anglo-German naval treaty which France considered an affront. England's efforts at arbitration have so far proved futile. "The League of Nations to which Ethiopia has been constantly appealing has merely put the matter off, arguing benignly, that since war on a real scale cannot start until after the rainy season (fall), it would table the matter till then. Meanwhile Italy has shipped thousands of troops and tons of supplies to Africa. In the past few months Italian troops have been laying roads in Eritrea and Italian Somaliland in preparation for war. France, standing by Italy, has barred ammunition from reaching Addis Ababa, which as we have shown above she could well do.

No Help from Litvinoff

In this connection it might have been expected that one voice in the League of Nations would have spoken up in behalf of the impoverished little nation in colonial Africa—the voice of Maxim Litvinoff, who represents the Soviet Union in the League. But not a peep out of him, except to so profusely and slavishly congratulate Sir Anthony Eden for his wise decision to postpone the matter until "after the rainy season" as even to make Sir Anthony blush. In this connection, too, the world is still awaiting the answer to the telegram sent Litvin-

off by Mr. Williams, assistant secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The telegram reads as follows:

"Why has Soviet Russia, though you as Foreign Minister and President League Council, remained silent Italian-Ethiopian situation? Has Russia abandoned its alleged opposition to imperialism and its much publicized defense of weaker peoples? Does your anti-imperialism stop at black nations? Await your reply."

A war against Ethiopia by Italy will not be a purely African affair, or an Italo-Ethiopian affair. Even if it starts thus, it will not end so. Too many imperialist powers have their fingers in the pudding. The liberal jitters that Mussolini, as usual, is only blustering are false and disarming. It may well prove to be a test of how secure is the inner regime of a modern imperialist power since the abject collapse of the Third International, France's backing of Italy, in light of the Franco-Soviet pact, will compromise the Soviet Union in the eyes of the world proletariat unless a resounding call—which is highly improbable—be issued to the world working class to demand hands off Ethiopia.

England has been drawn closer and closer to Germany in recent days. Hitler's "drang nach Osten" may soon take on fearful reality. Japan is consciously contriving one act of provocation after another against the Soviet Union. While occupied in writing this, a late evening paper brings the news that serious skirmishes are already taking place on the Ethiopian front with "heavy casualties" reported. The next world war looms large on the horizon. More than ever must the working class be prepared.

More than ever must we reaffirm the revolutionary slogans: "Turn the imperialist war into civil war. The enemy is in our own country."

Spring Makers Strike in N.Y.

Employees of the Kay Mfg. Co. of 22 Warren Street, Brooklyn are on strike. The company did not think profits large enough so it increased hours from 40 to 44. With the increase of hours workers paid by the week received no increase in pay and to show the "fairness" of the company rates for piece workers were reduced 10 percent.

In other words all workers were supposed to work an extra four hours a week for the glory of god, the good of their health, and the bosses' profits.

Only one thing was wrong with this proposition—the 350 workers,

A Reply to Liberal Critics of Bolshevism

The Position of the Workers Party on Proletarian Dictatorship and Worker's Democracy in Light of Recent Events

By A. J. MUSTE

Doubt and discredit are being thrown upon the entire Marxist-Leninist philosophy and upon the revolutionary movement of the working class by the policies of the present Stalin-dominated regime in the Soviet Union. When in connection with the signing of a pact between the S. U. and the imperialist French government, it is officially stated that "M. Stalin understands and fully approves the national defense policy of France in keeping her armed forces at the level required for security" and when Maurice Thorez, leader of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of France flatly declares: "Now I answer a question that has been put to me: In case of such a war launched by Hitler against the U.S.S.R., would you apply your slogan: 'transformation of the imperialist war into the civil war' (against French imperialism, that is). Well, no! because in such a war it is not an imperialist war that is involved, a war between two imperialist gangs, it is a war against the Soviet Union"—then the enemies of the working class utter the taunt: "There goes your boast that the Workers' State brings a new force into diplomacy, into relations between states, your claim that the working class revolution will put an end to imperialist wars."

Liberals of all shades who had come to have a measure of sympathy for the revolutionary movement as perhaps the one practical instrument for the realization of their ideals are alienated; many of them go back to faith in phantoms like humanitarianism and religion to usher in the reign of peace. Reactionary and conservative trade unionists and Social Democrats who were on the defensive when the Soviet regime and the Communist International were making a clear-cut revolutionary attack on capitalism, imperialism and war, take fresh courage and obtain a fresh opportunity to confuse the workers and to strengthen their hold upon them. Into the hearts of many of the advanced workers strikes an icy blast of disillusionment and cynicism.

Stalin Sows Illusions

That social patriotism fastening itself upon the Second International should betray the workers and lead them to a ghastly slaughter, before they realized what was happening, that is understandable. From such an experience the working class can profit and therefore recover. But if now the International of Lenin succumbs to social-patriotism, calls upon the worker under whatever specious plea to defend the (imperialist) "fatherland," doubt may well arise as to whether there is any way to save the revolutionary movement from corruption and defeat. "If the salt has lost its savor, wherewith shall it be salted?"

The revolutionary internationalists of the Workers Party in the United States and the parties and groups in other countries which have likewise raised the banner of the Fourth International, have the answer to this problem; and they know in the working class movement today have an answer. It is not, however, with this phase of the degeneration of the Soviet regime and the Third International that we are primarily concerned here; but rather with a problem closely related to it.

The present regime in the Soviet Union is employing repression and terrorism on a large scale and of a brutal character, not only against

those who are the enemies of the Workers' State or those who can with some measure of plausibility be regarded as such, but also against revolutionists who are political opponents of Stalin and his henchmen. It is not necessary here to produce detailed evidence of the fact. The Soviet press itself carries daily reports of severe measures taken against old Bolsheviks, including recently those who have never had any connection with the Trotskyist opposition, for example, as well as against relatives of the men who have never participated in any political activity at all, as witness the case of Trotsky's son, a chemist who was permitted to go on with his work for many years after his father's exile, to which Nathalie Trotsky has recently called public attention.

When organizations such as ours protest against such repressive acts, we are met, and with increasing frequency in recent months, with the argument that protests from us come with poor grace and can hardly expect to get serious attention. We are told that we also believe in the proletarian dictatorship, that we justified acts of terrorism in the period when Lenin and Trotsky were the dominant figures in the Soviet Union, that in our opinion the workers, when they take power in the United States, should take whatever measures may be necessary against those who would desire to reestablish capitalism, and so on. The acts against which we protest are bound to occur under "dictatorships," we are told, regardless of "the kind of dictatorship" which may exist. Only "democracy" such as we have in the United States provides any insurance against them.

Liberals Find a Moral

Thus the most liberal daily in New York, the N. Y. Post, in its editorial columns of June 24, 1935, reasons: "The appeal of Mrs. Nathalie Trotsky in Saturday's Post is recommended to the attention of parlor pinks and Communist 'sympathizers.' It illustrates the evil effects sure to flow from dictatorship, no matter what its alibi—whether on the plea of 'halting Communism' as in Germany or the plea of 'establishing Socialism' as in Soviet Russia. . . . Communism and Fascism are new labels, but the founders of this country knew them under other forms. It was to break the power of a Tory King and to prevent the recurrence of similar despotism in this country that the founders of this country set up the safeguards of the American Constitution, the world's oldest and still the world's best. . . . Communists oppose the Hitler dictatorship but they condone the Soviet dictatorship. Trotsky opposes the dictatorship of Stalin but he would like to substitute for it the dictatorship of Trotsky. The case of Trotsky's son demonstrates what happens under any kind of a dictatorship—whether Left or Right. . . . the use of suppression necessitates ever more suppression until rising resentment, deprived of peaceful vent, overthrows the regime. That applies to Russia under Communism as it applies to Germany, Austria and Italy under Fascism. Democracy will yet survive them all."

In one of the closing chapters of "Russia's Iron Age," the much discussed book by the brilliant foreign correspondent, William Henry Chamberlain, long regarded as one of the most devoted and effective journalistic "friends of the Soviet Union," there is a very moving pro-

sentation of the same point of view: "One among many points of faith common to apologists of Communism and of Fascism is an overweening contempt for civil liberties, which are represented as unnecessary and inconvenient barnacles on the ship of progress. The longer I have lived in the Soviet Union, where civil liberties—freedom of speech, press, assembly, and election—are most conspicuously lacking, the more I have become convinced that they are of vital and tremendous importance, and that their existence or absence is as good a test as any of the quality of a nation's civilization. The Communist (or the Fascist; their trend of thought in this question is strikingly similar) talks of civil liberties as of the outworn fetters of a handful of disgruntled intellectuals who are unable to rise to the necessary vision of the high and noble character and purpose of the Communist (or Fascist) state. But my own observation in Russia has led me to believe that a great deal more is at stake than the freedom of thought of the educated classes, although it seems rather obvious that culture becomes impoverished when the historian must alter his record of the past, the author must give a prescribed coloring to his characters, and free research in any field can be cut off by the will of an all-powerful state."

In the Ukraine

"It was during my trip through the famine regions of Ukraine and the North Caucasus that I became utterly and definitely convinced that democracy, with all its faults, weaknesses and imperfections, is enormously superior to dictatorship as a method of government, simply from the standpoint of the common man. Is there any recorded case in history where famine—not poverty or hardship or destitution, but stark famine, with a toll of millions of lives—has occurred in a democratically governed country? Is it conceivable that the famine of 1932-33 could have taken place if civil liberties had prevailed in the Soviet Union, if newspapers had been free to report the facts, if speakers could have appealed for relief, if the government in power had been obliged to submit its policy of letting vast numbers of the peasants starve to death to the verdict of a free election? The countless graves of the humble and obscure famine victims, the peasants of Ukraine and the North Caucasus, of the Volga and Central Asia, are to me the final grim, unanswerable refutation of the specious Communist contention that freedom of speech and press and political agitation is only humping by which the bourgeoisie tries to delude the masses."

For good measure, and in order to emphasize the frequency with which the same tune is heard in these days, we may quote from the leading article in the June issue of Harper's Magazine by Johan J. Smertenko: "John Howard Lawson finds Alabama in the grip of a fascist 'terror' because he and a lawyer of the International Labor Defense were placed momentarily under 'illegal arrest' and six Communists, also freed after trial, 'are in daily and hourly danger of whipping, torture, and possible death.' But he is unmoved by the thousands, starving in the timber camps of the Arctic region because they will not forsake their religion, who pray for death as a release from their torture."

"Elmer Rice and Paul Sifton cry out dramatically against the soulless industrial system of America and glory in the industrialization of the muck. The bread-lines of disorganized capitalism stir Edmund Wilson to eloquent rage, but the bread lines of bureaucratic communism are accepted as a necessary expedient in technological development. The peripatetic John Strachey deplores from some thirty lyceums and a half-dozen periodicals that 'freedom of speech is abused by capitalists in this country,' whereas in Russia it is merely 'incomplete,' since the inviolate censorship and ruthless suppression are exercised only against the remnant of capitalists who wish to see the return of their system.' (Among the capitalists are the dead or exiled authors: Andreyev, Artashashvili, Bunin, Korolenko, Kuprin, Merezhkovsky, Tolstoy, and, of course, Trotsky.)

"Thus too Walter Duranty, whose complacent dispatches in the Times contrasted the Nazi blood-purge with Lenin's treatment of the 'opposition,' has been eloquently silent about the oblique imprisonment and summary executions of the Trotsky-Zinoviev-Ramenev faction. And Waldo Frank, whose burning protests against Kentucky violence almost scorched the pages of the liberal weeklies, does indeed 'speak in a monstrous little voice' of these official murders: 'I realize that the peoples of Russia have their own background and that it is utopian to expect them, because of their heroic prosecution of a great social cause, to behave in every instance according to our own rules and ideals. . . . In so far as it (Russia) appears, even to contradict justice at home, it is harming the cause of justice abroad. From the standpoint of this high strategy, if from no other, I deplore the recent executions.'"

Answer of Workers Party

Whether or not they are personally disturbed by such questions, revolutionists in the U. S. will have to meet them. If the reactionaries and liberals between them, making use of Stalinist policies and actions, can make the American workers believe that, as over against capitalism, Communism means repression, regimentation, less freedom, personal dictatorship, etc., a formidable barrier against revolutionary progress will have been erected. We of the Workers Party have to defend the assertions of our Declaration of Principles: that the policies of "socialization of the means of production and exchange" which the Workers' State will pursue "insures only the small handful of financiers, landlords and industrialists whose private control of the resources of the country is the source of hunger, unemployment and insecurity for the great bulk of the people," that every willing worker can be assured of "a well-paid job," security against unemployment, and insurance against industrial risks, old age, and sickness; that there "will be no need for the Workers' State to impose arbitrary and repressive measures upon small individual proprietors and farmers;" that the Workers' State while functioning as a dictatorship of the working class against its enemies will assure and continually extend "far more genuine and substantial democratic rights to the masses than ever accorded to them under capitalism."

(Continued in next issue)

READ THE NEW MILITANT.

men and women, old and young, did not like it and they walked out on strike 100 percent. They placed a picket line in front of the plant and the rest of the strikers camped on the street nearby. The plant is tied up tight as a drum.

"The need for a trade union which previously had been agitated for by some was now apparent to all. The strikers sent a committee to see Wm. Collins, eastern representative of the A. F. of L. Collins gave them his good wishes and referred them to the Industrial Relations Board. The Board sent a representative who appealed to the non-existent heart of the boss.

"The workers committee called up the Central Council of Federal Labor Unions. That was 15 cents lost in phone calls, though Mr. Ravitch, secretary of the Council, was mildly interested.

"The strikers, still determined, sent a delegation to the Bronx where the Kay family has another factory. Here a representative of the International Upholsterers Union was found. The striking workers at both plants are signing up with this union.

"The spirit of the strikers is excellent. New to labor unions, they were able to get themselves organized, established a picket line, elected picket captains, arranged a regular hourly relief of pickets, etc.

"One worker was arrested in connection with an injury received by a scab truck driver. His release was immediately secured by a strike-

ers' delegation. The plants manufacture springs and spring mattresses. Wages are miserably low and the workers are determined to go back on a 40-hour week with previous rates of pay and a union to back them up.

Bone to Youth Blow to Labor

(Continued from Page 1)

to "benefit" from this new scheme. According to Labor Department statistics, there are, however, 3,000,000 unemployed youth, which estimate is "considered conservative" by the New York Times. Using this figure, which actually must fall several million short of reality, 2,500,000 youth are automatically obliged to shift for themselves.

"More than one third of the high-school and college graduates between the ages of 18 and 29 were unemployed in July, 1934," says the Labor Department. How many have become unemployed since? How many non-graduates are unemployed? A canvass conducted by the Bureau of Labor Statistics in the spring of 1934 "found that out of every 100 employable persons between the ages of 16 and 24, 34 were unemployed, as compared with an average of 21 for all age groups." (Labor Information Bulletin, May, 1935.)

Why Roosevelt should have pro-

posed to "do something for the nation's unemployed youth" is somewhat answered in Senate Resolution No. 67, January 30, 1935:

"One of the most tragic results of the depression is the effect it has upon the lives of young men and women emerging from our educational institutions. There are several million young people between the ages of 18 and 30 who have graduated from our schools and colleges and entered into a work-world where no opportunities have been open to them to obtain a start in business or to commence the practice of their profession. This large group may become demoralized and disheartened and thus constitute a dangerous addition to the discontented and radical-minded elements and also offer a challenge to the system which permits the minds and ingenuities of its youth to be wasted."

The National Youth Administration was therefore created to stem this rising discontent against a "system which permits the minds and ingenuities of its youth to be wasted." The National Youth Administration was therefore assigned the task of regimenting the youth into channels of patriotic devotion. Moreover, election time and maybe war is coming. That then is the yield Roosevelt expects. Unfortunately for the system and those who starve because of it the sop is hardly enough to assuage the needs or discontent of the youth.

A Blow at Labor
The millions of youth, the few who have been offered a starvation pittance and the many more who have been completely ignored, have been presented a challenge that can only be met with further "dangerous addition to the discontented and radical-minded elements." Their problem is more than a youth struggle. "The essence of the Roosevelt plan strikes a blow at the wages and jobs of all workers. It aims to reduce the American working class to a lower standard of living, and further penury. It must therefore be met, not as a youth affair, but as the concern of the whole laboring mass."

With the support of the adult workers behind them, the youth of the United States must demand, in united ranks; trade union wage-slaves; regular jobs with a five-day week and six hour day; adequate provision for support while attending academic and training schools; settlement houses in the cities for homeless youth under civil and youth supervision; unemployment insurance; the right to vote at the age of eighteen. The next step is to destroy that system which wastes "the minds and ingenuities of its youth," to join the "radical-minded elements—the Spartacus Youth League."

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NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MARCH 28, 1936

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counsel for the Senate Committee investigating the munitions manufacturers and their financial backers. Mr. Rauschenbusch is at the

(Continued on Page 4)

Call for Revolutionary Mass Action in France

(Continued from Page 1)

on in the traditional havens of neutrality, works of defense, armaments, and military construction grow monstrously.

And in France? The same scene! Aviation, steel, shipyards, chemicals, all the war industries are booming. This year 20 billion francs are devoted to so-called "national defense." A plan for "organizing an armed nation in case of war" is about to come before parliament: it will reduce the country to Hitler German slavery.

The French General Staff is perfecting military plans for the coordination of the Belgian and Swiss armies. It is tightening its alliances with Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia. Finally it has concluded a military alliance with Russia.

Where is democracy in all this? What Sarraut and Maurin want to defend is the power of French imperialism, the domination of the French bourgeoisie over 60 million people in Indo-China, Madagascar, Morocco and Northern Africa, the exploitation of 30 million French workers, the dividends of the Bourse and the Bank of France, the profits of the mine, steel and textile barons! That is what stands behind the lie of "defense of democracy," of "national defense," in 1936 just as in 1914.

The Versailles Treaty

One of the direct causes of Hitler's gesture was the Versailles Treaty. This monstrous robber pact allowed the French capitalists to arm their frontiers to the teeth. It forbade the German capitalists to keep troops on their own territory to the West of the Rhine. The Locarno Treaty consecrated this law in 1925 at the moment when the Steel Trust with the aid of American capital gave German heavy industry a new start.

Today Hitler has rejected this subject to the Versailles Treaty. And Sarraut, the champion of democracy, begins to mobilize because the German troops have entered Germany! Once more this democracy is unmasked as a "pacifist" cover for the Versailles Treaty, the direct cause of all the conflicts in Europe since the war.

All this, Sarraut's government knows very well. It was for this very reason that Sarraut, as he revealed in his radio speech on March 8, entered into secret negotiations with Hitler after the latter declared his intentions. For Hitler relentlessly drives forward his plan for uniting the world counter-revolution to smash Soviet Russia.

This example shows, that secret diplomacy continues to plot for the real aims of capitalism while journalistic hordes continue to shout about "defense of liberty" and other lies.

How Can U.S.S.R. Be Defended?

But a section of the press, with the Ulanianite at its head, plans to put over the lie of national defense by means of the slogan of defense of the U.S.S.R.

The Stalinist bureaucracy which has crushed the conquests of the October Revolution one after another, which even now has re-established Marshalls and Cossacks, finds allies in French, English and Belgian capitalism and the White Guard dictatorship of the Little Entente. By fanning the flames of chauvinism among the masses of the people under the national flags of these "allies," the bureaucracy of the Soviet Union pretends to "defend socialism."

Under the pretext of "defense of the U.S.S.R.," the Stalinist bureaucracy delivers the French working class bound hand and foot to both the "right and the left wing" of the General Staff and the munitions makers. In reality it is interested only in defending its own privileges. Thus is prepared the enslavement of both the French and

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Russian working classes to military cliques.

The only defense of the Soviet Union, the only way to prevent the return of capitalism to the U.S.S.R. and the victory of Hitlerism, the only defense of the Russian and French workers is the international socialist revolution! Still other preachers about "disarmament" under the benevolent protection of the League of Nations. What deceit!

For 15 years now every conference has ended in a tremendous failure. Every conference has been followed by an intensive rearmament of the various countries. Super armaments and towering war budgets have become an inescapable necessity for deceiving imperialism.

No, it is impossible for capitalism to disarm itself. The international working class must turn the armaments against their owners.

Revolution or War

At the same time we must denounce the role that Hitler plays as the leader of world-wide counter-revolution. By extortion and bribery he tries to bring to power the fascist and reactionary cliques in France and elsewhere. LaRocque and Taittinger become his lieutenants. Thus Hitler hopes to rally the most rabid representatives of decaying capitalism for the drive to the East.

Status quo or revision of the Versailles Treaty, either tactic will inevitably unleash war.

Today only the working class revolution, the expropriation of capitalism, the smashing of imperialism, can save the world from a new slaughter.

That is why the workers must oppose Hitler's activities not together with their own bourgeoisie but must close their ranks for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie.

War or Revolution: that is the inescapable dilemma. Unhesitatingly we choose revolution. Only the rising revolutionary flood can make peace, can make the bourgeoisie hesitate and retreat.

Only the broadest and most stubborn class struggle, the victorious revolution of the working class can end the threat of a new world war.

Workers!

A new European and world war threatens the ruin and destruction of human civilization.

The masses of France, already decimated in 1914-1918, will be stricken. Millions of deaths and the ruin of all working class progress will be the result.

Only the overthrow of capitalism can spare the world these new orgies of blood.

In the face of the announced and heralded treason of the parties of the Second and Third International, we raise the red flag of working class internationalism, the standard of the Fourth International.

With our comrades of Belgium, England, Italy, Holland, Switzerland, America, with the vanguard of the international working class the Marxist-Leninists of France affirm their faith in the ideas of Lenin and Liebknecht.

If capitalism unleashes war once more, then in spite of all sacrifices and innumerable victims, the hour will have sounded for patient and relentless struggle to transform this imperialist war into a stubborn and merciless civil war against our own bourgeoisie.

The enemy is at home!

Workers!

To the incitements of the chauvinists and partisans of the sacred union, fight with us for the methods and the aims of the international working class, the aims of Marx, Lenin, Liebknecht and Trotsky.

Down with secret treaties! Publish the war aims of imperialist France!

The workers refuse to fight for the profits of de Wendel or Mercier.

Down with the policy of military alliances practiced by France, England, Germany and the League of Nations!

For an offensive against the Sarraut government and its policy of the sacred union! Mass action for workers' power and the expropriation of big capital!

When the young workers in uniform at home or in the barracks show their alarm, demand political rights for the soldiers and labor papers in the barracks. Elect soldiers' delegates to deal with the soldiers' problems.

If the bourgeoisie mobilizes the troops: coordinate the struggle to direct the discontent of the masses threatened with a new slaughter toward an immediate peace and the overthrow of capitalism.

If war is declared: struggle for fraternization between the French and German workers on the battlefield!

Down with imperialist war!

Long live the international working class revolution!

Long live the Fourth International!

(signed)
Central Committee, Bolshevik-Leninist Group, C.O., Revolutionary Socialist Youth.

Blacklist Out In Akron Pact

(Continued from Page 1)

they consider re-employment of the strikers.

The company further agrees to meet and negotiate with the workers individually or through their duly chosen representatives, but the Goodyear Industrial Assembly, a company union whose removal was demanded by the strikers, still remains in the picture. It is this qualified recognition that the rubber workers' union, by the continued solidarity and determination of its membership, now has the possibility of making real. Granting that the determination displayed in such splendid fashion during the trying and difficult days of the strike remains after the return to work, the foothold already gained by qualified recognition should serve as a means of strengthening the union in continued struggle to eliminate the company union outfit.

Points in Agreement

Other points in the agreement establish certain rules for working hours, changes of wage rates or contemplated lay-offs. The tire and tube division is put on a thirty-six hour weekly schedule and in all other departments hours per week are not to exceed 40 nor to be less than 30 unless arranged by a vote of employees affected. Temporarily a week of 24 hours is to be worked in all departments to avoid lay-offs. And in case of contemplated lay-offs in the future lists in duplicate are to be made available to the representatives of the workers.

Notice is also to be given to representatives of the workers affected of any changes in wage rates before they are posted. In regard to this question, however, no provisions were gained to wipe out the numerous wage cuts that have already taken place and which even the federal fact finding board criticized.

In addition to the actual agreement a special memorandum was accepted verbally by the company representatives as binding upon them which provide for the setting up of machinery in the plant to handle grievances of the workers. By the terms of this memorandum each division within the plant is to have a shop committee for the union and is entitled to take up matters of adjustments during working hours and to be accompanied by union representatives when conferring with the management.

Union Officials Wavering

While on a whole this strike settlement marks a distinct forward step for the rubber workers' union there need be little doubt that the vacillating attitude of the major officials and their fear of following up in the same spirit set by the strikers on the picket line accounts for the gains not being more definitive. Representatives of the Committee for Industrial Organization, headed by John L. Lewis shared in this weakness.

Only this failure accounts for the company union still being in the picture. Insofar as the strike is concerned, it must be said that seldom before has such a complete solidarity and such a magnificent determination been displayed on any picket line. Strikers went to their posts at any time of the day or night without balking for an instant at sacrifice or hardships.

Centering around the more than three hundred established posts, or "shanties," the pickets took care that all gates were guarded and closed so tight that nothing could move in or out. These pickets were in dead earnest in their fight to establish a union of their own choice and they knew what the struggle meant. Hence their determination and their rejection of several previous settlement offers inferior to the present agreement. The strikers had a continuous battle, not only to keep the scabs out and to compel the company to come to more reasonable terms, but also to stiffen the backbone of the union officials. This responsibility the strikers discharged in magnificent fashion.

Obstacles in the Road

Viewing the agreement that has been made, and noting its specific compromising features, the situation described above has to be taken into account. And besides this there were factors of even greater consequences, all playing a serious role in the strike settlement. First of all it must be remembered that the organization of any of the gigantic mass production industries is in itself a most difficult task. Terrific obstacles stood in the way in the Akron rubber industry. All the open shop employers concentrated their forces to bolster up the Goodyear company and if possible to defeat this strike and thereby stave off the hour of a campaign of organization in other mass production industries. It is in view of this fact that the partial victory won in Akron, that the present forward step made, assumes real significance.

Then in addition to these factors already mentioned the Akron strikers faced a large scale organization of vigilante forces. Composed of a combination of what is usually called the better people, together with thugs, gunmen and professional strike-breakers, these would be vigilantes had at their disposal a war chest of many thousands of dollars made available by the various rubber companies. Deputy badges were freely issued to these high-jackers and plug-muggies by Sheriff Jim Flower, who often managed to appear in appropriate ceremonies with the vigilante leaders. A "red" hysteria continued without abatement throughout the period of the strike.

Even some of the union officials stooped to the level of imitating this "red" hysteria, directing their attacks mainly against the Workers Party and against Comrade A. J. Munde personally, who was in Akron during the strike. These particular gentlemen made clear that what they feared was the courageous militancy displayed by the strikers which was consciously aided by the progressive forces within their ranks.

Despite these weaknesses, the results of the magnificent battle fought with unprecedented fury by the Akron strikers is that now the union has a solid basis. It is firmly established, and with the spirit that has been displayed by the rank and file membership up to now, carried forward to the new stage, a gain of momentous importance will be recorded for the American labor movement. Akron has made its valuable contribution. The struggle is not completed. It must go on, and no doubt it will go on until not only the rubber industry is solidly organized, but the example set is taken up elsewhere and the mass production industries are solidly organized.

were made in the working class suburbs of Vienna, where the workers demonstrated their support of the defendants. But on March 19th it was reported that "Disquiet was caused to both the government and the socialists alike by redoubled Nazi efforts to make capital out of the workers' growing indignation over the trial."

N.Y. Painters Defend Rights

The New York Painters District Council has obtained a temporary injunction in court restraining the General Executive Board of the Brotherhood from revoking the Council's charter and from asking employers not to comply with agreements made with the Council. The judge ruled that the council is entitled to function with the newly elected officers and to receive per-capita tax from the local unions.

The attempts of the G.E.B. to revoke the Council's charter grows out of the special elections held by the Council on February 23, which the former has declared to be unconstitutional. It is, however, necessary to understand the reasons for these special elections.

Committee Finds Irregularities

For years, with but brief interruptions, the New York Painters District was ruled by the corrupt Zausner gang. Honest elections had passed out of practice altogether; working conditions deteriorated. The crookedness of this officialdom in the last regular elections, held last June, provoked a revolt. Several local unions requested the Civil Liberties Union and the Socialist party to constitute a committee to investigate the elections and if the charge of irregularities was substantiated this committee would supervise new elections to insure their fair conduct. The committee found flagrant irregularities and Zausner resigned the secretaryship, usurped through the crooked election deal. But the G.E.B., fearing the consequences with its special henchmen discredited, refused to accept the committee proposed to supervise special elections and ruled that these elections would be unconstitutional.

For the New York locals there was hardly anything else left but to go through with the planned special elections. They did, and the result was a defeat for most of the remnants of the Zausner gang. Twelve business agents were elected, a part of whom were supporters of Louis Weinstein, who won the election for secretary of the District Council with a vote of almost three to one. This became the signal for action by the G.E.B. It revoked the council charter arbitrarily and without a hearing. Its representatives visited the painter houses in an effort to inveigle them into a refusal to honor the agreement formerly concluded with the council when the Zausner gang held the reins.

Naturally the New York painters union membership resented this attitude of the G.E.B. Its understanding is that an election was held and conducted without any violations of trade union democracy. There can be no doubt that the rank and file membership supports the newly elected officers and there need be no doubt that in a choice between these and the attitude taken by the G.E.B., the membership is entirely justified in this support.

Officials Watching the Wind

At the present moment the whole issue seems to hang in the balance. The affairs of the council and the local unions are still in a chaotic condition. Some of the elected officials, notably some of the business agents, are hiding their time, not knowing where to place their allegiance, since as ordinary bureaucrats they want to feel assured first of which side will win out. Louis Weinstein is supported by the Daily Worker, and his group for the time being is in the leadership. But it is pursuing a tactic often witnessed before and usually with results detrimental to the movement.

Instead of really consolidating the membership in the fight that has been carried on against the Zausner clique and which now necessarily must be continued against the arbitrary actions of the G. E. B., this group concerns itself with meaningless endorsements. In the street. In that melee the other four persons were arrested. Fists flew and several women were mauled, including Jean Dessel, striking librarian and Mrs. William Oviatt, wife of a striker and head of the commissary.

The roughhouse tactics of the police drew not only the criticism of the strikers but also that of the sideline spectators.

Brown was scheduled to speak at Miller's Hall, near the safety building, but he refused to leave on bail until the other six under arrest had bail arranged for them also. The banks were closed and problem was to raise \$40 in cash. An appeal was made to the crowd in the hall. It responded with \$68.

Carl Minkley, organizer for the brewery workers' union, told the crowd that Hearst was "competing with WPA by paying reporters \$15 and \$20 a week."

Brown, who got to the meeting after two hours in jail, brought the crowd to its feet several times in a rousing spirit speech.

Trial began Monday before a circuit court jury of the News' charges that the guild has violated terms of the secondary picketing injunction of the court. Herbert Langendorff and George Bergstrom, arrested 10 days ago, will go to trial Tuesday in the municipal court on disorderly conduct.

Police Aid Hearst News

(Continued from Page 1)

protested the arrests of Lauterbach and Polinsky in front of the News building and an hour and a half of mass picketing. Police several times tried to break up the picket lines, goldmen charged.

Strikers Storm "Safety" Building

After a parade along Wisconsin Avenue, the marchers stormed the safety building to demand the release of Brown and the others. About 125 policemen charged out of the safety building and drove the crowd into a vacant lot across

Spanish Masses Taking Matters in Own Hands

(Continued from Page 1)

capt the principle of the nationalization of the land and its free distribution to the peasants, solicited by the delegates of the Socialist party.

Instead, the bourgeoisie proposed in the electoral agreement signed by it and the workers' parties, a series of measures which do not begin to ameliorate the plight of the peasantry and the land-workers. The right-wing Socialists and the Stalinists are aiding Azana in this issue by making no criticism of his land program.

Double Fakery

Like the Spanish Stalinists, the American "Daily Worker" is covering up the fact that the republican regime forced upon the workers' parties to the electoral agreement a flat declaration against the nationalization of land. Harry Gannes, on March 23, wrote: "Today a new democratic government holds power by the same votes (as 1931) but this time it has a specific mandate to give the land to those who work it—and just to make sure, the workers have taken the land in trust until the law shall be passed." This is double fakery: first, the electoral agreement included no mandate to give the land but on the contrary a repudiation of this principle by the republicans; secondly, except for a few instances, the workers are not taking the land but, deceived by their own leaders are waiting for further action by the Cortes.

At a meeting in Madrid on March 22 (not reported by the Daily Worker), the Communist Party came out for a coalition with the bourgeoisie in the municipal elections to be held April 12, and called for a permanent coalition "Popular Front" to go on after the municipal elections.

The Socialists are rent by a sharp struggle on this question, left elements insisting that whatever was to be gained from a coalition with the bourgeoisie in the national elections has been achieved, and that the Socialist party should put up its own candidates in all cities and towns where it has strength. It will be recalled that in the elections of 1931 and 1933 the Socialists showed their greatest strength in these local elections.

Mr. Laski Advises

The right-wing Socialist line was given classic expression by Harold J. Laski in last week's "New Leader," old-guard Socialist organ. Laski declares, "Ten years of profound progressive legislation are essential if Liberal Spain is to be given its letters of credit"—presumably while the workers sit around and wait! Instead of recognizing that the struggle is fast developing into a struggle for proletarian power, Laski declares, "the breakdown of the present union (bourgeois coalition) means something like Fascism" and "the next four years are, above all, a breathing space." To declare as Laski does, that "if the left (including the bourgeoisie) are wise enough to maintain their present unity—there will be four years in which to consolidate the ideals for which the Revolution of 1931 was made"—means, reduced to blunt terms, to give the bourgeoisie four years in which to consolidate bourgeois state-power. After the German and Austrian events, Laski wrote a theoretical work on the nature of the state which approached a Marxist position; but at the first sign of the resurgence of the proletariat, when theory must be transformed into practice, Laski reverts to traditional socialism.

several instances of local meetings since the attempted revocation of the council charter, agents of the G.E.B. have been permitted to hold up regular action, after which a section of the most ardent Weinstein supporters would get together, have rump meetings and declare the council elections endorsed. The main trouble with such action is that it does not rally the broad layers of the rank and file in the necessary fight and besides all the endorsements of the membership as a whole have real meaning.

Union Under Double Fire

With the attempts of the G. E. B. to induce the bosses to break the agreement with the council there can be no doubt that the New York membership will face a double fire. Not only can the G. E. B. be expected, unless some compromise agreement with it is reached, to attempt to set up a rival organization, but the bosses will try to take advantage of the conflict to break down even the existing poor working conditions and cut the prevailing wage scale right and left.

Moreover the action of the newly elected council officers in going to the capitalist court for assistance against the G. E. B. is not at all a good indication for the future conduct of the fight.

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AFTER FIVE MONTHS OF SANCTIONS

Its Effect upon the Italo-Ethiopian War, The Great Powers and the Workers

By JOHN WEST

One of the crucial issues of the present war crisis has been the problem of so-called "sanctions." Sanctions, moreover, are not merely a question for theoretical analysis. Sanctions are being tested also by experience: during nearly five months they have been in operation against an "aggressor." In the light of the experience of these five months, therefore, I wish to rest the analysis we have made of the problem of sanctions, and the position which we hold with respect to them.

The first point to make clear is that the sanctions which I am discussing—namely, the real sanctions which have really been in operation during these months—are in actuality certain economic, financial and commercial measures carried out by certain national states: Great Britain, France, the Soviet Union, and various of their satellites. This point may seem either so trivial or so obvious as to be hardly worth making. In fact, however, it is crucial. The reason why it must be understood is that these measures are usually referred to not as they really are, but as "League of Nations sanctions." From this it is concluded that they differ fundamentally from measures carried out by national states, that they are collective acts of collective body which aims to uphold world stability and world peace.

The truth is that the idea of "League sanctions" is a mere legal fiction. The League of Nations is not a sovereign political unit nor an economic unit. It has no citizens nor army nor navy nor industries nor trade nor finance (other than the unimportant Bank for International Settlements, which to some extent it controls). Consequently there are no sanctions which the League could put into effect, no matter how desirous it

might be of doing so. Sanctions, as defined in the League Covenant, can be put into effect only by sovereign political states. The only reality they can even conceivably have is as acts of sovereign political states.

It is this basic fact which determines the attitude of the various tendencies within the working class toward sanctions. Revolutionary Marxists are opposed to sanctions, because they are on all occasions opposed to bourgeois national states; the strategy of Marxists aims always toward the overthrow of bourgeois states. The social-patriots, on the other hand, favor sanctions, because at bottom the social-patriots rest on bourgeois national states, and rely on collaboration with them. The social-patriots of the standard social variety, here as in every other crucial issue, function as the agents of the bourgeois bureaucracy within the working class. The new-style Stalinist social-patriots function within the working class as agents of the class enemy through an indirect route. These latter, committed to the building of socialism in one country, are consequently led to aid in maintenance of the status quo internationally—to enable socialism to be built "without interruption"—and thus must collaborate with and rely on the bourgeois states to whose immediate interest such maintenance is or seems to Stalin to be. In both cases, social-patriotism in general, and support of sanctions in particular, means nothing other than alliance with the class enemy.

Let us examine briefly what has happened in the case of sanctions, since their invocation in November:

Most of the nations belonging to the League have put into effect certain measures relating to their trade with Italy. These measures have included prohibitions on the

export to Italy of a number of materials and products related to the carrying on of war (implements of war, horses, trucks, etc.); and also certain restrictions on granting loans and credits to Italy. The United States, also, though not a member of the League, has carried out certain sanctions: the prohibition of the export of certain implements of war, as provided in the Neutrality Act; and restrictions on loans and credit, through the Johnson Act.

It is to be remarked that all these nations, including the Soviet Union, have been very zealous in sticking to the letter of the law on sanctions. They have been careful not to step over the bounds of "collective action" by extending sanctions to anything not specifically agreed upon—to, for example, oil.

Italy, on her side, however, has gone a little further, and has expanded the reign of sanctions by instituting what she has called "counter-sanctions": restriction of imports, prohibition of the sale of certain products from sanctionist nations, freezing of credits and other financial restrictions to prevent payment to these nations, etc.

What has been the effect of these measures?

First, it will require no argument to prove that their effect on the conduct of the Italian military campaign to Ethiopia has been zero. There is no indication that they have affected the campaign in the slightest. From a military point of view, Ethiopia has fared neither better nor worse than if sanctions had never been thought of. As means of stopping the war or of saving ravaged Ethiopia, sanctions have accomplished nothing.

Sanctions seem to have had some effect in adding to Italy's economic and financial burdens internally, in cutting down supplies of certain goods and in raising prices. How great a percentage of such dislocation can be traced to sanctions, however, and how much to what would have occurred in any case under the given circumstances, without sanctions, it is difficult to estimate. Certain economic and financial difficulties have also followed with the sanctions-invoking countries. Indeed, it is probable that sanctions have been as burdensome to Great Britain and France as to Italy.

This, then, is the sum of the effects of sanctions as pretended instruments for stopping war and maintaining peace. This does not, however, complete the story of the effect of sanctions.

National Unity

The outstanding effect of the policy of sanctions has been to aid in bringing to a new high point national unity within both the sanctions-invoking nations and Italy. The united support of sanctions by the dominant sections of the bourgeoisie together with the leadership of the dominant working class parties and organizations has meant in practice a coalition between the bourgeoisie and the working class. The crucial result of sanctions, thus, from the point of view of the working class, has been the weakening of the position of the working class, a shift in the relationship of forces in favor of the bourgeoisie, a set-back to the revolutionary struggle.

In Italy, the policy of sanctions has played neatly into the hands of Mussolini. He has been able to direct the resentment of the masses away from the enemy at home, away from himself, the Fascist state and Italian finance-capital, to the "enemy abroad"—to the sanctionist nations and particularly to Great Britain. Thus the process of conscious class differentiation in Italy, which might well have gone on at a rapid rate during this period, has had substituted for it a merging into patriotic support of the nation—that is, support of the class enemy.

Of even more importance, in the long run, is the degree to which sanctions have aided in accomplishing national unity within France and Great Britain (the same process has of course occurred within the lesser nations). In Great Britain, support of sanctions by the Labour Party and the Communist Party identified these parties with the Conservative Party on the war question, which has been, of course, the decisive question. It was this which made possible the sweeping victory of Baldwin in the November General Elections—since, with the same policy on the crucial question, the Labour Party could not furnish effective opposition. It is this, moreover, which is enabling Baldwin to carry through his armament program with hardly a voice raised loudly, and none convincingly, against it.

The same developments have occurred in France. Laval, Sarraut, the People's Front, all united for the League and for sanctions—of course, with suitable "modifications." And the effect has been

to re-unite France to a degree which would have seemed unimaginable a year ago. At that time, France was making rapidly ready, through a division into the two great class armies, for the struggle for power. The internal crisis in France has not of course been solved in favor of the bourgeoisie by the unification achieved with the help of the pro-sanctions policy of the People's Front. But the process of class differentiation has during these five months been set back heavily. The temporary weakening of the Croix de Feu and the Fascists generally, pointed to with such smug complacency by the Stalinists as proof of the great "victories" of the People's Front, in actuality demonstrates just the opposite. The Fascists have retired a little precisely because the policy of the People's Front has so weakened the position of the working class that it does not so immediately threaten the foundations of bourgeois rule. Consequently, in France, the attempt at a Fascist coup can be further postponed.

Finance-capital does not call in the Fascists until it has to; if it can maintain itself securely with the aid of the working class parties, so much the better, and less troublesome.

Likewise, as in England, the pro-sanctions policy in France has made meaningless any opposition to the increased armament measures and speeded militarization. And it has played a great part in making the masses ready to defend, with full patriotic fervor, French finance-capital against Hitler. "Humanitarian" and "Popular" outdo Flaminio in their denunciation of the re-militarization of the Rhineland. And, quite naturally, they fail to notice that Flaminio represents the class enemy at home—since their policy and Flaminio's are fundamentally identical.

Independent Action

Secondly, the pro-sanctions policy has sabotaged any effective independent working class actions against the war. With their customary hypocrisy and cynicism, the Stalinist spokesmen inform us that they are for both governmental and working class "sanctions"; and that the latter are more "basic." The C. I. "criticized" at length the British Labour Party because it advocated only governmental sanctions and neglected working class actions. But this is only rhetoric, only phrases to temper the social-patriotic wind. Governmental sanctions and independent working class "sanctions" do not supplement each other, as the Stalinists pretend, but contradict each other. The reason is easy to understand. Supporting governmental sanctions is supporting the government; independent working class actions are necessarily directed against the government (the representative of the opposing class) and its policies. You cannot simultaneously fight with and against the government. You can pretend to do so, in words, as the Stalinists do; but the logic of facts, not phrases, governs your actions. And, as the last five months proves, the logic of facts prevented those who stood for governmental sanctions from organizing any significant working class actions. The contradiction is somewhat obscured in the Italy-Ethiopian conflict, where the working class is on the side of one of the contestants and against the other. It would be glaringly obvious in the more important case of a conflict between two or more imperialist nations (e.g., France and Germany), where correct working class actions would have to be directed equally against all the contesting states, including the home government, but where any governmental sanctions would be directed against only one side.

To carry out working class actions would have meant a consistent policy against the government, against the national state. Such a policy, though under the given conditions it too would doubtless have been unable to bring about peace and stop Italy's campaign, on the other hand would have acted in a manner just the opposite of the pro-sanctions policy in its influence on the relationship of class forces: however unsuccessful it might have been "practically," it would have promoted the class differentiation, strengthened the independent struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie, and hindered the building up of national unity. It would have provided the basis for agitation to dispel and not to consolidate illusions. In short, it would have been the foundation for revolutionary, and not for social-patriotic strategy.

The Real Meaning

To explain the role of sanctions intelligently, we must first understand what they are. And if we understand this, we know that they are not means for enforcing peace, but simply instruments of the policies of the national governments which invoked them, or consider invoking them. We judge and explain them, therefore, in the light of the whole policies of the given governments. For Great Britain and France, for example, they are part of the imperialist policies of two imperialist governments—that is, part of two war policies. For the Soviet Union, they are part of the world policy of Stalinism—of socialism in one country, preservation of the international status quo, and preparation for defense of the Soviet Union by alliance with capitalist states.

To understand sanctions in this manner—that is, as they are, not as pacifists and social-patriots dream of them—makes explicable what has actually happened, and the conflicts that have arisen. In the Chaco War, the policies of France and Great Britain did not require any flirtation with sanctions. Indeed, Great Britain preferred that the Chaco War should continue, since Rayo-Dutch-Sheil had an important stake in the victory of Paraguay. Sanctions were therefore never mentioned. Likewise in the case of the Japanese invasion of Manchuria. Here was a perfect legal instance for the application of sanctions. But France, and particularly Great Britain, saw nothing to be gained from the use of such a risky weapon. Their imperialist interests were not immediately and directly affected to a sufficient degree. They consequently decided that the best "means for enforcing peace" at that time was to do nothing openly, to carry on diplomatic negotiations and financial transactions as be-

Weapon of Peace?

"What went wrong with sanctions?" the confused but sincere believer in sanctions asks himself, after reviewing the results of the pro-sanctions policy. "Why didn't they work better?"

If we begin reasoning from the belief that sanctions are a "weapon of peace," a "means for enforcing peace," then there is only one way to answer these questions. We must conclude that sanctions went wrong, that they didn't work, because they weren't strong enough.

because the policy of sanctions was not sufficiently vigorously and extensively enforced. This is in fact the conclusion which the pro-sanctionists reach in trying to explain why sanctions have not worked in the Italian affair.

Let us suppose, for a moment, that this is correct, and let us imagine that sanctions had been enforced to the limit by the League nations. What would have followed from this? To be thoroughly "effective," sanctions would have had to include embargoes on virtually every import to and export from Italy. But such embargoes would have had to apply to goods to and from non-sanctions applying nations in order to accomplish their purpose. Thus, they could have been enforced only by a military and naval blockade (what diplomats have been calling "military sanctions"). But a military and naval blockade is an act of war, and must necessarily have led to armed retaliation by Italy, since the life of Italy as a nation would have been at stake, as well as retaliation by the non-sanctionist nations, whose sovereignty would be threatened by the blockade.

We see, therefore, that a "fully effective" sanctions policy would—in this case as in any other—mean nothing less than war. The "peace policy" of sanctions turns out to be a war policy. The belief that sanctions are a means for enforcing peace thus puts us into a flat contradiction: peace can be genuinely enforced only by war. The reason for this is, of course, that the original belief—that any belief which leads to a contradiction—is false. Sanctions are not a means for enforcing peace.

The only case in which this contradiction could be avoided would be if the interests of all nations in the world except the so-called "aggressor" (here Italy) were in harmony. Then it might be possible to organize an unbroken front of embargoes against the "aggressor"; and the "aggressor," alone against the entire world, might well have to accede to world pressure without a fight. But this is not and cannot be true of the capitalist world, in which the interests of various nations and groups of nations are continuously in conflict. This might be the case in a World Federation of Socialist Republics; and "sanctions" might indeed be a means for enforcing peace if by chance threatened by a member of such a Federation. That, however, is a question not for the present but for the future.

To believe that sanctions are a means for enforcing peace leads, then, to a contradiction. It makes it impossible for us to understand sanctions in their true role, to interpret what actually has happened during the past five months, to explain the realities of world politics. It leaves it inexplicable why sanctions of a sort were applied in the case of Italy, but not in the case of Bolivia-Paraguay or of Japan in Manchuria, in both of which at least as good "legal" grounds existed for applying them. It leaves unintelligible the anti-sanctionist position of Great Britain now in the Rhineland dispute. With respect to "peace," Great Britain has had the same outlook during all four of these occurrences—and yet only in one did she advocate sanctions.

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WORLD OF LABOR

Stakhanov Campaign Gripped by Serious Crisis in the Soviet Union

By JOHN G. WRIGHT

For months now the Stalinist press has been filled with ballyhoo for Stakhanovism. The February issue of the Communist International boasts that: "The words 'Stakhanovism' and 'Stakhanov methods' have become famous far beyond the confines of the first socialist state in the world." (p. 351)

At the very height of this campaign, news comes from Moscow, as reported by Harold Denny in the New York Times, that: "Stakhanovism has fallen back so completely in its birthplace that only one of the many Donetz Basin coal mining units was not falling in its production quota." (N. Y. Times, March 18.)

The breakdown is not limited to the coal industry. The situation is so serious that, according to Denny's dispatch, it "caused Communist party and government leaders to demand... that it (i. e. Stakhanovism) be revived and strengthened."

Is Denny perhaps vilifying Stakhanovism? Is there really a "breakdown," and how serious is it?

It is impossible as yet to gauge the situation fully, but sufficient facts are already available to enable us to outline it.

The introduction of what Denny calls the "Stakhanov speeding system" undoubtedly produced results at the outset. If we take the key steel and coal figures as the basis for a general orientation, we find that the output of steel increased from an average production of 35.5 thousand tons in September to 38.5 thousand tons in December; a like increase was gained in the production of coal (the Donetz Basin) which rose from the average daily output of 178.2 thousand tons in September to 229 thousand tons in December.

These were, so to speak, the honeymoon months of Stakhanovism. In January, we find the steel production still increasing. It rises to an average daily production of 42 thousand tons. But the figures for the coal industry already show a small but indubitable decrease. In January, the average daily output in the Donbas region fell to 223 thousand tons of coal. The February figures indicate a leveling off in the production of steel, the industry apparently maintaining its January output of 42 thousand tons per day, while a further decline is indicated in the Donbas coal production (221 thousand tons of coal). The figures of the Second Five Year Plan call for a daily production of 46 thousand tons of steel, and 230.1 tons of coal from the Donetz basin. (The above figures have been averaged from the daily data published in Pravda.)

In short, instead of steadily increasing, the output is either remaining stationary or declining. The question naturally arises how are we to reconcile these facts with the claims made by the Stalinists that the "Stakhanov movement ensures a gigantic growth of the productivity of labor," etc., etc. (Communist Int. Feb. 1936, p. 35). The answer is that the facts give the lie to the Stalinist boasts.

The inability to maintain levels already attained can signify only one thing: that the gains have been made not so much on the basis of a scientific rationalization of industry as at the expense of an increased physical exertion on the part of the workers. The workers are unable to maintain the intense labor for more than a few weeks. Their physical exhaustion is reflected in the declining output. Moreover, there are many signs that the workers are resisting the attempts of the bureaucracy to load an intolerable burden on their shoulders. Born a few short months ago, Stakhanovism already faces a crisis.

The economic and cultural development of the U.S.S.R. is no longer compatible with the existence of a usurping, self-willed bureaucracy. This bureaucracy is now a brake upon further development and it must come into an ever greater conflict with the Soviet proletariat. That is the real meaning of the latest news from the Soviet Union.

SPLIT IN THE SWEDISH C. P.
The European press reports that a split has taken place in the Communist Party of Sweden (section of the Third International).

A considerable section of the Swedish C.P. refused, it seems, to follow blindly the turn toward national defense that was ratified by the Seventh Congress. The section that split has issued its own organ, "Proletarian Unity," in which it charges the Third International with having betrayed the revolutionary tradition of Leninism.

The split in Sweden is the first open sign of the opposition that has been rumored to be stirring in the ranks of the Comintern, since the "new turn" was officially sanctioned six months ago. There are also continued rumors of a revolt in the Polish C.P.

The indications are that Stalin and his henchmen will not have internally the same easy calling with their latest turn as they had with all the preceding zigzags.

RELIGION

A Special Congress of the Belgian Labor Party (P.O.B.) was held on February 22, for the purpose of ratifying the action of Socialist Ministers who had previously approved the military project of Duvet, as demanded by the French General Staff.

These proposals of the Belgian War Department proved somewhat embarrassing to the Socialist Ministers in the coalition Government. They had entered into this coalition ministry with the understanding that no matters relating to the army would be broached until after the next parliamentary elections; and they had been assured by the war ministry that the condition of national defense was perfectly splendid.

Unforeseen contingencies, however, suddenly compelled the Minister of War to demand that the compulsory term of military service be extended 6 months, that more millions be added to the army budget, and so on, in order to guarantee "collective security." The embarrassed Socialist Ministers did not hesitate for a moment to vote in approval of these measures. But, of course, there still remained the task of swinging the trade unions solidly in line. A series of maneuvers and "discussions" followed, culminating in the Special Congress.

It follows as a matter of course that this Congress adopted a resolution which admits "the possibility of a defensive war in certain circumstances." The resolution goes on to emphasize that such a defensive war in the international sphere "coincides with the struggle against Fascism." The P. O. B. went, of course, on record in favor of a collective security on the basis of the League Covenant for mutual aid.

Vandervelde, who had "retired" from active service on account of his age, can still summon sufficient strength to remain true to the betrayal of 1914, in company with Messrs. Spaak, De Man and Co.

Last January 25, Vandervelde celebrated his 70th birthday. On this happy occasion the Soviet ambassador to Belgium sent him a gift, no doubt in token of the fact that the preparation for the Second Imperialist War is proceeding full blast under the banner of the Second and Third Internationals.

STEEL FOR THE SLAUGHTER

While the agents of the imperialists are mobilizing the cannon fodder, the steel plants are working the world over to provide the ammunition.

In 1935, the world production of steel and cast iron was double that of the year 1932.

The steel production of the United States has increased 31% over that of 1934. Germany has increased its production 36.5%, taking the lead in Europe. Czechoslovakia showed an increase of 22.8%; Italy, 19.8%; England, 11.9%; Poland, 8.8%.

The rising tempo of the steel production reflects the speed with which the next world slaughter is approaching.

MARCH OF EVENTS

By JACK WEBER

RELIEF—FOR BIG BUSINESS.

The process of whittling away relief for the unemployed by alphabetical strategy is carried a long step forward in Roosevelt's latest message to Congress on the budget. This is election year and Roosevelt intends to leave nothing undone in order to carry the support of business. Economy and the avoidance of taxation on business are the forms of relief proposed by the "humanitarian" President—for big business! The real purpose of the WPA is being rapidly unfolded. That purpose was to provide a clever intermediary to get workers off the relief rolls and then, after a short space of time, to lay them off and prevent them from getting back on the relief rolls. Each month a new batch of unemployed will be "laid off" to fend for themselves in this best of all possible worlds. Hopkins has given public assurance to the capitalist class by laying out a definite schedule of cuts in the WPA rolls. Of course Hopkins "hopes" that the needy will get back on relief. Or perhaps they will be shuttled from the WPA to the PWA! No doubt some shifts like this will raise false hopes in the minds of many unemployed that it is only a matter of waiting a short time for renewed work on federal payrolls. But the big majority will be doomed to bitter disillusion. Roosevelt is making it plain that after the elections—a little relief is still necessary for voters!—the Federal Government will wash its hands of the largest burdens of relief. On one condition! That the unemployed remain passive and put up only a scattered fight against the outright starvation being planned for them.

DIVISION OF LABOR

In the division of labor for varying on the demands of the capitalist class, Roosevelt occupies the position of the liberal damogone "voicing" the interests of the masses. Thus he points to the NRA as the world-have-been solution of the problem of unemployment—if that other arm of capitalism, the Supreme Court, had not declared it unconstitutional. He is left to appeal to the voluntary action of the employers to "extend their operations so as to absorb an increasing number of the unemployed." And since this will not do if left to individual bosses, he calls for organized effort on a national scale. As though it was not the "voluntary" action of the bosses in the first place that had produced unemployment as the inevitable concomitant of the business crisis! Roosevelt suggests a campaign on the part of big business for shorter hours to provide more jobs. This demagoguery at a time when the average work week has grown three hours longer (from July to December 1935)! The A. F. of L. calculates that this increase in the work week resulted in the loss of

a million jobs to the unemployed. The only difference between Roosevelt and the more reactionary members of the capitalist governing staff is that Roosevelt wishes to act more cautiously and not as bluntly and speedily in letting down the unemployed from their present miserable status to one that is still worse.

It will be the function of Congress to start investigations of the undoubted political corruption that exists in the WPA (as in capitalist institutions in general) to force a quicker end to the system of work relief. Already this pressure is on due to the exposure of conditions in West Virginia. The attitude of Congress is shown by its refusal to continue the Florida and "Quoddy" ship canals by the grant of special fund. No doubt there will be some opposition to the measly sum of one and one half billion dollars asked for by Roosevelt, although it is unlikely that this will be refused. The CCC camps are also due for a liberal application of the axe. One hundred thousand youths are to be discharged from these camps by July 1st.

UNITY OF THE UNEMPLOYED

It is no accident, under these circumstances, that the movement of the unemployed is taking on a new impetus. Objective conditions are forcing the unemployed workers to organize and to seek unity of effort to combat the plans of the capitalist class directed against their very existence. These workers note that in the past 6 months the profits of big corporations have gone up more than 140%. They note that in the "bull" stock market there has been a gain of 55% in stock quotations. They see that with some considerable recovery of business the reemployment of unemployed workers has made only a small dent in their ranks, continually augmented by the new generation of young workers ready and eager to earn a living. There are still some ten and one half million out of work, by conservative estimate. The capitalists make it difficult to obtain complete and reliable statistics on this question. These workers thrown out of industry in the crisis, must struggle for their very lives against the Roosevelt plan to slowly put an end to all relief to the "employable." Roosevelt and his masters are reckoning without the mass pressure that will be exerted by employed and unemployed alike to stave off starvation for millions of workers. For this gigantic struggle a firmly knit mass organization is essential. This organization is in the making in the promising efforts for unity of the unemployed movements, particularly the NUL and the WAA. Out of this unity will spring a stronger and more powerful organizing force for the coming battles.

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(Continued on Page 4)

WPA Strike Sweeps Pa.

(Continued from Page 1)

present time the active head of the Pennsylvania Security League and has been organizing workers on WPA projects.

At a meeting of 2,500 project workers in Allentown on Wednesday night, Sam Gordon, State Organizer of the Pennsylvania Unemployed League, denounced Mr. Jones' attack against Rauschenbusch in scathing terms.

"I do not share Mr. Rauschenbusch's political views," Mr. Gordon said, "but Jones' propaganda against him is an attack against an organization of the unemployed. The Pennsylvania Unemployed League will stand shoulder to shoulder with the Pennsylvania Security League in the fight and back it up to the limit against this underhanded and slanderous attack."

He indicated that the organizations represented in the Joint Action Committee would push irreconcilably for the ousting of Mr. Jones and presented a resolution to this effect, which was endorsed by the 2,500 present in a rising vote without any opposition or abstentions.

Mr. Jones' circular and Sam Gordon's resolution follow below:

Reply of Mr. Edward N. Jones

"So Mr. Rauschenbusch is back in town.

"Isn't he the gentleman who undertook to smear the memory of Woodrow Wilson in the recent munitions investigation, and who let J. Pierpont Morgan emerge from the inquiry with one nice coat of whitewash? And the same person whom the Pinchots put on the state payroll?"

"Mr. Rauschenbusch is, I understand, senior member of the firm of Rauschenbusch and Ruttenberg, whose chief and only occupation is attempting to form a third political party in Pennsylvania.

"Rauschenbusch and Ruttenberg are quite put out because I will not instruct all WPA directors to compel all relief workers to join their outfit, which when completely organized is to be transformed overnight into a third political party.

From now on until after the November election, I expect that WPA and my administration of WPA will be regularly blasted and denounced by such representatives of the Republican Old Guard and friends of the down trodden as M. Harvey Taylor, G. Mason Owlett and Clifford Pinchot, and by the firm of Rauschenbusch and Ruttenberg, promoters of a third political party in the state of Pennsylvania.

"Mr. Rauschenbusch had nothing to do with the creation of WPA, whereover 300,000 jobless and destitute men and women have been given employment in Pennsylvania.

"He had nothing to do with establishing a security wage for these workers.

"And so far as I am concerned neither Mr. Rauschenbusch nor any other political gigolo is going to capitalize or cash in on this great enterprise, the sole credit for which belongs to President Franklin D. Roosevelt.

"If Mr. Rauschenbusch is so concerned over the lot of the relief worker, as he professes to be, I would like to ask him where he was when his friend and political godfather, Clifford Pinchot, was paying relief workers—not a security wage—but an hourly wage that amounted to, even when the sun shone regularly, \$10 a month less than the lowest WPA security wage.

"You may as well take off your whippers, Mr. Rauschenbusch. You're not fooling anyone. You're not interested in the lot of the relief workers.

"You're just a would be political boss."

Resolution Presented by Gordon

Whereas Mr. Edward N. Jones, state WPA administrator, has used the WPA repeatedly as a political football against adversaries, and

Whereas: This is especially evident from a circular Mr. Jones recently had distributed on the projects; said circular attacking one of the unemployed organizations in the state, under the guise of a dispute with Mr. Stephen Rauschenbusch, and

Whereas: Mr. Jones has repeatedly displayed a vicious anti-labor attitude ever since his appointment as WPA director;

Therefore, be it: Resolved that this mass meeting of 2,500 Allentown project workers goes on record, demanding the immediate removal of Mr. Edward N. Jones from his post as WPA director.

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with which is merged

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GT. BRITAIN REARMS

On Land, Sea, Air British Imperialism Girds Itself for New War--While Workers Starve

By T. C.

LONDON, March 16.—(The British Government has rushed through Parliament a new plan for national defense. Claiming that certain foreign powers are rapidly increasing their armed forces. The British ruling class has no intention of being left behind. The air force is to be increased by an additional 1,750 first line aeroplanes. The navy is to be strengthened by the building of two capital ships at a cost of 8 million pounds each and the cruiser strength is to be brought up to 70 modernized ships with air carriers. Four new army battalions are to be raised and certain units are to be mechanized while a special drive is to be made for recruits for the Territorial Army (Citizens). Industry is to be organized with the collaboration of the Trade Unions so that it can be converted from a commercial to a war basis at any given moment. A Minister of Defense has been appointed who is to supervise the working of the new plan and although the cost of the scheme is not known, it is hinted that a 300 million pound loan for National Defense will be floated soon.

1. War in the Air

During the last great world war, London and other British cities were bombed by German Zeppelins and aeroplanes and towards the end of the war, a specially organized British air force bombarded German towns on the Rhine. These events marked the beginning of a revolution in the technique of modern warfare with the aeroplane supreme. Since then great progress has been made in the development of aerial bombing with results entirely unfavorable to the British militarists. The insular position of Britain and the scattered Empire which used to be a great advantage in time of war has now become a heavy handicap. In a war with any Continental Power, London and the great industrial centers would be an easy target for an attack by air. This is now clearly recognized—no less an authority than Sir Samuel Hoare, when Secretary of State of Air, stated that "London was, of all the great capitals in the world, most vulnerable to an air attack, owing to its geographical situation." As to the method of attack, M. Pierre Cot, the former French Air Marshall, has explained in the columns of the "Spectator," 1934: "There are in existence incendiary bombs weighing a couple of pounds and sufficient to create a fire center. A single aeroplane can carry enough of these bombs to start in London more fire centers than there would be the possibility of coping with."

Yet another form of attack is the dropping of gas bombs as described by Lord Halsbury, a chemist of government explosives, in the Daily Telegraph, 1934: "London could be kept in a lethal atmosphere of gas up to a height of 30 feet by the discharge of 40 tons of gas." To meet this rather gloomy outlook, the Government has carried out extensive air maneuvers with searchlights, anti-aircraft guns and gas dug-outs, as well as warning local authorities to be prepared for gas drill. The results do not seem to have been favorable, however, as it now seems that there is no real defense from attacks from the air.

Mr. Stanley Baldwin, the Prime Minister, speaking in the House of Commons on November 10, 1933, declared that attack was the only means of defense in air warfare. "It is well for the man in the street to realize that there is no power on earth that can protect him from being bombed. Whatever people may tell him, the bomber will always get through. The only defense is in offensive, which means that you have got to kill women and children more quickly than the enemy if you want to save yourselves." Acting upon this dictum, the Air Defense League, a jingo propaganda body, carries on its work under the slogan: "Create a new winged army of British bombers to smash the foreign hornets in their nests." The new Defense Plan is an attempt to put these theories into practice by increasing the air force to a strength of 2,500 additional airplanes with additional reinforcement from civil aviation. In this way British imperialism hopes to get in the first blow.

2. A Naval Offense

Britain has always planned her faith in a large navy and, at the present time, the British fleet is probably first in the world so far as numbers are concerned, but the change in the methods of naval warfare has created a division in the ranks of the experts. In order to hold the Empire in time of war, the navy must be in a position to freely police the seas and as the food supply of Britain as well as raw materials come from the far corners of the earth. The danger from submarines and hostile aircraft needs no exaggeration.

The problem has given rise to a series of debates in the press between the old naval school and the new. The modernists swear by the seaplane and the old sea-dogs stick to the dreadnought. Thus the editor of the "Army, Navy and Air Force Gazette," in the issue for December, 1935, declares that the British government has wasted millions of pounds in building super-dreadnoughts which will be blown to smithereens by a few well-directed blows from the air or a few torpedoes from down below.

To these charges, a correspondent signing himself "Navalis" replies with the following weighty arguments: "It would require about 7,000 freight-carrying aeroplanes to transport the same amount of wheat as one transpacific steamer. It follows, therefore, that the problem of feeding the country continues, and must continue, to lie in safeguarding the sea-transports of supplies—a naval problem. Furthermore, it is of little use for 100 squadrons to fly to the Middle East in two days if when they get there their ground staffs, armaments, repair installations, spare parts and machines, remain in England. All these things, amounting to many thousands of tons of materials can only be transported by sea."

Other writers support their case by pointing to the results of naval maneuvers where moving targets were either easily hit from the air or completely missed, according to who is telling the tale. The Government has chosen a middle course, and two dreadnoughts and seven cruisers with air-carriers has pleased neither the old school nor the new but probably the real problem will only be solved in the course of actual warfare which may not be so far distant as some people would have us believe.

3. Army Recruiting Revelations

It was generally thought that the prevalence of unemployment and the intensive recruiting campaigns had increased the strength of the army but the parliamentary debates have revealed an entirely different state of affairs. In the House of Commons, March 12, 1936, Mr. Duff Cooper, Secretary for War, was forced to admit that at the end of the year the Army would be 10,000 men under strength and the Territorial Army 40,000 men under strength and he argued that this was the result of an increase in employment and a higher living standard. This, of course, is a Tory joke as unemployment figures have only decreased slightly and even then mostly by government manipulation while the standard of living has remained stationary.

Our old friend, the editor of the "Army, Navy and Air Force Gazette" let the cat out of the bag in his notes for February 1936:

"Out of 79,903 men who presented themselves for enlistment a total of 44,466 or 52 per cent had to be rejected on grounds of health. Most of these rejections would seem to point to a too low standard of living, not in the sense of an absence of luxury but of necessities and this is confirmed by the large number of under-fed. There is a deficiency of 46,773 in the Territorial Army. Like everybody else the potential recruit is convinced that war is a bad thing and the pacifists keep rubbing it in. The Government has taken measures to counter this propaganda."

The said government now intends to get down to business, and special bounties and family allowances are being dangled in front of the workers. Press, cinema and radio are to be brought into action and money prizes are offered for good recruiting suggestions by the "Daily Mail". Employers are asked to bring pressure upon their workers and if all these measures fail, then according to Lord Rothermere, "there is really nothing for it but military conscription." This is no doubt the real aim of the government which is moving cautiously.

4. Industry and War

In order to keep a modern war force supplied with food and arms, industry must be carried on upon a mass basis with centralized control. To accomplish this, the Defense Plan aims at negotiating a deal with certain firms not now on war work, while it is hinted that armament trusts will be asked to cooperate with a Minister for Munitions. Skilled labor is to be diluted with drafts of unemployed apprentices with the permission of the trade union officials who are said to be quite ready to strike a bargain with the Government and risk the protests of the rank and file.

During the last war, workshop committees sprang to life upon the Clyde, the Midland and in South Wales and they wrought great havoc with all such state schemes. The ruling class have not forgotten this, however, and they hope to draft their munition workers away from these storm centers and also to pick their men from the ranks of the demoralized sections of the unemployed. There is no real enthusiasm for war amongst the British masses, and with catastrophe looming near, a tremendous ferment is taking place within all groups and parties. The Government will no doubt steam-roller through its plan but if war comes British capitalism will be in serious danger.

Five Months of Sanctions

(Continued from Page 3)

hind the scenes, and to strengthen the fortifications at Hongkong and Singapore. They left it to the United States Secretary of State, Stimson, to express "world indignation against the aggressor" by his blundering and meaningless "non-recognition policy."

But the Italian preparations for the conquest of Ethiopia placed both France and Great Britain in dilemmas. If Italy, acting alone, won undisputed sway over Ethiopia, she would threaten the British Empire lines of communication, the headwaters of the Nile, and Egypt. On the other hand, if Ethiopia defeated the Italian legions or even resisted too strongly, there would be repercussions adverse to the British rulers among the native populations of the British colonies. Consequently, what Great Britain wanted in the Ethiopian matter was "neither peace nor war." The needed a deal—a deal which would have given Italy what Italy could not do without, but would not involve too much fighting, and would leave Ethiopia not unrestrictedly under Italian rule, but in part at least under a more "international" control—that is, a control which would not put the British lines of communication and the Nile too easily at Italy's mercy. Naturally, Great Britain was not concerned over the fate of the Ethiopians.

Great Britain, for the past year, has consistently aimed toward such an end. Through the League, an offer along these lines was made to Italy last summer—but this offer could not satisfy Mussolini's internal requirements. He needed a way. A half-way and muddled sanctions policy was adopted after the fighting started, in order to keep the dispute within an international framework. Then the Hoare-Laval proposal revived the summer plan; its announcement was premature, but it paved the way. Now, reports indicate that the Rhineland crisis will be utilized to clean up sanctions, and fix the whole Ethiopian question up in a Franco-British "action plan."

France's dilemma was equally puzzling. She was quite willing for Mussolini to go ahead, since her own interests were not affected, and had told him so in the early part of 1935. But France also wished to keep the friendship of Great Britain and the League procedure, as useful instruments against the eventualities of Hitler's policy. France was forced, therefore, to go along part way with Great Britain in the Ethiopian question. But her influence was exerted chiefly to aid the projected deal, and to keep the application of sanctions from getting too extensive or serious. Flandin now is jumping the gun, and in his March 20 speech to the Chamber has hailed the early cancelling of sanctions.

The Soviet Union pursued the only "consistent" sanctions policy. Frantically striving to maintain the status quo as long as possible, and to prepare for war with Hitler, it put its money on the League, and on friendship with France and Great Britain. Thus, for public purposes, it spoke most loudly of peace and international security; and meanwhile played in actuality the sanctions game as the compromise between France and Great Britain decided. During the past two months, the Stalinist press has conveniently allowed the question of sanctions to slip out of sight, in deference to France's wishes, and in order to get through the ratification of the Franco-Soviet Pact. Litvinov is now in a position to allow the whole matter, with a suitable rhetorical flourish, to be dropped. After all, what are 11,000,000 savages compared to a military alliance with French imperialism? We cannot allow utopian ideals to stand in the way of realistic defense of the Workers' Fatherland.

Meanwhile, as Selden, The Times London correspondent, remarked a few days ago, Ethiopia, in the face of the new complications, like Moses in the bullrushes, has been forgotten by all but God. In this manner has the

AN ALLY!

C.P. Supports Cardenas of Mexico; He Calls Troops Against Peasants

March 26.—President Lazaro Cardenas of Mexico today ordered all provincial governors and military commanders to take steps against attempts of landworkers to occupy large estates. The president's order followed recent seizures of land, the most notable recent case being the occupation of an estate belonging to former president Calles, the workers seizing it announcing that they would make it into a Workers' Home. They were driven off by government soldiers.

In an interview in the Daily Worker of March 24 Hernan Laborda, secretary of the Communist party of Mexico, said:

"The position of the Communist Party of Mexico is to support the government of President Cardenas because it is a progressive, nationalistic government, because it is anti-reactionary and opposed to the penetration of imperialism, and because it is trying to support itself upon the mass of the people for the defense of the interests of the nation. This government, while fighting reaction and resisting the pressure of foreign capital, gives to the people and particularly to the proletariat and its party, the Communist Party, liberty of action necessary for the forwarding of the Mexican national revolution to its ultimate triumph, to the liberation of the country today dominated by foreign capital, to the liquidation of the hereditary, semi-feudal land-holdings—creating these conditions necessary for the transition from a nationalistic, democratic, anti-imperialist revolution to the proletarian revolution."

of sanctions served the cause of peace and the defense of the oppressed. Imperialism has made its sacrifices, but has not gone unrewarded. Great Britain would have preferred no trouble at all. However, since trouble could not be altogether avoided, Great Britain has been able to keep strings on Italy, and has laid the basis for a settlement within an international framework which will not be too threatening to imperial interests. Meanwhile British troops have cleared up awkward resulting situations in India and Egypt (Litvinov somehow forgot to suggest sanctions against Great Britain for its treatment of the Egyptian students and the border tribes in India). France, by throwing first aid and then political monkey wrenches into the sanctions machinery, has managed to keep friendly with Italy while at the same time not breaking with Great Britain. If she has been having certain difficulties in Syria, we must observe that she has the mission of preserving peace within her own dominions as well as in Ethiopia. Litvinov has kept in the good graces of his imperialist colleagues, built up sentiment against Germany, and secured the ratification of the Franco-Soviet Pact. If, in the affair, Soviet diplomacy has acted almost exclusively as the pawn first of British and then of French imperialism, we must remember that it is only Trotskyites and such-like counter-revolutionists who believe that the dictatorship should put its reliance on the international proletariat and the extension of the October revolution. The realists of the Kremlin know that the choice now is not between socialism and capitalism but between democratic imperialism and fascist imperialism—and that we had better take the former and like it, even if it leads next month to the latter.

Imperialism has found the policy of sanctions useful enough for one stage of its deepening game. And in that stage, the policy of sanctions has served imperialism sufficiently well. It is, after all, only the position of the international working class that the policy of sanctions has injured. And this would hardly be of central concern to the imperialists themselves or to their social-patriotic agents, who must more rapidly make ready to turn the workers over to the war machine.

But the stage in which sanctions have been useful is dropping behind. The re-militarization of the Rhineland calls for new answers to new problems. The naked bones of the entire League structure stand more rudely revealed by the gesture of the Nazi troops. France complains over England's treachery in refusing sanctions now when she forced France into them against Italy. Litvinov indignantly protests the violation of the sanctity of treaties (alas, the morals of imperialism!). And Great Britain desperately maneuvers to maintain the precarious balance a little longer, before the clouds burst wide open.

Now let us recapitulate. Last summer we quoted Thorez, leader of the French C. P., as saying that "it would be monstrous to consider

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Why the Czechs Had to Eat Crow

By BENNY THURMAN

In preparation for the Seventh Party Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, official Stalinism in the person of Klement Gottwald demonstratively expels the anti-Leninist deviation of the Czech party out the front door, only to immediately smuggle it in again through the rear entrance.

This public abasement is necessitated by "the fact that it (the C.P.) neglected the concrete fight for the concrete rights and demands of the people against the present regime brought them, in the eyes of the masses, dangerously near to this regime." (Rude Pravo, Feb. 13.)

The foreign policy of the Stalin bureaucracy cannot be carried out in the grossly social-chauvinist manner that has distinguished it for the past eight months, because these methods do not sufficiently hoodwink the Czech masses, and enable the party to carry out its betrayal under a safely red-dipped cloak. This is what Gottwald's reprimand tells the Czechoslovakian section.

He warns that "to approve the armament policy which is being carried on by the present government and even to call for increased armaments is perfectly incorrect and impermissible from the standpoint of the workers. Nevertheless this is what happened." To put it bluntly, what is not "perfectly incorrect and impermissible" from the standpoint of the party leadership (else there would have been no months of trial to test its effect) has proved to be too gross a betrayal in the eyes of the class-conscious workers who must be subtly brought into line and kept there!

Social Patriotism with a Vengeance

The mentor quotes:

"No honest working man and woman in the Republic is today against the army and against armaments. The army deserves the best and we must arm! Let us all advance with weapons in hands against the fascists who threaten us. And we desire that there shall be as many of these weapons as possible, and that they should be the best!"

"The Minister of National Defense brought forward in the Defense Committee the program of material demands of the army administration. These demands are numerous, but they are necessary! Now if there were no profits which the big armament manufacturers pocket, then the army would have two guns instead of one which the patriotic Czechoslovakian armament factories deliver; instead of one aeroplane, two; instead of one machine-gun, two....

"Everyone: the workers, the small traders, peasants, civil servants, officials must make sacrifices for the army. They will also sacrifice their lives in war. But they want to have the guarantee that nobody pockets hundreds of millions out of their hard sacrifices."

Gottwald comments on the above quotation:

"Nobody would believe, unless he saw it with his own eyes, that such a statement could appear in a Communist paper. Nevertheless that is what appeared in the 'Rude Pravo', central organ of the Party, on November 27, 1935. The writer of the above-quoted article is obviously an alien element, hostile to the proletariat and the Party. It is true that in other statements of the Party it did not come to such frightful distortions of the class principles of the Party. But the fact that the originator of such a monstrous statement was not ruthlessly driven out of the Party as an agent of the class enemy, immediately after its appearance, shows that there was no clear, consistent bolshevist attitude in the Party to the question of the army."

What Is Monstrous?

Now let us recapitulate. Last summer we quoted Thorez, leader of the French C. P., as saying that "it would be monstrous to consider

the country of socialism, the country of the working class." We insisted on the contrary that the formulation of Thorez itself was the anti-Leninist deviation of the Czech party out the front door, only to immediately smuggle it in again through the rear entrance. This public abasement is necessitated by "the fact that it (the C.P.) neglected the concrete fight for the concrete rights and demands of the people against the present regime brought them, in the eyes of the masses, dangerously near to this regime." (Rude Pravo, Feb. 13.)

Gottwald's Quick-Change Act

Having accomplished the public renunciation, the mentor now pulls a quick-change act, and ushers in the culprit disguised in carefully retouched falseface.

"No, the toiling people can only trust the army to a government which is a real people's government. It is, however, the present coalition government in Czechoslovakia such a government? By no means, everybody knows this."

"Everybody knows"; "In the eyes of the masses"; "from the standpoint of the workers"; "nobody would believe"; "obviously an alien element"; "great confusion in the minds of many workers"; these phrases are the touchstones of the present revision of the party's attitude, and show clearly to those who are alert how the Stalinist Party turns its eyes to the masses—to mislead them better!

And the proposal for supporting the building of the army under a 'real people's government', mind you, is made after the forced admission that "the bourgeois army remains a bourgeois army and an instrument of suppression wielded by the bourgeoisie even when the government is a non-fascist bourgeois government, which may even include Socialists, and that therefore the working class cannot grant the means for armaments to such a government if it is not willing to betray its own class interests." (Rude Pravo, Feb. 13; Daily Worker, March 6.)

Why the New Shift?

Two factors probably explain the new shift in the party line. The first is, of course, the discount of an unstated number of rank-and-file Czech workers, as indicated in Gottwald's text. The second is a sinister undercurrent that Moscow must have sensed even prior to Hitler's occupation of the Rhine region, the pressure being put upon France to loosen its ties and the ties of its tool, Czechoslovakia, with the Soviet Union, and move closer to the united front with Germany and her friends, against the Soviet Union. The Stalin regime, clutching after the will-o-the-wisp of status quo, fears the possibility of fascism in the nations at present allied with it, and evidently has found a too subservient policy toward them by the sections of the Comintern a guarantee that is alarmingly insufficient. As Gottwald points out, the Czechoslovakian government "did nothing whatever against the fascists and to extend democratic rights, on the contrary, it bargained and is bargaining with the fascist reaction; it went and is going still further to the right. And we have expressed confidence in this government by voting for these two budget items (Foreign Ministry and Social Welfare). What else is that but to let one's hands, to abandon an independent policy and to confuse the masses?"

The policy of the "lesser evil", which is still continued under a different form in the new "change" of line, may well prove disastrous for the future of socialism, even for "socialism in one country."

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Trotsky on The Stalin Interview

WHAT DOES THE EXPERIENCE WITH MONGOLIA TEACH?

IN STALIN's interview with Roy Howard, the most important thing from a practical standpoint is the warning that the military intervention of the U.S.S.R. is inevitable in the event of an attack by Japan on the Mongolian People's Republic. Is this warning correct in the main? In our opinion, yes. It is correct not only because in question here is the defense of a weak state against a predatory imperialist beast—for if this alone were the guiding consideration, the U.S.S.R. would be constantly at war with all the imperialist countries of the world. The Soviet Union is too weak for such a task, and in this weakness, we might immediately add, lies the only justification for the "pacifism" of its Government.

But the question of Mongolia is a question of the most immediate strategic position of Japan in the war against the U.S.S.R. In this domain the limits of retreat must be resolutely fixed.

A few years ago the Soviet Union surrendered to Japan the Chinese Eastern railway, a position also of extreme strategic importance. At the time this action was acclaimed by the Communist International as a voluntary expression of pacifism. As a matter of fact, it was an act of compulsion due to weakness. The Comintern had ruined the Chinese revolution of 1925-1927 by its policy of the "National Front." This untied the hands of the imperialists. By surrendering an extremely important strategic line, the Soviet Government thereby facilitated for Japan her seizures in Northern China and her present assaults against Mongolia. It should now be clear even to the blind that abstract pacifism was not involved in the surrender of the railway (if that were really the case, it would have been merely an act of stupidity and betrayal); an unfavorable relation of forces: the Chinese revolution had been annihilated, while the Red Army and the Red Fleet were not ready for the struggle.

Now, the situation has so obviously improved, in a military sense, that the Soviet Government considers it possible to resort to a categorical veto on the question of Mongolia. We can only welcome the strengthening of the position of the U.S.S.R. in the Far East, as well as the more critical attitude on the part of the Soviet Government toward the ability of Japan, torn by contradictions, to wage a major, protracted war. It should be pointed out that the Soviet bureaucracy while it is very bold toward its own toilers, easily falls into a panic when faced with imperialist opponents: the petty-bourgeois is unceremonious when dealing with the proletariat, but stands ever in awe of the big bourgeois.

The official formula of the foreign policy of the U.S.S.R., widely advertised by the Comintern, reads as follows: "We do not seek an inch of foreign soil, neither will we surrender an inch of our own." Yet, in the question of Mongolia, the defense of "our own soil" is not involved at all: Mongolia is an independent state. The defense of the revolution, as this small example shows, is not reducible to the defense of the frontiers. The true method of defense consists in

(Continued on Page 2)

NORMAN MINI

Class War Prisoner No. 57606

"Our standing here is no accident. Our conviction is the result of the inner logic of the class struggle. But the same class struggle that results in our conviction will some day generate an irresistible wave that will sweep away forever what this court and state represents. With this knowledge we can face our sentences confidently; we know that the future belongs to us."

In the Sacramento courtroom a year ago Norman Mini stood erect and uttered these bold and memorable words to the judge who was about to sentence him on the charge of "criminal syndicalism." He and his fellow prisoners were, in reality, being punished for their activities in the strikes of the California agricultural workers of 1933-1934. All eight were given indeterminate sentences of from one to fourteen years.

The Sacramento defendants have been behind the bars now for a full year. Mini has borne the ordeal of imprisonment, of deadening routine, and of back-breaking toil in the jute mill with the same resoluteness and cheerfulness that has animated all his actions in the class struggle.

This week the victims of the Sacramento conspiracy are to come before the State Parole Board for a definite determination of their sentences. The fate hangs in the balance of California class justice. The National Sacramento Appeal Committee, which has worked tirelessly on Mini's case since it was organized on the initiative of the Non-Partisan Labor Defense last August, has been conducting a national campaign to enlist labor and liberal support behind its efforts to exert pressure upon the Board to set the sentences at the minimum. It has succeeded in mobilizing broad sections of organized labor behind the case perhaps the most powerful and representative support in any labor defense case of recent years.

Over a dozen international unions of the A. F. of L., among them the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the I. L. G. W. U., the Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers, the United Textile Workers; half a hundred Central Labor Councils throughout the country; numerous local unions and worker's organizations, and a host of prominent labor, intellectual, and liberal leaders have signed resolutions endorsing the work of the Committee and petitions calling for a reversal of the verdicts and a setting of the minimum sentence for the defendants.

The voice of organized labor and of liberal sentiment has spoken out in behalf of the Sacramento prisoners. Their demands have been brought to the attention of the Parole Board. It remains to be seen whether it will heed these demands when it meets this week-end.

Whatever the decision, on this first anniversary of their prison terms, the Worker's Party sends fraternal greetings to the Sacramento defendants and renews its pledge of solidarity with comrade Norman Mini. It calls upon all its members to continue their support of the National Sacramento Appeal Committee, which will not cease until Mini is released from San Quentin, cleared of the criminal syndicalist charge, and allowed to rejoin the ranks of the revolutionaries for whom his heroic conduct has been so inspiring an example.

War on S.U. Behind New Border Clash

Nippon Gov't Driving Toward Open Outbreak In Mongolia

A three-day pitched battle between Mongolian and Manchukuo-Japanese forces in the Lake Bor region on the Outer Mongolian border brought the ever-late Soviet-Japanese tension boiling once more to the surface this week.

Despatches from Ulan Bator, the Mongol capital, to Moscow, described a battle in which tanks, planes, armored cars and machine guns were brought into play. Several hundred men were engaged on both sides in the fight, which ended with the expulsion of the invading Manchukuo-Japanese troops. Moscow reports following the battle stated that additional Japanese reinforcements were being rushed to the battle area.

As has become customary during this lengthening and sharpening series of border clashes, Japanese sources have given a directly opposite version of events, invariably charging Mongol invasions of Manchukuo territory.

Japan Provokes Incidents

In fact the Japanese-Manchukuo forces have provoked these border skirmishes by claiming for themselves territory which has always been recognized as being well within the Mongolian frontier. Marching into what they claim is their own territory, the invaders naturally meet with the Mongol guards who have in almost every case forced the invaders to retire.

Again, as usual, Tokyo disclaims knowledge of the activities of the Imperial Kwantung Army (Japan's mainland force), a convenient formula which enables the military to proceed with carefully planned provocative attacks at the border designed to test the Soviet defenses.

Last winter the Kwantung Army wanted to know whether the Soviet Union would assume responsibility for the defense of Outer Mongolia. It staged a whole series of attacks in the Lake Bor area to find out. The result was a flat declaration of warning from Moscow that it considered the defense of Outer Mongolia indispensable to its own defense. Diplomatic negotiations then ensued and the border provocations abruptly ceased.

In the interval occurred the bloody Tokyo events of Feb. 26. Through what appeared to be a retreat of the military elements, the army in fact emerged from the continued days of the attempted coup d'etat with its hand enormously strengthened, its financial and political demands entirely accepted by the new premier, Koki Hirota.

Hirota's Policies

The policies announced by Hirota, the new effort to arrive at some kind of "understanding" with Great Britain and the United States with reference to spheres of influence in the Far East (there were reports that actual negotiations to this end have already been initiated) represent another step on the steady path Japan is treading toward inevitable drive against the Soviet Union.

The advent of Hirota meant a strengthening and extension of Japan's military forces and an effort to bring an end to Japan's diplomatic isolation.

Hirota's march into the Rhine and the complete success of his maneuver showed Japanese imperialism that it need not slacken its pace but hasten it. Britain's support of Hitler and the consequent disruption of France's carefully built chain of alliances, in which the Soviet Union had become a link created a situation in Europe extremely dangerous, even critical, for the Soviet Union. Japanese imperialism proceeds on that basis to new provocations on the U.S.S.R.'s eastern borders, growing louder and more boldly the threat of war.

New Support For Newsmen

MILWAUKEE, Wis. Mar. 31—Heartened by fresh evidence of widespread support, the Milwaukee Newspaper Guild Tuesday pressed forward with increased determination in its strike against the Hearst-owned Wisconsin News for recognition of the guild as a collective bargaining agent for the underpaid news strikers. The strike is now in its seventh week.

The Midwest District Guild, meeting over the week-end at Chicago, adopted a resolution heartily endorsing the strike and promising

(Continued on Page 2)

Jobless to Unite in Nationwide Army at Great Washington D. C. Congress Meeting on April 7-10

French Gov't Jails Zeller, Youth Leader

Zeller is 2nd Arrested As Capitalists Prepare For War

A foretaste of how democratic France will be in a war with Fascist Germany is to be had in the arrest of the editor of *Revolutions* (Fred Zeller), who according to press reports has been indicted for urging fraternization of French and German soldiers on the Rhine and thereby "inciting to disobedience and anarchy."

With war hovering closer than ever, the French bourgeoisie made the utmost use of Hitler's occupation of the Rhineland to blur class lines at home, to squelch all discontent among the working class under the chimera of "national unity" against the foreign "aggressor" Sarraut, the "Radical," at the helm of the government has been able to play this game successfully only because of the willing cooperation of the Front Populaire. Like over-primed actors, the leaders of the Socialist and Communist parties leap to the stage in response to any noise that sounds like their cue and declaim their social-patriotic roles.

"Union of the French Nation"

So shameless have the Stalinists become that they vie with the reactionaries and the Fascists in applause for the jingo speeches of Sarraut in the Chamber of Deputies on the Rhineland crisis. In *L'Humanite* they echo his cry: "Union of the French nation for peace." This, of course, is not the peace of the victorious socialist proletariat. It is the robber peace of Versailles which they declare approvingly, was safeguarded when the French government strengthened its line of fortifications in the East.

Though a furious debate rages in the press between the right and the "left" as to who serves best the cause of national unity, they are all united on one thing: the danger of having revolutionists at liberty, free to point out the real cause and nature of capitalist wars, to expose the predatory designs of the capitalist class and to arouse the working class against it as the real enemy which must be defeated by revolutionary struggle.

The Sarraut government, supported by the votes—or at the worst the abstentions—of the Stalinists and Socialists in parliament, cracked down upon revolution, organ of the Fourth Internationalist, because it broke the common front of treachery in their appeal to the workers, peasants and soldiers of France. (Printed in the last issue of the NEW MILITANT.)

The arrest and indictment of Zeller presages the fury of the reprisals once war actually begins and indicates that its most vehement sponsors will be found in Stalinist circles. But to the Bolshevik-Leninists and the revolutionary Socialist Youth it will come neither as a surprise nor as a first experience; they have felt the heavy hand of the capitalist terror in their struggle against Fascism.

The Case of Levaque

Levaque, a member of the Central Committee of the J.S.R. has been behind prison bars for more than two months, without indictment and denied release on bail for his courageous activity against the Fascist and royalist bands. His case will serve to illustrate how the People's Front paralyzes the resistance of the workers to Fascism by signing reconciliation pacts with the Croix de Feu on the one hand and persecuting revolutionists who battle against it, on the other.

Levaque's arrest grew out of incidents surrounding the assault of the royalist, Maurras, of the Action Francaise, on Leon Blum, leader of the S.F.I.O. This attack aroused great indignation among the Parisian workers and on the same night in many parts of the city they proceeded to punish the fascists and royalists without waiting for the inevitable "don't-be-provoked" orders of the People's Front.

(Continued from Page 2)

Militants Sweep N. Y. Socialist Primaries

Full details of the results of the New York primaries are not yet known to us as we go to press. But the contest which has aroused the greatest interest in labor ranks—the dispute between the candidates of the Old Guard and those of the Left wing Militants—is already obviously decided in what amounts to a sweeping victory throughout the state for the latter group. It elected the overwhelming majority of its candidates, not only in New York City but also "up state."

The victory of the Left wing cannot but meet with gratification on the part of every progressive worker who has followed the intensely important internal struggle in the Socialist party.

The Old Guard had at its disposal, in the present contest, not only a crew of experienced old line politicians, but the support of the powerful institutions of the conservatives. In addition, its slate was vigorously advocated by the only daily "Socialist" paper in the East, the reactionary *Jewish Daily Forward*, with a large circulation, as well as by the English-language organ of the conservatives, the *New Leader*.

For a press, the Militants had only their weekly *Socialist Call*. In addition, the Left wing had far inferior financial resources. All this was, however, offset by the enthusiastic support given the Militants by the rank and file of the Party and the Young People's Socialist League, who made up for the handicaps by their loyal activity.

The results of the primary elections furnish ample evidence of the healthiness of the break between the Militants and the discredited Old Guard. It is now quite clear that the Socialist workers, including the enrolled voters, are ready to support a Left wing movement, particularly when the "prominent" and "respectable" fossils of conservatism have broken from the party.

The Old Guard built its whole campaign around a Red scare against the Left wing. The letter was labelled "communist," "Trotskyist" and "insurrectionist." But the barrage of the Right wing was of no avail. In point of fact, its campaign was actually a boomerang against it.

The vote showed that the radical and Socialist workers want a vigorous, militant, revolutionary party, and have only contempt for "Red scares." They are relieved at the sight of the decrepit Old Guard separating from the party and thus taking a millstone off its neck.

Finally, the primary elections reveal once more the truth of the good old principle: the way to meet the onslaughts of conservatives and reactionaries is not to be apologetic in defense of one's militant or revolutionary position, not to be on the defensive, not to try to cover it up with "respectable" phrases—but rather to put it forth more boldly, more clearly and consistently.

The extent of the victory of the Left wing in these primaries may be accounted for, basically, by the extent to which it maintained such a course. Its continued advance in a progressive direction depends essentially upon grasping this lesson and carrying it uncompromisingly into action.

Croppers Aid Move Trial Group Forms From Tampa

A united front Defense Committee has been formed to undertake the defense of members of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union who have been jailed for offenses ranging from "obstructing the sidewalk" to "assault with intent to kill" as a result of their effort to hold meetings or for merely being present at such meetings.

Jim Ball, negro leader of the St. Peters local of the union, has been convicted of the charge of assault with intent to kill and sentenced to seven years on a prison farm which is the Arkansas equivalent of a Georgia chain gang. He was present at a meeting which was raided by deputy sheriffs who shot two workers in the back as they were going away from the meeting.

Three others were arrested for "rioting." Their "crime" consisted in going to Memphis to report the ongoing event at Union headquarters. Willie Hurst, chief defense witness, was murdered by a band of masked men who staged a fake hold-up after he had refused to sign an affidavit for the sheriff exonerating the real malefactors.

The planters have announced their determination to smash the union at all costs. Three union leaders, McKinney, Sweden and Moskap, are in town now in order to rally support for the union in its fight to free the men under charges and to help lay the basis for a broad defense movement to assist the union in its forthcoming struggles. Among the organizations participating in the defense are the League for Industrial Democracy, Socialist Party, Non-Partisan Labor Defense and the Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners.

NEW YORK, Apr. 1.—It was learned here today that a change of venue had been granted the three defendants who are being tried in Tampa for the murder of Joseph Shomaker and the kidnapping of Sam Rogers and Eugene Pouchot.

Trial has been postponed to April 13, when it will be resumed at Bartow, a town near Tampa.

There have been at least twelve kidnappings of labor men in Tampa and its vicinity within the last six years without a single conviction, without even arousing a mild ripple of interest among the forces sworn to maintain "law and order." There is a local ordinance against shark fishing. Sharks have been fished out of the sea with undisciplined pieces of clothing in their bellies which were identified as belonging to labor men who had been listed officially as "missing." Many of the crimes committed in the course of Tampa's reign of terror will never be known.

The Ku Klux Klan has just ended its state-wide meeting at Jacksonville with a parade through the business district of the town under cover of night. Several hundred participated in full regalia with a fiery cross at the head of the parade.

Already two men have died under mysterious circumstances after having been questioned by the prosecuting attorney. They were called "suicides" by the police.

The spotlight must be kept on the case in order to prevent a recurrence of terror. Constant pressure must be exerted on Gov. Sholtz to bring the Tampa murderers to justice. Send contributions to Tampa Defense Committee, 112 E. 19th Street, New York City.

Mass Reply to New Gov't WPA Slash

Fighting Policy Is Prime Task of Jobless Gathering

Next week the unemployed movement in this country comes of age. After hard years of preliminary struggle, a great goal, held in mind by far-sighted leaders from the beginning, is to be realized. In a mighty Convention, to be held in Washington, D.C. April 7-10, every major unemployed organization in the country will be united in the Workers' Alliance of America.

From more than half the states of the Union, hard-fighting delegates of the National Unemployed Leagues, the present Workers' Alliance, the Unemployment Councils, the American Workers' Union, the Minnesota Workers' Alliance, and other independent organizations, will gather to forge in common a powerful instrument with which to enforce and advance the demands of the unemployed. Through the new united organization the unemployed of the United States will speak with a single voice loud enough to be heard in the remotest Committee-rooms of Congress and the darkest corners of Wall Street.

Plight of Unemployed

No time could be more fitting than the present in which to accomplish the unification of the unemployed. During the past two months the demagogic Roosevelt Administration has launched a new and vicious attack. The orders have gone out to reduce the WPA rolls by 700,000 by July. The C.C.C. is to be cut by 200,000. The State and City governments administering direct relief are attempting relentless and systematic reductions. Roosevelt, desperately anxious to get a good mark from the bankers, has reduced the proposed budget appropriations for unemployment relief to a pitifully inadequate figure. During the past year, in the face of upsurging profits, the total figure of unemployment has remained practically stationary, and is estimated by the American Federation of Labor at a minimum of 12,500,000.

The unemployed have learned from their own harsh experience that their answer to the united attack of reaction, of the industrialists, bankers, the police and courts and the government, must be itself a united answer. They have learned that division in their own ranks, squabbles and fighting among themselves, only weaken their own position. Lay them open to new inroads of the enemy, and squander their energies uselessly.

Rich Years of Struggle

Into the new organization will go the rich fund of experiences gained by the unemployed since the crisis of 1929. There were many lessons to be learned. There was first the most elementary lesson of all: the need for organization, the realization that the bourgeoisie and its state would grant to the unemployed masses cast off from the industrial process only what the organized efforts of the unemployed themselves forced. There were then the long lessons in the methods of struggle, the experiences which taught that no polite committees, no social-service technique, no elaborate petitions would bring results for the unemployed. These, the unemployed discovered, received courteous replies, and accomplished nothing. Instead, the lessons taught, the unemployed must make their own the direct and militant methods of the class struggle—hunger marches, mass demonstrations, solid picket lines.

Then the unemployed began to understand more clearly that their unemployment was no temporary plague, but a permanent and insuperable condition of a rotting social order no longer able to handle the productive system which it had brought into being. From this understanding grew the realization that a longer-term view was needed, together with firmer and more lasting forms of organization. The New

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TROTSKY ON THE STALIN INTERVIEW

(Continued from Page 1)

weakening the positions of imperialism and in strengthening the positions of the proletariat and of the colonial peoples in the entire world. An unfavorable relation of forces may compel, in the interests of saving the main base of the revolution, the surrender of many "inches" of soil to the enemy, as was the case in the epoch of Brest-Litovsk, and partly also in the case of the Chinese Eastern railway. And, on the contrary, a more favorable relation of forces places on the workers' state the duty to come to the assistance of the revolutionary movement in other countries, not only morally but also, if need be, with the assistance of armed force: wars of emancipation are an integral part of revolutions of emancipation.

Thus, the experience with Mongolia shatters to pieces the ideology of conservative pacifism which bases itself upon historical frontiers, as though they were the Ten Commandments. The frontiers of the U.S.S.R. are only the temporary front line trenches of the class struggle. They lack even a national justification. The Ukrainian people—to take only one of many examples—is cut in two by the state boundary. Should favorable conditions arrive, the Red Army would be duty-bound to come to the aid of Western Ukraine which is under the heel of the Polish executioners. It is not difficult to imagine the gigantic impulse that would be given to the revolutionary movement in Poland and in the whole of Europe by the unification of a workers' and peasants' Ukraine. All state frontiers are only fetters upon the productive forces. The task of the proletariat is not to preserve the *status quo*, i.e., to perpetuate the frontiers, but on the contrary to work for their revolutionary elimination with the aim of creating the Socialist United States of Europe and of the entire world. But to make such an international policy possible, if not at present then in the future, it is imperative for the Soviet Union to free itself from the rule of the conservative bureaucracy with its religion of "socialism in one country."

WHEREIN LIES THE CAUSE OF WAR?

In reply to Howard's question as to what causes underlie the threat of war, Stalin said in accordance with tradition: "It lies in capitalism." As proof he cited the last war which "arose from the desire to divide the world." But remarkably enough, no sooner does Stalin pass from the past to the present, from dim theoretical recollections to real politics, than capitalism immediately disappears, and in its place are to be found individual evil-minded cliques that are incapable of grasping the benefits of peace. To the question of whether war is inevitable, Stalin replies, "In my opinion the positions of the friends of peace are being strengthened. The friends of peace can work openly (!), they base themselves upon the force of public opinion, and they have at their disposal such instruments as, for example (!!!), the League of Nations. This is an asset for the friends of peace . . . as for the enemies of peace, they are compelled to work secretly. This is a liability for the enemies of peace. Incidentally, it is not excluded that precisely because of this (?) they may decide upon a military adventure as an act of despair."

Thus, we find that humanity is divided not into classes, nor into imperialist states warring with each other, but into "friends" and "enemies" of peace, i.e., into saints and sinners. The cause for war (at any rate, for future if not past wars) is not capitalism that breeds irreconcilable contradictions but the ill-will of the "enemies of peace" who "work secretly," while the French, British, Belgium and other slave-owners do their work in broad daylight. But precisely because the enemies of peace, like all evil spirits, work secretly, they may, in a fit of despair, plunge into an adventure. Who needs this philosophic mush? At best it can be of service only to some old ladies' pacifist society.

As we have had the occasion to state before, the agreement between the Soviets and France gives infinitely more guarantees to France than to the Soviets. In the negotiations with Paris, Moscow evinced a lack of firmness, or, to put it more bluntly, Laval fooled Stalin. The events in connection with the Rhineland are an indisputable confirmation that, with a more realistic appraisal of the situation, Moscow could have wrung from France much more serious guarantees, in so far as pacts in general can be considered as "guarantees" in the present epoch of sharp turns in the situation, of continuous crises, break-ups and regroupments. But as we have already said, the Soviet bureaucracy shows much greater firmness in the struggle against the advanced workers than in negotiations with bourgeois diplomats.

But, no matter how he might evaluate the Franco-Soviet pact, not a single serious minded proletarian revolutionist ever denied or denies the right of the Soviet state to seek for an auxiliary support for its inviolability through a temporary agreement with the French or some other imperialism. For this purpose, however, there is not the slightest need to call black white and to rebaptize bloody brigands as "friends of peace." As an example to be emulated one might take, let us say, the new ally, the French bourgeoisie: in concluding the agreement with the Soviets the French bourgeoisie presents this action very soberly without becoming lyrical, without lavishing any compliments and even maintaining a constant undertone of warning against the Soviet Government. However bitter it may be, it is necessary to speak the truth. Laval, Sarraut, and their associates have shown a great deal more firmness and dignity in defending the interests of the bourgeois state than did Stalin and Litvinov in the service of the workers' state.

Assuredly, it is difficult to conceive a more vicious stupidity than that which divides the world brigands into friends and enemies of peace! One could still speak, in a certain sense, about the friends and enemies of *status quo*: but these are two entirely different things. *Status quo* is not the organization of "peace," but the organization of the infamous oppression exercised by a minority over the overwhelming majority of mankind. *Status quo* is being maintained by means of constant warfare within the sacred boundaries and beyond their precincts (England—in India and Egypt; France—in Syria; De La Roquette—in France). The difference between the two camps, which are, besides, very unstable, consists in the fact that some of the brigands think it more advisable already today to maintain the existing boundaries of oppression and enslavement with arms in hand, whereas others would prefer to blow up these boundaries sooner. This correlation of appetites and plans is itself continually changing. Italy favors a *status quo* in Europe but not in Africa; yet every assault upon the boundaries in Africa is immediately reflected in Europe. Hitler decided to send troops into the Rhineland only because Mussolini had succeeded in slaughtering several thousand Abyssinians. Where should we enroll Italy: among the friends or the enemies of peace? And yet, France cherishes the friendship with Italy infinitely more than the friendship with the Soviet Union. Meanwhile, England is courting the friendship of Germany.

The "friends of peace" work in the open (who would have thought it!) and have at their disposal "such instruments as, for example, the League of Nations." What other "instruments" have the friends of peace, outside the League of Nations? Obviously, they have the Comintern and the Amsterdam-Pleyel Committee. Stalin failed to mention these auxiliary "instruments" partly because he himself does not attach any great importance to them, and partly because he did not want to frighten his interlocutor unnecessarily. But Stalin does transform completely the League of Nations, whose nose has caved in, in the full view of all mankind, into a bulwark of peace, the prop and hope of nations.

In order to utilize the imperialist antagonisms between France and Germany there was not and is not the slightest need for idealizing the bourgeois ally or the particular combination of imperialists that temporarily screens itself by the sign of the League of Nations. The crime does not lie in this or another practical deal concluded with imperialists but in the fact that both the Soviet government and the Comintern are dishonestly embellishing their episodic allies and their League; are duping the workers with slogans of disarmament and "collective security"; and thereby are transformed in action into the political agency of imperialists in relation to the working masses.

The program of the Bolshevik party drafted by Lenin in 1919 replied to all these questions with remarkable clarity and simplicity. But who thinks about this document in the Kremlin? Today, Stalin and Co. find embarrassing even the eclectic program of the Comintern compiled by Bukharin in 1928. For this reason we think it useful to quote from the program of the Bolshevik party on the question of the League of Nations and the friends of peace. Here is what it states:

"The growing pressure on the part of the proletariat and especially the victories gained by the latter in various countries tend to increase the resistance of the exploiters and engender on their part the creation of new forms of the international unification of the capitalists (League of Nations, etc.), which, while organizing on a world scale the systematic exploitation of all the peoples on earth, aim their immediate efforts toward the direct suppression of the revolutionary movements of the proletariat in all countries.

"All this inevitably leads to the correlation of the civil war within the individual states with the revolutionary wars both of the proletarian countries defending themselves as well as of the oppressed peoples struggling against the yoke of the imperialist powers.

"Under these conditions the slogans of pacifism, of international disarmament under capitalism, of arbitration courts, and so on are not only a reactionary Utopia but also a downright swindle of the toilers aimed to disarm the proletariat and to distract the workers away from the task of disarming the exploiters."

It is precisely this criminal work that both Stalin and the Comintern are fulfilling: they are sowing reactionary Utopias, swindling the toilers, disarming the proletariat.

THE "COMIC MISUNDERSTANDING" WITH REGARD TO THE WORLD REVOLUTION.

Nobody compelled Stalin to satisfy Howard's thirst for knowledge on the question of the world revolution. If Stalin gave the interview as the unofficial head of the Government (and this is indicated by his statement with regard to Mongolia), then he could have simply referred his interlocutor to Dimitroff on the questions of the world revolution. But no, Stalin went into explanations. At first sight it appears entirely incomprehensible why he should have thereby compromised himself so cruelly by his cynical and, sad to say, not at all clever disquisitions about the world revolution. But he is driven onto the slippery road by an insurmountable need: he must break with the past.

What about the plans and intentions relating to the revolution? asks the visitor.

"We never (!) had such plans and intentions."

But, what about . . .

"This is all the result of a misunderstanding."

Howard: "A tragic misunderstanding?"

Stalin: "No, a comic, or, perhaps, a tragic-comical one."

It is embarrassing even to read and transcribe these lines, they are so inappropriate and indecent. For whom is this . . . wisdom intended? Even the pacifist ladies will reject it.

Asks Stalin: "What danger can the neighboring states see in the ideas of the Soviet people, if these states are really firmly placed in the saddle?" Very well, permit us to ask, what about those who are not placed firmly in the saddle? Yet, that is how matters stand in reality. Precisely because its position is precarious, the bourgeoisie fears Soviet ideas, not Stalin's ideas but those ideas that led to the creation of the Soviet state. To soothe the bourgeoisie, Stalin adduces a supplementary argument: "The export of revolution is nonsense. Every country, should it so desire, will itself achieve its own revolution, and if it does not desire it, there will be no revolution. Now, for example, our country desired to make a revolution and made it . . ." And more of the same, in the self-same, smug, edifying tone. From the theory of socialism in one country Stalin has completely and decisively passed over to the theory of revolution in one country. If a "country" so desires—it will make it, should it not desire it—it won't make it. Now, "we," for example, desired it. . . . But before desiring it, "we" imported the ideas of Marxism from other countries and made use of foreign revolutionary experience. In the course of decades, "we" had our enigne organization in other countries which directed the revolutionary struggle in Russia. In order to give a methodic and an active character to the exchange of experience between countries and their mutual revolutionary support, "we" organized the Communist International in the year 1919. "We" more than once proclaimed as the duty of the proletariat of a victorious country to come to the assistance of the rising peoples—with advice, material means, and, if possible, with armed force. All these ideas (incidentally, they bear the names of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Luxemburg, Liebknecht) are written down in the most important programmatic documents of the Bolshevik party and of the Comintern. Stalin has proclaimed that all this is a misunderstanding! A tragic one? No, a comic one. Not for nothing has Stalin recently announced that it has become "merry" to live in the Soviet Union: now even the Communist International has become transformed from a serious personage into a comedian. And how could it be otherwise, if the international character of the revolution is mere and sheer "nonsense"?

Stalin would have made a much more convincing impression upon his interlocutor, if instead of impotently calumniating the past ("we never had such plans and intentions"), he had on the contrary openly counterposed his own policy to the antiquated "plans and intentions" which have been relegated to the museum. Stalin might have read Howard the very same quotation from the program which we gave above, and then made approximately the following brief speech, "In the eyes of Lenin the League of Nations was an organization for the bloody suppression of the toilers. But we see in it—an instrument of peace. Lenin spoke of the inevitability of revolutionary wars. But we consider the export of revolution—nonsense. Lenin branded the alliance between the proletariat and the national bourgeoisie as a betrayal. But we are doing all in our power to drive the French proletariat onto this road. Lenin lashed the slogan of disarmament under capitalism as an infamous swindle of the toilers. But we build our entire policy upon this slogan. Your comical misunderstanding—that is how Stalin could have concluded—"consists in the fact that you take us for the continuators of Bolshevism, whereas we are its gravediggers."

Such an explanation would have dispelled the last shreds of suspicion of the world bourgeoisie and would have definitely established Stalin's reputation as a statesman. Unfortunately, he does not dare as yet to resort to such frank language. The past binds him, the traditions hamper him, the phantom of the Opposition frightens him. We come to the assistance of Stalin. In accordance with our rule, in the given case, too, we openly say what is.

March 18, 1936.

French Gov't Jails Zeller, Youth Leader

(Continued from Page 1)

In one place, on the rue Asseline, where a group of the Action Française had assembled to celebrate the attack on Blum, the workers mobilized spontaneously and introduced an unexpected note into the festivities. Immediately the Stalinists of this section, the 14th Arrondissement, issued a disclaimer for any responsibility of this action while at the same time denouncing the Bolshevik-Leninists to the police.

C.P. Rats on Bolsheviks

The contents of this stool-pigeon leaflet, a facsimile of which appeared in Revolution, February 28, were as follows:

"The Communist unit of the 14th Arrondissement warns the workers against impulsive actions very often incited by irresponsible people or provocateurs successively expelled from the Communist and from the Socialist party, who are trying to canalize in a false way the justified anger of the working class.

"Republican defense of liberties and the defense of workers cannot and must not consist in actions or expeditions which usually play the game of the fascist bands."

The police were not slow in taking the hint and immediately arrested an individual named Jonot, a member of the S.F.I.O., who turned out to be a stool-pigeon and squealed out only on Levaque but on some ten members of his party.

It is interesting and characteristic that Populaire which filled its columns with vile tirades against the J.S.R. (Revolutionary Socialist Youth) for their revolutionary policy on war, breathed not a word about the government agent Jonot. Indeed, why should it, when Jonot is an agent for the same government they support in parliament and it was a common enemy he was betraying. The same holds for the National Committee of the S.F.I.O. which acted with undignified haste in expelling Bolshevik-Leninists and took its time in taking action against Jonot. It might be remarked that the People's Front of the district followed suit in "exploring" the incidents at the rue Asseline!

Questioned upon his arrest, Levaque denied his participation in the events in question but stated without hesitation that he approved the action of the workers and had been present he would have encouraged them and acted by their side. The Stalinists immediately took the opportunity not to support Levaque but to give information to the government to insure a severe sentence. "The J.S.R.," say these rats in L'Humanité, "is under the leadership of Trotskyist elements whose provocative methods we have vigorously fought. Levaque is a member of the Central Committee of the J.S.R."

In Company With Royalists
The baiting of revolutionists, however, is not the private preserve of the Stalinists, which, once begun, must be done in company with those who devote their main energies to it—the Fascists. Thus Action Française, organ of the royalist group, takes up the cry of L'Humanité:

"The J.S.R., or workers' militia whose leader is Marcelle Pivert (an error in fact—Ed.) and whose organ is the paper Revolution, are the strong arm men of the S.F.I.O. . . . The J.S.R. admits its participation in the incidents of the rue Asseline. . . . The guilty are therefore known. They admit, they proclaim not only their participation in the crime but their deliberate intention to repeat it and they call for direct action. Has direct action become legal under the Sarraut government? When will the groups signing this press release (quoted below—Ed) and poster be dissolved?"

What a revealing picture! The bug Maurras, who slugged Blum over the head with a cane, remains at liberty. Levaque, the revolutionist, who supported the workers in their spontaneous action which would make the Fascists wary of any similar action in the future, is cast into prison. Fascists . . . and Stalinists demand the overmen action against Levaque's organization!

While the Stalinists disavowed, disassociated . . . and disgraced themselves by making common cause with the Royalists, the Bolshevik-Leninists and Revolutionary Socialist Youth sprang to the defense of Levaque, issuing the following statement to the press:

Solidarity with Levaque
"The royalist assault upon Leon Blum gave rise to a spontaneous reaction in many working class districts. In the 14th particularly, workers of all tendencies and all organizations, swelling with anger demonstrated their intention of punishing Royalist assassins in the scuffle that ensued on the rue Asseline.

"But the Communist party believed it its duty, too late, to disassociate itself from this action and in a leaflet to openly attempt to place the responsibility for the

Unemployed to Unite in Washington on April 7

(Continued from Page 1)

Deal helped to drive home the lessons Roosevelt's pretty pre-election promises to the "Forgotten Men" raised in the unemployed new hopes and new illusions. But three years of Roosevelt have taught the unemployed what to expect from the promises of the representatives of the bourgeoisie. The unemployed have been learning who are their friends and who are their enemies, that their friends are their class allies, and their enemies the class enemy.

Tactics for the Jobless

The unemployed have been learning the lesson of the inseparable

New Support for Newsmen

(Continued from Page 1)

financial support. Gunnar Nickolson, Milwaukee vice-president was elected permanent chairman of the district guild, and Al Haut of the Chicago Guild was made secretary-treasurer. Plans were made for organizing new guild units in the district, which now includes Milwaukee, Chicago, Rockford, Des Moines, Madison and Indianapolis.

Teachers Association Sympathetic
As an antidote to an attack on the guild by the Citizens' Law and Order League, stood the resolution supporting collective bargaining of the Milwaukee branch of the Association of Wisconsin State Teachers Colleges, a voluntary association which for 20 years has been recognized by the board of normal school regents as the bargaining agent for classroom teachers and librarians of the nine teachers' colleges in the state.

Unmoved by the Law and Order League's espousal of the Hearst cause, the guild will serve notice Saturday to the News management that its strike lines are unbroken and its support unwavering, with a huge demonstration Saturday noon at the News plant. Then, Saturday night there will be a torch light parade on the South Side of Milwaukee, followed by a mass meeting indoors. Guildsmen will make the necessary contacts with labor organizations and other groups during the week to insure success of the demonstration.

demonstration of the anger of the workers on our organization and in endeavor to direct the investigations of the police to the 'Trotskyists.'

"With the aid of a 'confession' our comrade Levaque, member of the Bolshevik-Leninist group and of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Socialist Youth was arrested.

"We protest against this arbitrary arrest by the Sarraut-Deibos government dictated purely by class interests and political motives, and not even 'justified' by an iota of juridical proof."

"At the same time we declare our solidarity with our comrade Levaque who courageously declared that he fully approved the action of the workers at the rue Asseline, regretting only not having participated in them.

"Our two organizations, the J.S.R. and B.L.G., who no longer belong to the S.F.I.O. and who, besides, were expelled from it for having practiced, as against the timidity of the Socialist leaders, an intransigent class policy, loudly declare that they approve the action of the workers of the rue Asseline.

"We are the initiators of the slogan of workers' militias.

"Our motto of action against the wild dogs of Fascism is: For one eye, both eyes, for one tooth, the entire jaw."

"We remain true to the teachings of Marx, Lenin, Trotsky."

"We have nothing in common with those who betray the workers by deceiving them with 'national reconciliation' and dragging them in the tow of Sarraut, the man who declared: 'Communism, that is the enemy.'"

"Long live the J.S.R. and the G.B.L."

"Long live the Fourth International."

Intense Campaign

It goes without saying that neither L'Humanité nor Populaire printed this release nor did the C.P. or S.P. respond to the call for a conference for the defense of Levaque. But this conspiracy of silence did not prevent the workers of Paris or of France from hearing about Levaque and joining in the protest. More than 20 organizations have agreed to participate in the defense work, among them sections of the S.R.I. (International Red Aid, same as I.L.D. here—Ed.), 10,000 circulars were distributed and Paris was placarded with posters. Throughout Paris and France, even as far as Geneva, workers' organizations have protested the arrest of Levaque and condemned the treacherous action of the Stalinist and Socialist bureaucrats.

This agitation, although we have no direct information as yet, we are certain will be increased a hundred fold in the defense of Zeller.

unity of their interests with the working class as a whole. Perhaps the most distinctive contribution of the National Unemployed League, along with its insistence from the beginning on the methods of militant mass action, was its initiation of direct cooperation between employed and unemployed workers, in strikes, boycotts, demonstrations and mass picket lines.

And the unemployed have learned also that their movement cannot be effective when used as political kites for political parties or factions, whether of the bourgeoisie or the working class. They have had their taste of organizations built to get votes for ward-healers or to send delegates to fake Congresses; and they have found that neither serves their interests.

In Washington in the unity Convention, the unemployed, represented not by highly paid officials and bureaucrats, but by those who have taken the lead in their own direct struggles, will sum up the results of a number of the chief lessons. The conclusion they have reached is that the next big step for the unemployed requires as a pre-condition aggressive, fighting unity in a single national organization.

Johnson's Treachery

Unity is without question a great step forward, perhaps the greatest which the unemployed movement has yet taken. It would, however, be romantic and dangerous to imagine that unity will solve all problems. Serious difficulties remain, and are present even in the organization of unity. It is a disruptive blow at the entire unemployed movement that the ardent convert to social-patriotism, Arnold Johnson, working under cover during recent months in the National Unemployed League, has attempted to split the NUL by calling a rump Convention behind the backs of the National Executive Committee. His attempt has been sternly repudiated by all the active and functioning leagues, but he may still try to get together in Washington next week a medley of stooge delegates. His split maneuvering must be exposed and counteracted, in order to wipe out a sore spot of the new organization at the beginning.

Likewise must the Convention be on guard against attempts of the Stalinists to stuff the new National Committee with members from fake "independent" organizations created overnight for bargaining purposes. And even more must the Convention reject Stalinist efforts—so noticeable at every recent Convention or Conference attended by Stalinists—to transform the new Workers' Alliance from the united, fighting class organization of the unemployed into a pale adjunct of the collaborationist People's Front and Stalinist social-patriotism. This must be no Convention of the American League against War and Fascism, or National Negro Congress.

The Convention must look forward to three great immediate tasks, and must prepare the organization for facing them: An aggressive organizational campaign, carrying the Workers' Alliance into every state of the Union, and strengthening the locals particularly in the industrial centers; a rapid offensive against the Roosevelt relief program, to forestall the cutting down of work relief, increase the public works program, and raise direct relief by appropriations from the Federal government; and all along the line more direct cooperation with the trade union movement in all fields, especially with the progressive industrial union forces in the American Federation of Labor. Unity gives a basis for putting such a policy into effect on a scale never before possible in the unemployed movement. By carrying it out, the unemployed will play their part in a notable advance for the working class.

PAUL LUTTINGER, M.D.
DANIEL LUTTINGER, M.D.
5 Washington Square North
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STALINTERN READY TO EMBRACE CHIANG KAI SHEK

By LO SEN

Offer Chinese Red Army in Return for Resurrection of Disastrous 1927 Bloc

On March 21, 1927, the workers of Shanghai rose in a mighty insurrection. With their own arms and their own forces they defeated and expelled the garrison of Northern mercenaries. Five days later Chiang Kai-shek made his triumphant entry into the city.

On April 5, 1927, in the Hall of Columns in Moscow, Stalin told 3,000 party functionaries that Chiang Kai-shek was "leading the army and cannot do otherwise but lead it against the imperialists."

Seven days later Chiang Kai-shek led his army against the workers of Shanghai and with frightful slaughter crushed the mass movement which had swept him to power.

On April 21, 1927, in his theses published in Pravda, Stalin wrote that the "revolutionary Kuomintang in Wuhan" (Wang Ching-wei and Co.) was "leading a decisive struggle against militarism and imperialism."

After Shanghai . . . Wuhan

Exactly a month later, on May 21, soldiers led by the Wuhan generals began slaughtering the workers in Changsha and the peasants throughout Hunan province. On July 15 Wang Ching-wei and Co. formally proscribed the Communists and the trade unions and workers' heads fell in the streets of Wuhan, the "revolutionary center" (Stalin), under the axes of the "revolutionary Kuomintang."

A few weeks later, the Wuhan Government, which had been "leading a decisive struggle against militarism and imperialism," capitulated to and united with the government of Chiang Kai-shek at Nanking. The power of the Kuomintang and the generals was established throughout the land and the mass movement was crushed.

That is the record, in brief, of the achievements of the "anti-imperialist united front" in China in 1925-1927.

The Cycle of Adventurism

The Kuomintang power which emerged from that "united front," otherwise known as the "bloc of four classes," has now endured nine years, nine years of unremitting terror against the workers and peasants, nine years of uninterrupted capitulation to imperialism.

Stalinism in this period played out its own cycle of disastrous adventurism and hopeless experiments with an insurgent peasant movement in the remote interior entirely divorced from the urban proletariat. The working class itself, its organizations shattered, crushed by the terrible defeat it had suffered, remained in a state of depression and political apathy, broken by desperate, heroic, isolated, defensive, economic struggles.

Today, precipitately and without a single backward glance, Stalinism has reverted to the same course which led in 1927 to the most monstrous social catastrophe of our times—the annihilation of a mighty revolutionary mass movement, not by a stronger enemy, recognized as such, but by the forces it had been taught to regard as its own leaders.

Back to the Bloody Past

Removed from the shroud which also covers the bodies of scores of thousands of workers and peasants massacred in its name, the "anti-imperialist united front" is being resurrected today in a form even more vile and necessarily more grotesque than that which it assumed nine years ago. All the old opportunist phrases and slogans, hastily ditched on the morrow of the catastrophe, have been lifted from the past and refurbished for new use. The lessons of the events which those same phrases accompanied nine years ago are left carefully buried with their victims.

In 1925-1927 Stalin-Bukharin taught that the Chinese bourgeoisie was capable of waging a struggle against imperialism. Trotsky warned that the bourgeoisie could and would only strangle the anti-imperialist movement. It took the disasters of 1927 to reveal to Stalin-Bukharin the truth, if not the essence, of this warning.

"The experience of the past development," the declared in a resolution on August 9, 1927, "shows plainly that the bourgeoisie is not capable of solving the problems of national emancipation from the yoke of imperialism . . . that it is not capable of conducting a consistent fight against foreign imperialism and is becoming more and more inclined . . . to a compromise which leaves the domination of imperialism almost completely undisturbed."

But this did not mean that the "bloc of four classes" was anything but perfectly correct or the Communist leadership anything but impeccable. Nor was it anything else when in the ensuing period it turned on the morrow of defeat to blind punitism and then to remote peasant "soviets" in the deep hinterland. Meanwhile the bourgeoisie ruled ruthlessly with its twin weapons, terror and capitulation to imperialism.

Yet today, without gasp or stammer, the Stalinists greet the belief that "a considerable section of the national bourgeoisie . . . is ever more energetically trying to find a way to resist Japanese imperialism . . . and moreover, 'are turning for a way out to the toiling masses.'" (Wan Min).

Do we then not tell the workers and peasants that the national bourgeoisie can not and will not consistently fight imperialism? That the fight against imperialism is the fight against the bourgeoisie for the interests of the workers and peasants? That the proletariat in alliance with the peasantry alone are capable of prosecuting a successful national revolutionary war against imperialism? Do we not show them how this was demonstrated to the bloody hilt in 1925-27 and a thousand times over since then?

Do we not call for the independent organization of workers in their unions and party, of peasants in their associations led by the urban proletariat—independent in banner and program of the vacillating and treacherous zigzags of the bourgeoisie or sections of it? (That is what we tell them. The Stalinists pursue a different course.

The Stalinist Flip-Flop

"If Chiang Kai-shek really means to take up the struggle against Japan, then obviously the Soviet Government (sic) will extend to him the hand of friendship on the field of battle against Japan." (Mao Tse-tung, Daily Worker, March 30.)

A "hand of friendship" on what terms? As outlined by Wan Min in the special Chinese number of the Communist International for February, they represent a complete abdication of even nominal struggle for the revolution in China. One by one, Wan Min drops all the myths of "Soviet China" of recent years into the bottomless pit of a past, better forgotten.

The Stalinists propose a "People's Government of Self-Defense" into which "all parties, groups, political and military authorities" are to join. They will propose confiscation only of the land of "national traitors" (?) and any "feudal landlords" who won't say they're against imperialism. Workers will be promised "increases in wages . . . improvement in material conditions." In the areas controlled by the Stalinists' own Red armies, land confiscation will all but come to an end and the "extreme demands" of the workers "will be rejected." They will "refrain from organizing workers' control of industry, the necessary conditions for which do not exist as yet."

"Return the Land"

Thus, the silent, furtive demise of a thousand propagandist legends! The poor peasants who gleaned a modicum of benefit in the so-called "Soviet districts" will go back into the tender embrace of the landlords. As for the workers, they are being deprived of something they never had, except in the imagination of hacks ten thousand miles away. The fictitious "Soviet Government" will remain as a formal label for the Red Army command. The "Soviets" will either disappear entirely or assume grosser, even anti-proletarian forms.

Nine years ago at the height of the mass movement, the Stalinists proscribed Soviets, urged by the Opposition, because they represented "a slogan of struggle against the revolutionary Kuomintang." When the revolutionary Kuomintang was transformed overnight into

to an instrument of counter-revolution and the mass movement was crushed, the Stalinists came forward with "Soviets" which proved a tragic fiction.

In the period of counter-revolution the Opposition called for a struggle for democratic rights centered around the slogan of a National Assembly. This was denounced by the Stalinists as the uttermost depths of "counter-revolutionary Trotskyism." Today the Stalinists, dumping their "Soviets," want the "People's Government" to convene a "representative body . . . elected on the basis of democratic liberties."

A Noose for the Workers

Thus once more, as a thousand times in the past, the Stalinists have been compelled to reach out for a political line laid down by "the vanguard of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie." Only, as ever, in their hands it is mangled and twisted and becomes not an instrument of proletarian struggle but a noose for the working class. We conceived the National Assembly as a slogan around which the workers could be helped once more to raise their heads and through which they could emerge as an independent political force. The Stalinists, having forsaken the workers, now want an assembly from the top, created through a new series of combinations, a new "bloc of four classes." This marks a new phase of the Stalinist course in China which, through its various periods, has cut an ever-widening chasm between the Stalinist party and the Chinese workers.

At least in form and phrase, the "anti-imperialist united front" of nine years ago was supposed, in some "peculiar" way known only to Bukharin, to result in "proletarian hegemony" in the revolution. The documents of the period are heavily adorned with dissertations on the "perspectives of the proletariat" which, as events proved, only turned out to be perspectives of defeat and disaster.

But today, in the catenated version of Dimitroff-Wan Min, all of this phraseology is completely passed over. Wan Min can write a programmatic article without ever touching upon the perspectives of the proletariat or even mentioning the words "trade union" once.

The reason for this is clear and constitutes the main distinction between the bloc of nine years ago and its current reincarnation. In 1925-27 Stalinism actually had its base in the heart of a tremendous mass movement which drew millions of the toiling population into its orbit. Today the Stalinists have no mass base whatever. Their only base rests in the insurgent, mobile armies of soldiers and peasants now operating in the distant west and northwest. In China proper they have none whatever. Any base they acquire as a result of their new line, will not be among the workers but possibly in sections of the petty and big bourgeoisie.

Wan Min boldly proclaims: "The Communist Party of China really can and must act as the generally recognized leader of the Chinese people as a whole."

In 1927 under the terms of the bloc the Communist Party fused itself with the bourgeois Kuomintang and restricted the trade union and peasant movements to the limits fixed by the bourgeoisie.

The Red Armies on the Alter

Today, the Stalinists offer their present forces, the Red Armies, up on the altar and declare their readiness to "fuse" the Reds into a "united anti-Japanese army" controlled by a general staff to be set up by the "People's Government."

When the Red Armies, consisting of insurgent peasants and soldiers, were operating in Central China, we declared that unless the movement they represented effected a fusion with the urban labor movement, they were doomed either to extinction or to capitulation to the bourgeoisie. Now after six years of heroic struggle against the Kuomintang armies, featured by exploits of heroism and courage unexcelled in the history of all peasant wars, these Red Armies are to be handed over to the bourgeoisie. That is where Stalinism has led them, for it proved incapable of leading them behind a revived and powerful and independent movement of the workers.

The Stalinists completely disembarrass themselves of any idea of waging a revolutionary struggle in China. They seek instead a military alliance with the Chinese bourgeoisie against Japan, hoping once more that the liquidation of the class struggle in China will help line up the ranks of the Soviet Union's allies!

If the disaster of 1927 and the whole subsequent history proved anything at all, it proved the incapacity of the Chinese bourgeoisie to prosecute a national revolutionary war. It will compromise a thousand times with imperialism against the workers and peasants of its own country. But Stalinism, nurtured at the dry breast of socialism in one country, has lost all faith or interest in the capacities of the proletariat, which it has done so much to drain. Turning once more to embrace the Chiang Kai-shek, it will seek to destroy the Third Chinese Revolution as it destroyed the Second.

Build the Fourth International

They are offering to do so in advance and we may be sure that the Chinese bourgeoisie will in one form or another, by this or that means, secure the utmost advantage from the promised liquidation of the class struggle without unduly compromising itself in the eyes of its imperialist masters.

There can be little doubt that in the coming critical years in the Far East, drawing toward the inevitable moment of explosion, sections of the Chinese bourgeoisie will zigzag right and left in efforts to retrieve some of the ground lost to imperialism. We must prepare for those turns by preserving the complete programmatic and organizational independence of the Chinese working class. For this the party of the Chinese workers has to be built and the banner of the Chinese workers raised over its own redoubts. We must stand against imperialism and against the Kuomintang traitors and against those who would lead us once more into the noose of a "bloc of classes."

Skirmishes on the Manchukuo-Mongolian border in the last ten days have assumed the proportions of virtual battles. The morrow of war is not far distant. In China, as elsewhere, we can guarantee a firm revolutionary alliance with the Soviet Union only by waging common battle against the enemies of the Soviet Union and the enemies of the working class. China's national emancipation has become historically identified with the emancipation of the oppressed toilers. Along this front and along no other lies victory.

(Continued on Page 4)

WORLD OF LABOR

London International Labor Conference Endorses Imperialist War Policies

By JOHN G. WRIGHT

On March 20, a joint conference of the Second International and the Trade Union International was held in London to consider the war crisis, aggravated by Hitler's rearmament of the Rhine.

The labor representatives of fifteen European countries, meeting presumably to express the views and interests of the international working class in the face of the gravest war danger, gave proof once again that they represented nothing except the imperialist policies of their respective national bourgeoisies.

The outcome of this Conference was a foregone conclusion: the labor lieutenants of capital merely rephrased in "labor terms" the political formulas of the imperialist brigades who are maneuvering in preparation for the next world slaughter.

Just as in the League of Nations, so at the London Conference the delegates were divided into two camps. One group "insisted" that Hitler's occupation of the Rhine-land warranted the strongest action against Germany. This position was most clearly voiced by Vandervelde, the leader of the Second International who demanded immediate sanctions, that is to say, the immediate outbreak of the war. Vandervelde's position coincided in every respect with that of the Stalinists who are the most consistent advocates of national unity and "decisive measures" against German Fascism.

The second group, led by the British labor leaders, with Sir Walter Citrine at the head, saw great hope in Hitler's "peace proposals," and were for negotiations. The British social patriots looking at usual eye to eye with their imperialist masters were all for collective security on the basis of Non-Aggression Pacts, provided . . . that these are extended to include Soviet Russia (of course! of course!).

Only yesterday, these same gentlemen were the loudest in demanding sanctions against Mussolini. But today British imperialism wants not sanctions but negotiations with Hitler. So, while Eden speaks in the Parliament, Citrine does his share at the International Conference.

The British representatives were not the only ones who made a "subtle change" in their views. The French representatives were loud in their verbal demands for sanctions, but, as a matter of fact it is some time now that the French labor lieutenants, with Blum, Faure and associates have undergone a change of heart on the subject of taking an intransigent attitude towards Hitler.

Paul Faure, the secretary of the French Socialist party, hus of late, time and again insisted: "One must always negotiate, no matter with whom it is, when it is, and under what circumstances it is." Eden's pronouncements, attacked so bitterly by the French Stalinists in "Humanite," were acclaimed by the Socialist Populaire as "a confirmation" of the position of the Socialist party. The apparent contradiction between Vandervelde and Blum is skin deep. It is entirely the result of the different political tasks and schemes each has to execute in his particular country.

It follows as a matter of course that the two "opposing" camps had no difficulty at all in drafting a resolution acceptable to both sides. The International Labor Conference overwhelmingly passed a resolution denouncing Hitler's violation of the Locarno Treaty, and urging negotiations with a view to including not only Hitler, but Soviet Russia in a system of non-aggression pacts, etc.

Thus, the same people who did their work so well in the preparation for the World War in 1914, are once again prostituting the Second International, giving the imperialist bourgeoisie guarantees in advance that the European working class will docilely march to the slaughter.

THE HUTCH IN ORGANIC UNITY IN FRANCE

The subtle change in the policy of the French S. P. noted above is the biggest obstacle to the fusion of the C. P. and S. P. that has developed since the time the Stalinists launched their campaign for organic unity.

Blum, Faure and Co. have suffered a "reaction" against the Stalinist ballyhoo for national unity "in action" against Germany. They are now for negotiating with Hitler. The extent of this "reaction" is perhaps best illustrated by the fact that the "Revolutionary Left" (Pivert and Co.) have gone on record (of course, with very revolutionary phrases) in favor of the policy of Flandin-Eden. Thus it is that the "left" cover serves the social-patriots to dupe the workers.

The policy of Flandin-Eden has come into a slight contradiction with the policy of Stalin-Litvinov. As a result, the pleasant dreams of a "single party" have been somewhat rudely disturbed. Some time ago the French C. P. sent a com-

munication to the S. P. suggesting that the co-ordinating committees should meet, and that both parties should urge a joint meeting of the Second and Third Internationals. The Executive Committee of the S. P. I. O. turned down the proposal to the great surprise and embarrassment of the Stalinists. Maurice Thorez, the General Secretary of the French C. P., complained bitterly about this developing coldness in his speeches at the Eighth Congress of the C. P. held at Villeurbanne at the end of January.

The Labour Monthly summarizes his remarks as follows: "Maurice Thorez declared himself astonished at the irritable tone adopted by Leon Blum in criticizing these proposals after a long silence, and after comrade Zyromski (Secretary of the Seine Federation) had declared that they 'were a great step forward, and their principles were not in contradiction to those in the socialist statement.'" (March, 1936, p. 146.)

This turn is a severe blow to the Stalinists. But Stalin-Litvinov-Thorez can console themselves with the fact that while their formerly staunch allies have become somewhat lukewarm, they have made new converts to their anti-Hitler policy. Colonel de La Rocque's Croix de Feu (the French Fascists), which now claims 800,000 members, and which was hostile to the Franco-Russian pact, has now declared in favor of the pact, if only "as an inevitable reply to Hitler." (See the Manchester Guardian Weekly, March 20, 1936, p. 226.)

JAPAN

The results of the parliamentary elections held in Japan towards the end of February are a clear expression of a leftward trend on the part of the masses, which in turn is a reflection of the social and economic tension in the country. The Japanese bourgeois papers have devoted great attention to the leap in the support for the working class and peasant parties, who have quadrupled their votes since the last elections in 1932.

The largest of the left parties is the Sakai Taisuto, a party with a hidebound reformist program. This party resulted from a merger some four years ago between the Sakai Minshuto party and the Uppur Taisuto. In 1928 both these parties, running independent tickets, had five representatives in the Japanese parliament (Sakai Minshuto—4; Nippon Taisuto—1). In 1930 Sakai Minshuto dwindled to two representatives; and the other party gained another representative, having now also two. After the merger, the united party came back to the original strength of five representatives (1932). In the last elections, they elected 18.

Further to the left of this reformist party are "groups" of proletarians and peasants. The largest of these is the Kato Kandzu, which is Stalinist in its tendencies. All these groups elected five representatives. (They had no representatives at all in the 1932 elections; in 1930 they had a single representative, and in 1928—2.)

All the organizations together polled over 600,000 votes. This unprecedented vote, together with the defeat of the Seirukai party—the most reactionary party of large landowners and powerful monopoly combines of the Mitsui clan—and the victory of the Minshuto party, which is considered as the more "liberal" party, is a clear indication of a leftward shift similar to the movement in Czarist Russia on the eve of the Russo-Japanese War. Reaction in Japan is alarmed. And the military Fascist putsch followed immediately upon the elections.

However, in Japan there is not a sign as yet of the Bolshevik cadres and leadership that obtained in Czarist Russia.

The confusion and weakness in the ranks of the working class make it possible for a bourgeois organ like the Nishi-Nishi to scoff at the successes of the radical organizations and to insist that these successes are to be accounted for not by the radicalization of the voters but by the rightward trend of the working class organizations, particularly the Sakai Taisuto.

The appraisal of the Nishi-Nishi is correct in respect to the rightward trend of the existing organizations. The rightward trend of the leadership at the time the masses are moving to the left has been observed time and again in the last two decades. In Japan this has resulted in a crisis in the ranks of the reformist Sakai Taisuto. The Tokyo paper Asahi predicts that the groups to the left of the reformists will succeed in splitting off sections of the leftward moving workers from the reformists. Both Pravda and Izvestia (February 24) imply that such a split is already in the offing, with the Kato Kandzu as the crystallizing center. The Stalinists in Moscow foresee shortly a "single party" have been somewhat rudely disturbed. Some time ago the French C. P. sent a com-

A LETTER FROM ITALY

Nationalist Maniacs Driving Nation Through War into Collapse and Ruin

According to a recent dispatch from Italy, Vesuvius is again belching forth flames and the inhabitants of Naples, who live under its shadow, fear an impending eruption. Nothing could be more symbolic of the present state of affairs under Mussolini. The Fascist regime caps a fiery furnace of unrest, which not only exerts tremendous pressure upon it, but may, in the not very far future, explode and blow it to bits.

The Ethiopian Campaign

Mussolini ordered the Ethiopian adventure for two reasons. First, as the beginning of his long-promised campaign to secure the colonial empire that Italian capital was cheated of after the last war. Second, as an outlet for the energies of the unemployed and as a means of diverting the domestic discontent created by the crisis into imperialist channels. Colonial expeditions and foreign wars are time-honored expedients of ruling classes to turn the attention of the masses from their misery. Decaying capitalism, whether of the democratic or fascist variety, can solve the problem of permanent unemployment in only one way: by conscripting the jobless into labor armies as in Germany, C. C. C. camps as in the United States, or into actual fighting forces as in Italy.

To date Il Duce has failed to accomplish either end. Ethiopia is not yet in his clutches. The war in Ethiopia has been in progress for half a year. While foreign military experts disagree as to the extent of the Italian successes, it is clear that the Ethiopians have not been subjugated; Abyssinia remains unconquered. Although the Italian armies have advanced steadily into the interior and scored numerous victories, they have not met the Ethiopians in any decisive engagements nor have they penetrated beyond the dangerous mountain passes into the heart of the country. With the rainy season close at hand, the campaign must come to a halt. At least another year will be necessary before the Fascists can claim Ethiopia as their own.

The Situation at Home

Meanwhile life does not stand still either at home or in the international arena. Far from ameliorating the conditions of the masses, the war has aggravated their sufferings. Patriotic fervor is a poor substitute for bread and clothing. The internal situation grows more acute with every passing day. Storm clouds of dissatisfaction with the apparently hopeless policies of the government are gathering, not only among the workers in the cities and country, but among other classes of the population, extending even into the directing circles.

In order to carry on the war, Mussolini is being compelled to tighten the straitjacket Fascism clamps upon the national economy. First the big banks were put under rigid governmental control;

now Il Duce threatens to do the same to the key industries needed for armaments. Italian capitalism is being forced to sacrifice its last measure of freedom to the Fascist state in order to preserve the existing regime, and, above all, its own existence. Finance capital must pay a heavy price for its public protection. That is one reason why it "prefers," if possible, bourgeois democracy. It is cheaper in the long run.

Mussolini's recent edicts concerning the nationalization of the banks and of key industries are not in the least steps towards socialism, as bourgeois commentators have claimed. They represent the final flowering of state capitalism, the consummation of the marriage between monopoly capitalism and state power. The whole of Italian economy must be put on a military basis, not only to ensure its perpetuation, but as preparation for the world war ahead. "The wheels of destiny," declared Mussolini, "run fast. The inevitability of the nation's being called on to face another war . . . must guide all our actions."

According to all reports, the application of sanctions has severely crippled Italian economy. The small industrialists have suffered heavily from the imposition of sanctions. They have been shut out of their foreign markets and find it increasingly difficult to obtain necessary supplies and raw materials.

The Plight of the Masses

The burdens of the war, however, have fallen most heavily upon the working and consuming masses. Even before the war, Italian standards of living were among the lowest of all capitalist countries in Europe. Since the war the cost of living has increased over fifty percent and the end of the process is not yet in sight.

The following letter recently received from an Italian comrade throws a glaring light upon the conditions of the workers. We quote in part:

"In answer to your request for information about the present situation in Italy, and especially life among the industrial workers, I send you the following from my own observations in Naples, an industrial center and the scene of the embarkations for Ethiopia."

"First, a few figures concerning wages and living conditions. As you know, the average wage of the Italian worker under Fascism has been among the lowest in all Europe. With the worker's card obtained by membership in the Fascist syndicate (and without such a card a worker is virtually black-listed and finds it almost impossible to secure a job), workers are paid a minimum of 13½ cents an hour (reckoning the lire at 8 cents). A skilled worker may earn as much as 23½ cents an hour. However, modern industry does not require many skilled workers, and only about ten percent can be placed in this latter category. The average wage, from the statistics I was able to gather on the spot (official

statistics are notoriously unreliable) for an Italian worker may be placed at about 16 cents an hour.

"The average weekly earnings of a factory worker would, then, amount to about \$6.40. Women workers earn from 7½ to 10 cents an hour. Clerical workers, stenographers, etc., from \$16 to \$32 a month. Engineers get from \$64 to \$96 a month. Department heads up to \$112 a month.

"As an instance of the earnings in the upper levels, here is the monthly pay envelope of a shop foreman superintending the work of 40 skilled mechanics. This man is about 45 years old, has been in the service of the same firm for 13 years, and represents a sort of labor aristocracy.

Salary	\$ 70.00
Overtime (about 85 hours this month)	39.00
Total monthly salary	109.00
(from which is deducted):	
Income Tax (8½%)	9.25
Dues to Fascist Syndicate	.40
Total direct taxes	9.65
Net income for month	99.35

"When there is no overtime, his net income falls to \$63 a month. "Fascist officials promptly point to the fact that Italy was one of the first countries to adopt a forty-hour week. This is, of course, a complete fraud from the worker's standpoint. Since the forty-hour week was instituted without any corresponding increase in hourly pay, it was not wanted by the workers, who find themselves unable to earn enough to support themselves and their families, unless they are 'lucky' enough to work many hours overtime. It is nothing but the Fascist version of your Hoover's 'share-the-work' program."

"Bearing in mind that the average weekly pay envelope of an industrial worker is \$6.40, let us look at the prevailing prices for the necessities of life. (Since this data was collected, prices have gone up by about 25 percent without any raise in wages.)

Bread (1 pound)	\$.063
Macaroni (1 pound)	.091
Meat (1 pound)	.475
Butter (1 pound)	.510
Vegetables (1 pound)	.109
Eggs (1 dozen)	.960
Milk (1 quart)	.120
Coffee (1 pound)	2.800
Sugar (1 pound)	.240
Oil (1 quart)	.560
Cheese (1 pound)	.624
Salami (1 pound)	.725
Light and Gas (1 month)	4.800
Rent (1 month—2 rooms and kitchenette)	16.000

"The daily requirements of a family of five for decent living without amusements or clothing I estimate to be about \$218 a day, or \$15.26 a week. With the average income of the wage-earner at \$6.40 for a forty-hour week this family has to do without meat, butter, eggs, wine, coffee, sugar, cheese, salami, or oil. This will give you an idea of the deprivations endured by the workers and their families.

SPANISH REVOLUTION REACHES CRITICAL STAGE

Workers Misled as Capitalist Class Conspires Against Them

By ALFREDO ROJAS

The Spanish revolution has arrived at that critical juncture, so often seen in previous revolutions, when all sections of the bourgeoisie conspire to rob the proletariat of the fruits of its struggle and are aided in their maneuvers by the cowardice and confusion of the official leadership of the proletarian organizations.

The city and land workers still forge ahead, coming ever more into direct conflict with the "left" bourgeois government of Azana. Within the last week alone, the land workers of Spain have confiscated large estates in three provinces.

Dividing the Landed Estates

The biggest movement on the land is in the province of Badajoz where, after sixty thousand workers had surveyed the estates, but then returned to their villages and contented themselves merely with drawing up plans for dividing the estates into small parcels and apparently had been persuaded to wait for the government's land-buying program, two days later 25,000 families marched back into the estates, divided them up, and are already tilling the soil.

In the province of Seville thousands of land workers went on strike, driving many landowners from their estates; government guards sent to drive off the workers killed four but had to retreat.

In Gerona province workers are confiscating estates.

In Malaga workers attempting to seize estates were attacked by government guards, two of them being murdered. These are merely fragmentary reports from capitalist press sources, and indicate a country-wide move on the estates.

How much of this move is purely spontaneous, is indicated by the statement given to the United Press on March 29 by Juan Simeon Viarte, secretary of the Socialist Party executive in Badajoz. He declared that the workers were simply surveying the estates but would wait for the government to parcel them out legally. Viarte flatly denied that the workers were taking possession of the lands. Two days later came the news that 25,000 families had taken over the estates.

Strike Movement Aggressive

The workers in the cities are also on the move. Strikes are widespread throughout Spain, in almost every case resulting in resounding victories. Typical of the feeling of the workers is the ultimatum presented to the bosses by the powerful metal workers' organization of Barcelona. Striking for wage increases and a 44-hour week, the workers notified the bosses that unless their demands are shortly granted, they will occupy the factories and run them on a socialist basis.

In Valencia, the various trade unions, hitherto sharply divided, have united to force the bosses to rehire all workers discharged on political grounds during the last few years. The Azana government has not attempted to enforce the law for rehiring, and Valencia's example shows that the proletariat is beginning to take the matter into its own hands.

Still Clinging to Azana

While the land and city workers are thus coming into ever sharper conflict with the republican government, the Socialist and Communist leadership is hanging onto the coat-tails of the Azana government. The republican bourgeois groups, having got the best of the bargain in the February 16 national elections by being given an absolute majority of the seats on the joint republican-workers' slate, demanded a similar joint slate for the municipal elections which take place on April 12. The Communist party immediately came out for such a coalition. After a sharp disagreement within the Socialist ranks, the left Socialists demanding an independent proletarian course in the municipal elections, the Right Wing Socialists were victorious and the Socialist party agreed to enter a joint slate.

The apologists for the coalition with the bourgeoisie in the February 16th elections defended the coalition on the grounds that it was solely for amnesty and restoration of democratic rights. This excuse no longer holds for the April 12 coalition. The "left" government, in fact, is curtailing democratic rights. Spain is under a modified form of martial law decreed by Azana. The government has prohibited all outdoor meetings and congregating on the streets. It has sent guards and troops to put down the land workers. It is with this bourgeois government that the April 12th coalition is being made.

Catholics Boycott Elections

What makes the coalition even more ludicrous is the fact that the Catholics and Monarchists and other reactionary groups have announced that they will boycott the municipal elections. They are boy-

cotting because they know they have no chance of victory. But this boycott means that if the Socialist Party, which is by far the main party of the proletariat, were to conduct an independent campaign, it could sweep the country.

Instead of the proletariat taking advantage of the situation, it is the republican bourgeoisie which seeks to reap a harvest. The republican press does not criticize the reactionaries for the boycott, using it as proof conclusive that the reactionaries refuse to submit to the will of the majority. On the contrary, the government is coquetting with the reactionaries' demand that the government call off the municipal elections.

In this move, it is very likely that there is a secret understanding between Azana and the reactionaries. Knowing that the rights cannot win the elections, and fearing that the proletariat organizations, even if they do not conduct an independent campaign may nevertheless force through a proletarian majority on the joint election slate, the reactionaries may have withdrawn in order to give the Azana government a pretext for forcing through a bourgeois majority on the joint ticket.

The Threat of Postponement

This is borne out by the way the question is posed in the republican press. "La Libertad," republican organ, declares that "the tactic of the rightists in abstaining creates a problem that deserves serious consideration by the government." It gives as the reason why the government may perhaps decide to call off the elections, that there is a possibility of a break between the republicans and the proletarian organizations over a location of seats on the election slates. "Can such a question cause a division in the Popular Front?" asks this bourgeois spokesman. "We do not believe it, we do not expect it, but it is necessary to consider this possibility. United, the victory will be as decisive as that of February 16. But the government should reflect whether it is not convenient for the republican regime to make a postponement. Today the local governments of Spain are composed of left elements (i.e., bourgeois republican major-

ties from 1931-A.R.). To leave them continue in their present status would mean to prolong the victory of February. But whether the government decides to postpone the elections or to hold them as decreed, the Popular Front should continue united on the same republican aspirations as those which were victorious in February. Any other conception (i.e., that of revolutionary class struggle-A.R.) would be premature."

In other words, the republican bourgeoisie, aided and abetted by the Stalinists and the Right wing Socialists, threaten to postpone the elections unless the workers' organizations concede the bourgeoisie a majority in the elections!

Army Held in Readiness

In order to frighten the already cowardly proletarian leadership into granting the republican bourgeoisie's demands, every section of the bourgeoisie is making dire threats. The republican press threatens the end of the Republic if the workers are not reasonable. If there is any danger of the republic from the left, the army will step in, declare capitalist press dispatches. President Zamora is quoted "from reliable sources," as prepared to establish a government of national concentration, if there is any danger of a revolution.

Thus all sections of the bourgeoisie conspire to consolidate the bourgeois state power. The only answer to this bulldozing is the independent concentration of proletarian power in the Workers Alliances. Only this power can prevent a debacle. But instead of breaking with their already treacherous "left" bourgeois allies, the Communist and Socialist leaders are trailing them.

A Ray of Hope

The one ray of hope is that the spontaneous drive of the masses is reinforcing a sharp differentiation in the ranks of the Socialist leadership. Outstanding among the left-Socialist figures is Javier Bueno, leader of the Asturian rebellion, freed from prison by the workers after the national election.

At numerous mass meetings, Javier Bueno has declared his lack of confidence in the Popular Front, and has urged the workers to build the Workers Alliances, embryo of the soviets, as the indispensable instrument of both the immediate and future struggles.

A Letter from Italy

(Continued from Page 3)

I could safely say that over half the inhabitants of Naples are hungry half the time.

"This is by no means all. For five months now, workers have been forbidden to quit their jobs on penalty of losing their syndicate cards. They can however as before be fired at the will of their employers. This system of labor conscription has been given an appearance of equality and a legal covering by the provision that the bosses must first get permission to discharge from the Fascist syndicate, but in my experience I have not known any cases where permission was refused. It is a mere formality and subterfuge. This has all the advantages of chattel slavery without any of its disadvantages. And the Italian workers are asked to support the war and enlist in the army in order to abolish slavery in Ethiopia!"

"Why do the workers endure such intolerable conditions? They cannot for the time being do otherwise. The pervasive system of espionage and the governmental terror make it impossible for them to speak out openly against their oppressors or to strike at them. They bear their burdens with clenched teeth and closed fist.

The Opposition Movement

"So far as I have been able to ascertain, there is almost no organized opposition working underground against the regime among the workers. There were a number of small revolutionary groups, organized in groups of five, operating in the utmost secrecy a few years ago. But police agents succeeded in worming their way into them; broke them up; and the revolutionaries are now in prison or on the penal islands.

"Many of the older workers remember the occupations of the factories during 1921-22 and retain their Socialist convictions. The younger generation, however, I regret to report, that has been brought up under the present regime and stuffed with Fascist propaganda, are greatly confused by Mussolini's demagoguery. They have had no Socialist education, are taken in by his anti-capitalist utterances; and more or less believe that the empty fist he waves at the capitalists will be brought down upon them and used to crush them. But they will learn from their own bitter experience what Fascism really is.

"I wish I could convey to you the extent of the espionage system. It is the cement that holds the regime together. Spies are every-

where in the factories, in the restaurants, etc. Agents provocateurs are constantly at work fomenting opponents of the regime. People are extremely distrustful of one another and especially of strangers.

The application of sanctions by England has given the government a heaven-sent opportunity to direct the wrath of the masses against England. But this patriotic fervor is beginning to die down, despite the frantic efforts of the Fascists to keep it at white heat. People are beginning to wonder and ask: How long can this last? Where will it end? What are we getting out of it? Mussolini's only answer is: tighten your belts and prepare for another and bigger war.

"There are rumors of friction between the army high command and the Fascist party tops. There is no question but that cracks are appearing and widening in all directions within the regime, although as yet they are carefully covered up.

"In my opinion, the critical time will come with the return of the troops from Ethiopia. Mussolini now has over 300,000 men under arms in Africa and a million in Italy. He cannot demobilize them without the greatest dangers to himself. Perhaps, it will not be necessary for him to do so. The new world war is so perilously close.

"The prolongation of the Ethiopian campaign, the efforts of the effects of the economic sanctions, the heavy expenses of the war, the growing discontent among all ranks of the people, the tenseness in the international situation undermining the stability of the Fascist state and drives Mussolini on to increasingly desperate measures. If Duce's days are numbered. But "whom the gods would destroy, they first make mad." Into what bloodier adventures will he drag the Italian people before his doom is sealed?

NEW MILITANT

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A DUBIOUS ALLY FOR STALINISM

HOW THE "OLD GUARD" BECOMES A "FRIEND OF THE SOVIET UNION" AS SOON AS LITVINOV PLAYS LEAGUE OF NATIONS POLITICS

By MAX SHACHTMAN

What is cheaper and easier nowadays than to be a "Friend of the Soviet Union"? Is there a labor politician so lacking in astuteness as not to understand that merely by avowing himself a "friend" of Russia he automatically acquires from the International Socialist officialdom an extensive measure of immunity and support for what may well be (and usually is) his entirely reactionary policy? There are many left who remain obtuse on this score, but their number diminishes daily.

Among those who have recently caused the number to diminish is the new recruit to the "friends" of the Soviet Union, a man who also bears the name of "John Powers." Powers, in addition to his literary work for other reactionary papers, not only writes every week the international news column of the New Leader, official organ of the Socialist party's "Old Guard," but is in a fair way of becoming the leading theoretician of his faction.

Up to quite recently, Powers has not made the slightest effort to conceal his rabid hatred of the Soviet Union, of communism, of everything for which the Russian revolution stands in the minds of Marxists. Even if rather less sensationally, he has been to the estates of Adolph Ochs and James O'Neal what Harry Lang was to the estates of William Randolph Hearst and Abraham Cahan. It goes without saying that especially since the sharpening of the Socialist party's internal struggle between the Left wing and the Old Guard, hardly a week has gone by in the New Leader without a venomous and malicious attack on the "Militant group" from Powers' pen. Between the pages of the New York Times and the columns of the Old Guard press he has laid down a drum-fire attack upon every progressive and revolutionary current in the Socialist movement. No social democratic idea so reactionary, no current so stultic, no record so bankrupt, but that Powers has come pugnaciously to its defense.

Where lies one of the greatest, if not the greatest hope for a genuinely proletarian movement and struggle against the impending imperialist war? For that world peace which only international socialism can assure? In the sweep to the Left of the militant Socialist elements in the Second International, in their logical evolution to the position of consistent revolutionary Marxism. In a number of countries, these elements are moving at greater or lesser speed, with greater or lesser clarity, away from the classic conceptions of social reformism, and especially away from the latter's capitalist patriotism. And the clubs with which the Right wing bureaucracy seeks to beat them back, are being taken more and more from the arsenal of Stalinism.

Powers offers a concrete instance of how this is being done. In the attempt to smash the Militant group, he calls upon Stalin-Litvinov for aid and invokes their conception of the "defense of the Soviet Union" to buttress his reactionary position.

Let us quote extensively from him, so that we may see the full significance of the growing rapprochement between the Right wing of the Second International and the bureaucracy of the Third. "Litvinov's speech before the Council of the League of Nations in London on Tuesday," he begins (New Leader, March 21, 1936), "emphasized again the extent to which Soviet Russia is committed to collaboration with the League and her military allies, France and Czechoslovakia, against Hitler Germany's war plans. For Soviet Russia to pursue any other policy would be to neglect criminally her very life interests and to jeopardize the conquests of the revolution. After Hitler's speech announcing the advance of German troops into the demilitarized Rhineland, there could be no more doubt of the aims of German policy. What Hitler offered to Europe was a 25-year peace guarantee in the West in exchange for a free hand against Russia. The militarist-Fascist bandits of Germany have the temerity to suggest openly that if permitted to despoil and dismember Russia, they will not attack the rest of Europe. Litvinov emphasized this point very well and exposed completely the true character of Hitler's objectives.

"In the light of the very real and formidable danger confronting So-

viet Russia both from Germany and Japan, no Socialist aware of the realities of the situation and possessing a sense of responsibility can criticize Soviet Russia for its policy of collaboration with the League and of any countries whose interests coincide with Soviet Russia's in the task of checkmating Hitler's war conspiracy. The interests of self-defense justify fully the sharp change in Soviet Russia's foreign policy from ill-founded, bitter opposition to the League of Nations to 'class collaboration' with the League and any bourgeois governments whose own interests dictate the necessity of collaboration with Soviet Russia. We have no hesitations in saying that those Socialists and Communists of the Left who assail Russia's legitimate policy of self-defense are, speaking objectively, doing the work of Hitler and Fascism."

The reason for Powers' newly discovered passion for the Soviet Union becomes clearer a week later. In the March 28 issue of the New Leader he lets fly a new attack on Norman Thomas and the Socialist Militants. The latter are, according to Powers, "a curious combination of 'Left wing' communism and primitive, parochial American isolationism." His column, according to its headline, is devoted to "some comments on the Trotsky-Borah policy advocated by Thomas."

As is evident from the headline, Powers and Co. have learned quite a bit from the art of Stalinist politics. Just as Trotsky is always bracketed in the C.P. press with "White Guards and counter-revolutionists," the Old Guard has learned to bracket the Left wing with everyone and everything that is abhorrent to conservative socialism. What, for example, have Trotsky and Borah in common, especially on the question at issue, the League of Nations? Borah stands, presumably, for American isolation in principle, for the preservation of American capitalist rule free from commitments in Europe, so that it may pursue a world imperialist policy with the maximum of latitude. Trotsky is opposed to the League of Nations on grounds common to every revolutionist, namely, because it is an association of imperialist brigands, and his opposition is entirely in conformity with his irreconcilable antagonism to capitalist rule in the United States, regardless of whether the latter is in the League or not.

The position taken by Norman Thomas, in spite of those of its aspects which are not consistent with his main argument, and therefore not thoroughgoing, is nevertheless infinitely closer to the revolutionary stand than the position of the Second International. In fact, the two move in opposite directions. Thomas, for example, declares that "only a socialist appeal presents real hope." If this means that the struggle against war can be conducted effectively only by means of an independent, militant working class movement, it is unassailable. The pontiffs of the Second International, however, who have worked with might and main to demoralize the proletarian movement, take the position that because the working class is prostrate and confused, the only way of "preventing" war is to get behind the capitalist war-mongers, or at least a section of them.

The Old Guard has long ago lost any belief in the ability of the working class not only to emancipate itself, but even to fight its daily battles under capitalism. The working class is to be saved from capitalism and its ravages, by supporting... capitalism and its institutions. By deriding the League of Nations, the only international instrument for collective action available, Powers reproaches Thomas, "... he helps lead encouragement to the enemies of international cooperation and gives aid and comfort to Hitler."

The League, in Powers' mind, is the "only international instrument for collective action available," for one simple reason: It has not the slightest belief that the world proletarian movement, be it organized in the Second or Third International, is available for collective action or action of any other kind in its own behalf!

The support given the League of Nations, from the very beginning, by the Second International has merely been another way of supporting the continued existence of capitalism, thinly covered with references to the alleged potentialities for peace residing somewhere in the

League's sub-soil and requiring only the tender and patient care of social democratic cabinet ministers for their eventual emergence into full flower.

The Soviet Union's affiliation to the League has had the same effect in the ranks of the working class as the continued support of "the thieves' kitchen at Geneva" by the Second International. An even more damaging effect, however. And that precisely because the Soviet Union today still stands for the great traditions of the Russian revolution in the minds of the masses, and its action could only serve to give the League of Bandits a net credit rating where it had formerly had none.

To the same extent that the Stalin-Litvinov policy in the League of Nations has brought confusion and demoralization into the working class, it has earned the Soviet bureaucracy the approbation of the Second International. Why not? The more "realistic" Stalin becomes, that is, the more violently he tramples under foot the teachings of Marx and Lenin and the interests of the world revolution, the more confidently the rulers of the Second International feel that he is one of them.

But even more than this is involved. Having brought Soviet nationalism to its logical culmination in social-patriotism, Stalin makes it possible for the patriots in the Second International to trade on the revolutionary reputation of Russia in their base work of mobilizing the proletariat for the coming war. What is new in the situation now as compared with 1914, therefore, is that now, with the aid of Stalinism, the Second International can perform its reactionary role in the name of "defending the Soviet Union."

Where lies one of the greatest, if not the greatest hope for a genuinely proletarian movement and struggle against the impending imperialist war? For that world peace which only international socialism can assure? In the sweep to the Left of the militant Socialist elements in the Second International, in their logical evolution to the position of consistent revolutionary Marxism. In a number of countries, these elements are moving at greater or lesser speed, with greater or lesser clarity, away from the classic conceptions of social reformism, and especially away from the latter's capitalist patriotism. And the clubs with which the Right wing bureaucracy seeks to beat them back, are being taken more and more from the arsenal of Stalinism.

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The argument that the working class movement is weak and must seek assistance for its cause outside its own immediate ranks, that it must therefore support the League, "however inadequate," is arguing in a vicious circle. The proletarian movement is weak precisely because it supports the institutions of its class enemy. The way to keep it weak, to keep it unself-reliant, is to teach it to continue supporting enemy institutions. The labor movement internationally has indeed been brought to the edge of a treacherous swamp. It stands with one leg on firm soil; the other rests on the surface of the swamp. By that very fact it is unbalanced, and consequently weak. The Old Guard of the Second International, ardently assisted by Stalinism, keeps warning the working class that it is not in a firm position by itself and that the way to strengthen itself is to lean more heavily on the swamp. And the heavier it leans in that direction, the closer it comes to toppling over into the swamp and being entirely engulfed by it.

The Second International is preparing feverishly to play the same role in the coming war that it played in 1914. When Powers writes that its ends are "the maintenance of peace, if at all possible, and the mobilization of the nations and peoples against any military aggression by Hitler Fascism," he means: when war does break out, we will mobilize the proletariat for the trenches where it may be slaughtered in the interests of the "democratic" bandits, which ought to be at least as much consolation to the workers as it was in 1914-1918 to die for "republican" France, "poor little" Belgium and "democratic" America.

The Third International not only takes the same line of policy, but supplies the old school of social-patriots with a new argument which they did not have the benefit of twenty years ago: "defense of the Soviet Union." Under cover of this entirely correct slogan, all kinds of scoundrels, who either never gave a damn about the Soviet republic or who have been systematically undermining its revolutionary foundations, are fostering the poison of chauvinism in the body of the working class.

Whoever offers an antidote to this poison, whoever seeks to dispeck it from the ranks of the proletariat, to make the latter healthy and strong and able to rely on and fight for itself, is now dismissed by both the old line bureaucracies by being labelled... a Trotskyist.

What significance must the Left wing Socialist necessarily attach to the fact that the reactionary and corrupt Old Guard of his party now attacks him in the same terms, with the same arguments, and even with the same shibboleths and labels, as the Stalinists have always attacked the revolutionary internationalists whom they finally expelled from their party?

Old Guard -- C. P. Draws Closer

The Stalinists, having completed their development towards social-patriotism, find that they have a decreasing attractive power for the Left wing Socialist workers--because they are travelling in opposite directions. For the same reason, the Stalinists find an increasingly common program--in theory and in action--with the reactionary wing of the Second International. Like draws unto like. For the same reason, those who are being so generally covered with the label of "Trotskyism" by the reactionary bureaucracies, even if not always very accurately and warrantably, must inevitably draw together also. Coming from different directions though they have, traveling though they do at different paces, they are finding their road towards the revolutionary proletarian struggle against war and Fascism, and against the whole system of capitalism from which these twin evils inexorably arise.

The political alliance between the Old Guard social democrats and the Stalinists, not organizationally expressed, only because of considerations of an essentially secondary order, only foreshadows that healthier and truly progressive coming together of all the revolutionary forces who understand the situation and know how to draw the proper conclusions from it.

SPEAKER

H. R. ISAACS

Former editor, Chins Forum, recently returned from five years' sojourn in China.

QUESTIONS DISCUSSION
Ausp.: N. Y. District, Workers Party U.S.

JAPAN, CHINA & THE U.S.S.R.

The Far Crisis in the Far East

IS ISAM REVERTS TO «BLOC OF FOUR CLASSES» IN CHINA

IRVING PLAZA HALL • 15th ST. & IRVING PL

NEW MILITANT

Official Organ of the Workers Party of the U.S.

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PRICE 3 CENTS

Launch United Unemployed Organization

Klan Pays Defense Attorney

Whitewash Planned in Tampa Flogging Trial

TAMPA, April 6.—The appointment of two outstanding Florida attorneys to strengthen the prosecution in the flogging murder trials is being asked of Governor Dave Sholtz by labor, religious and civic groups that are fighting Ku Klux Klan terrorism here.

These groups are dissatisfied with the conduct of the state's case up to now by State Attorney J. Rex Farrow. The addition of new counsel, they feel, is essential to the vigorous prosecution of the cases and to resist the introduction of false and extraneous issues by the defense.

When the first of the trials opens next Monday in Bartow, Polk County, the defense will be bolstered by two additional criminal lawyers, Luke C. Johnson and E. A. Borsage, whose record of acquittals is among the highest in Florida.

The hiring of Luke Johnson in a criminal trial in Polk County constitutes the nearest thing to buying an acquittal. Johnson is reputed to have compiled a highly informative file of all the eligible jurors in the county. He knows the life history and prejudices of every man on any given venire and he usually wins his cases right after the jury box is filled and before any witnesses are called. Such a convenience should bring great relief to the defendants and explains further the anxiety of Pat Whitaker, chief defense counsel, for a change of venue which meant moving to Polk County.

Attorney Paid in Cash

Johnson is said to have demanded and received \$5,000 in cash before consenting to help acquit the 11 ex-cops and Klansmen who are indicted for the murder of Joseph Shoemaker and the kidnapping and flogging of Eugene F. Poulnot and Sam D. Rogers. Whitaker himself is also said to have received an initial payment of \$5,000 in cash as chief defense counsel.

While the defendants may have (Continued on Page 4)

Unions Flay Grand Jury

The following telegram was sent to Mayor La Guardia, Governor Lehman, and to Borough President Robert Ingersoll by the Conference for the Defense of the Rights of Organized Labor in Brooklyn:

April 2, 1936

The Kings County December Grand Jury presentation of April first is definite challenge to organized labor in Brooklyn. They charge that the strike at May Department Store conducted by Local 1250, Department Store Workers Union, American Federation of Labor, was organized by certain uninformed persons neither residents of Brooklyn nor patrons of a disorderly cabbie of some two or three hundred young radicals aided, abetted and encouraged by the responsible heads of the Union. The recommendation of the Grand Jury calling upon city magistrates to deal with the situation with a firm hand is direct encouragement to all anti-labor forces to crack down upon picketing in Brooklyn. Our organization, a firm supporter of the May department store strikers, and representing twenty-six Brooklyn American Federation of Labor unions with a membership of one hundred fifty thousand Brooklyn workers, maintains that the decision of the Grand Jury is in direct line with the desires of the Brooklyn Chamber of Commerce and other anti-labor forces in Brooklyn. We demand you take action with regard to investigating the personnel of the Kings County December Grand Jury.

Conference for Defense of Rights of Organized Labor in Brooklyn, Jesse Lane, Secretary.

Tokyo - Berlin Alliance Against USSR Reported

Adequate Soviet Defense Made Extremely Difficult By Stalinist Manoeuvres With Chinese Bourgeoisie

By LO SEN

Germany and Japan have struck a virtual bargain for joint action against the Soviet Union.

This alliance, in preparation for several years and often reported consummated, was the outstanding development this week in an international diplomatic situation crammed with plans and counter-plans, notes and threats, offers and promises, under cover of which the powers of Europe are jockeying into position for war.

News of the Berlin-Tokyo pact, while not official, came through August, a White Russian émigré close to the British Foreign Office and one of the best-informed correspondents in Europe. If not yet embodied in a formal document, the understanding between these two Powers is complete as to military details. The frequent exchange of military and economic commissions between Japan and Germany during the last three years has not been for purposes of courtesy or mere display. Now that Germany has upset the European apparatus by marching into the Rhineland and the crisis brought nearer, it is logical that Japan should seek means of correlating its own plans against the Soviet Union more closely with similar arrangements in Europe.

It has become increasingly clear that the Hirota Government is carrying through on all fronts intensive preparations for war in the East while presenting to the world a large "liberal" and "moderate" front. The Ministry of War in Tokyo on April 6 asked for a "special budget" of \$300,000,000 for the purpose, frankly stated, of strengthening the Japanese military ma-

(Continued from Page 3)

FACTS ON TAMPA

The Background

Tampa is famous for cigars, gambling and flogging. Labor in the cigar factories and in the surrounding citrus groves is mercilessly exploited. Unemployment is widespread. Relief is pitiful. In Tampa, the unrestrained gambling racket is worth a million dollars a month. As in the rest of Florida, politicians fight each other for the privilege of sharing in the booty. Anyone who tries to buck this combination of capitalists, racketeers and politicians, either by organizing workers—employed or unemployed, or by forming opposition political groups, is branded as a "red," kidnapped, flogged and sometimes murdered. The official flogging agency for the combination is the Ku Klux Klan, a secret band of cowardly, sadistic degenerates uncouraged by anything Hitler has yet produced. The police and most government officials, high and low, are directly connected with the Klan. Nobody knows how many floggings and murders have taken place. They occur regularly. Their perpetrators have never been punished by law because in Florida the Ku Klux Klan is the law.

The Crime

On the night of Nov. 30, 1935, the constitution-drafting committee of the Modern Democrats met in a private home in Tampa. In spite of any threats, they were going ahead with their plans for a progressive party opposed to the local swindlers. Joseph A. Shoemaker, formerly a member of the Socialist Party, was chairman. Others present were: Eugene F. Poulnot, former president of the Pressmen's Union, A. F. of L., Chairman of the Florida Workers' Alliance and a member of the Socialist Party; Sam D. Rogers, a member of the Socialist Party and an officer of the Florida Workers' Alliance; Walter Roush and Charles E. Jensen, chairman and secretary, respectively, of the Socialist Party of Florida, and John A. McCaskill, a city freeman. Suddenly, without warning and without warrants, seven policemen entered the home, confiscated all papers and arrested the six men present. They were taken to the police station, questioned for "communist" activities and "released" one by one. Roush and Jensen were permitted to return to their homes. McCaskill turned out to be a stool-pigeon. Shoemaker, Poulnot and Rogers

were "released" by the police into waiting cars in front of the police station. They were driven to a lonely spot 14 miles outside of Tampa. There, they were stripped, flogged with chains and whips and covered with hot tar. Shoemaker was tortured and his right leg was held over a fire. After nine lingering days, during which time his leg developed gangrene and was amputated, Shoemaker died. The others recovered.

The Protests

When the news leaked out, a roar of protest descended upon Florida—"where life at its best costs less." Thousands of organizations and individuals expressed their horror to the Governor and to Tampa officials. Committees for the Defense of Civil Rights in Tampa were organized in New York, with Norman Thomas as chairman, and in Tampa, with the Rev. Walter Mitak, pastor of the First Congregational Church, as chairman. Protest meetings were held in Tampa at one of which Norman Thomas addressed 3,000 enraged workers and many thousands more over the radio. President William Green announced that the American Federation of Labor convention would be withdrawn from Tampa unless those guilty were properly punished. It seemed impossible to ignore this act of terrorism as scores of similar acts before it had been ignored. State and county officials were forced to act.

The Indictments

After three weeks of investigating, the arrests began. Within two and one-half months, a series of indictments were returned against eleven policemen and members of the Ku Klux Klan. The indictments were for second degree murder, an assault with the intent to murder, kidnapping, conspiracy to kidnap and accessory after the fact. The information filed on the murder indictment declares that the defendants "with force and arms did unlawfully and by an act imminently dangerous to Joseph Shoemaker and evidencing depraved mind, regardless of human life but without premeditated design to effect the death of Joseph Shoemaker, an assault did make in and upon the body and limbs of Joseph Shoemaker, with deadly weapons, to wit, whips, straps and tar, a fur-

(Continued on Page 4)

Sentence Chambers, Mini, et al.

Calif. Prison Board Sets Sentences for Sacramento Defendants

SAN FRANCISCO, Cal., April 10.—The California Board of Prison Terms yesterday set sentence for five of the Sacramento criminal syndicalism prisoners. Pat Chambers, Martin Wilson and Jack Crane were given five years, Albert Hourdary three and a half years, and Norman Mini three years. Both Mini and Hourdary will serve 16 months of this period on parole. Assuming time off for good behavior, since both have already served one year; the two have about four months more to serve in prison.

Of the 18 defendants tried, Caroline Decker, Pat Chambers and Norman Mini were special targets for the prosecution's mendacious wrath. The first two had led the strikes which won \$2,000,000 additional wages in 1933 for the exploited migratory workers of the State. In Mini's case what particularly infuriated Sacramento reactionaries was the spectacle of an educated, intelligent native son spurning all evasions and, in the face of threats and pressure, reaffirming in open court his devotion to the idea of a new social order and a particular road to it. It was because he so defiantly affirmed that "the future belongs to us" that the Sacramento Bee and other reactionary institutions have hounded Mini and the National Sacramento Appeal Committee ever since its creation.

That Mini has, nevertheless, received a relatively short term is a tribute to the effectiveness of the work of the National Sacramento Appeal Committee. Although its activities were all aimed at the setting of minimum terms for all the prisoners, the Board of Prison Terms knew that the N.S.A.C. Mini's chosen representative, spoke for a vastly broader force than did the International Labor Defense, representing the other prisoners. The Board has no desire to prolong the activities of a body which rallied ten international unions, five State Federations, two score city central labor bodies and a group of Senators and Congressmen to its support.

Compared with the sentences given the Imperial Valley C.S. prisoners in 1931, the Board has been harsh. The fact that a great reactionary drive is under way, financed—by the N.S.A.C. has established—by the State Chamber of Commerce which aims to smash unionism through the C. S. law, underlies this harshness. Many persons expected 7-year terms.

Tribute to Sacramento Committee

A partial victory has been won, but the fight is not ended. The N.S.A.C. aims to upset the Mini verdict and to fight for the freedom of all the prisoners. The three women in Tehachapi have yet to appear before the Board. Prisoners now denied parole will be eligible for parole later. Even after Mini is free, there will still be prisoners in whom the N.S.A.C. is interested. Pressure must go on, as well as legal moves.

There was a good reason for the failure of the share-tenants to sign the contracts. To do so would have meant that the planter had a joint interest in the crop and could displace it as he saw fit. In practice this would have meant that even the few dollars accruing to the share-croppers under the AAA would have passed through the hands of the landlords—and into their pockets.

Now, the same interests are ready to consummate the same fraud by eliminating the contractual rights of the farmers in the new contracts which are being prepared. The share-croppers are not invited to the conferences which are framing the new contracts. A delegation was sent to see Tugwell.

Muste to Speak On April 19th

A. J. Muste, National Secretary of the Workers Party, who has just completed a tour through the mid-west and is at present attending the Unity Convention of the Workers Alliance in Washington, will speak at Germania Hall, 8 P.M. Sunday, April 19. Comrade Muste will speak on present trends in the labor movement, political and economic, dealing particularly with the strike of the Akron rubber workers and the Labor Party battery of the Communist Party.

Azana Speaks Firmly For Conservative Spain

Loudly Applauded by Stalinists and Monarchists—Cabellero Cautious; Swing to Right Apparent

By ALFREDO ROJAS

The Azana government took another big step to the right this week. On April 4, only eight days before the municipal elections were to be held, Azana issued a decree indefinitely postponing them. The rightists—Monarchists and Catholics—had declared they would abstain from the elections and had called upon Azana to postpone them. This leaves bourgeois-republican majorities, elected in 1931, still in control of the local governments.

Azana's postponement of the elections was preceded the day before by a significant speech by Azana before the Cortes, and which was greeted with praise by all sections of the bourgeoisie and by the Stalinists.

Azana's Speech

The tenor of Azana's speech is summarized by "Ahoru," republican daily, as follows: "The fear that the recent disorders (i.e., strikes and peasant seizures of land) would continue, should be dispelled by Azana's speech. In it he declared, first, that he will go no further than the limits fixed by the electoral pact of the Popular Front; second, that he, heeding the dictates of experience and responsibility, would keep control of the execution of the (electoral) program, which is equivalent to regulating the rhythm, circumstances, possibilities and consequences of it; third, that everything will be done by legal methods and within the law, punishing all who violate it. These statements are satisfactory and reassuring and demonstrate that Azana knows that it is expected of him that

he stop the excesses of the left which have resulted in disorders the last few weeks."

For Azana—Monarchists, Stalinists

Jimenez Fernandez, spokesman for the reactionary Catholic Ceda, said: "I support ninety percent of the speech." Gil Robles, after praising Azana's attitude, declared: "I cannot understand how some paragraphs of the speech could have been applauded by the Communists and the extreme Socialists." Even the arch-monarchist, Count Romanones, declared that Azana's speech would undoubtedly facilitate re-establishment of tranquility and calm in "public opinion." Calvo Sotelo, leader of the monarchists, said: "It was the expression of a true conservative. His declaration of respect for the law and the Constitution should make a good impression on public opinion."

The Stalinists were equally fulsome in their praise, the general secretary of the Communist party issuing a statement saying:

"We were pleased with the speech. In Azana we see the (Continued on Page 2)

March on Capitol Is Last Act

Johnson's Rump Convention Folds Up—A Fiasco

Uniting three separate and oft-time warring organizations the organized unemployed are now concluding their business in the nation's capital by creating the most powerful fighting machine the million-headed jobless have seen since the crisis began.

With the Workers Alliance, the National Unemployed League and the unemployed councils merged into one cohesive body, the unity convention will wind up its stay in Washington with a mass demonstration around the White House and the Capitol.

More than a thousand workers, representing a force of unemployed some 200 times their number are expected to take part in the planned march which will protest the scheduled layoff of over 700,000 WPA workers. They will demand job and social insurance and a 6 billion dollar appropriation for relief.

N U L Well Represented

At this writing with details not yet available, representatives to the National Executive Board of the United Workers Alliance of America are being selected to caucus with the various participating organizations for ratification by the convention.

Preliminary reports indicate that the National Unemployed League, which merged with the WAA prior to the opening of the convention was represented by close to 150 delegates, coming from their battle grounds of struggle in Pennsylvania, Ohio, West Virginia and other parts of the country.

Rump Convention Fizzles

The rump convention of the NUL organized by Arnold Johnson, Stalinist snoop, proved to be a complete fiasco. With hardly as many delegates as can be counted on the fingers of your hands, this "convention" had to abandon the pretext of representing the NUL. We learn from a Daily Worker Washington dispatch that the traitor Johnson has been placed on the Executive Board slate as an "independent" from Kentucky (!). Placing Johnson as a "representative" from Kentucky, which the real NUL was unable to contact, the Stalinists have confessed failure to realize their wretched scheme to capture the NUL by a too-eager maneuver. The leagues throughout the country quickly realized that Johnson was setting in their midst as an agent of the Unemployed Councils, and sabotaging unity in the interest of the latter, turned a deaf ear to his appeals and convention calls.

Ted Selander and Anthony Ramaglia, former officers of the NUL, were speakers at the convention. Ramaglia came to the convention fresh from the picket lines of the Lehigh County WPA strike. Selander, whose name is intimately associated with the famous Antioch strike of Toledo, spoke to the assembled delegates on the community of interests between employed and unemployed, describing the cooperation rendered striking workers by the leagues in his district.

Militant Note in Speeches

Other speakers included Ray Cooks of New Jersey, who led a demonstration of unemployed into the legislature of his state where they presented their demands in an emphatic manner; Charles Rossio of the Illinois Workers Alliance which includes thousands of jobless miners in its ranks, W. K. Patrick, one of the 1932 bonus marchers and others from Maine to the Golden Gate.

The militant note struck by the orator-delegates, the applause which greeted all fighting proposals to advance the interests of the jobless, including a resolution for a mass hunger march of 50,000 to Washington this summer presages a great future for the new organization.

A complete account and analysis of the sessions, resolutions and work of the convention will be given in the next issue of the New Militant by our reporters.

Croppers Swindled Akron Guild Man Fired

By BLAKE LEAR

AKRON, O.—Branko J. Widick, hard-hitting chairman of the Ohio district of the American Newspaper Guild and leading militant of the Akron Beacon-Journal unit of the Guild, was summarily fired on April 4.

The action came as the first blow of the industrial reaction after the recent Goodyear strike, and preceded by four days the opening of negotiations between the publishers of the Beacon-Journal, the Times-Press and the Guild unit.

Widick has a fine record in the labor movement. He was instrumental in organizing Ohio for the Guild, and was a leading advocate of affiliation with the A. F. of L. On Thursday preceding the company's action Widick spoke before the C. L. U. on the Hearst-Guild strike in Milwaukee.

As a consequence of his record, the C.L.U. has indicated its support of the move for his reinstatement. Powers Haggood of the C. I. O. addressed the Beacon-Journal unit on the Widick case.

Sherman Dairymple of the United Rubber Workers, and Wilmer Tate, president of the Central Labor Union, are throwing the weight of their organizations solidly behind Widick.

The charge against Widick is "incompetence," but the real reason obviously lies in his pro-labor activity. As was observed, at the time in Akron labor union circles, "If it took three years to discover that Widick is incompetent, charges ought to be preferred against the publisher instead!"

Akron is recognized as one of the strongest Guild centers in Ohio. This has come about largely through the efforts of Widick together with other progressives in the Akron organizations.

It is openly admitted that the attack on Widick, if successful, will be a heavy blow to the Guild here.

In view of the fact that Akron is the mainpring of the Ohio organizational campaign of the Guild, the successful conclusion of this attack will seriously menace the life of the Ohio Guild.

Labor circles generally and especially the rubber workers recognize this a blow to the Guild here. The National Office of the Newspaper Guild has also stressed the importance of this case.

(Continued on Page 4)

AMERICAN LABOR AT A GLANCE

(From Northwest Organizer)
By FARRELL DOBBS

The most pleasant surprise experienced by the Local 574 committee which was sent east to visit the national leaders of the industrial union movement was to learn of the popular national support which 574 enjoys. Wherever we called—and we talked with many important labor figures—we found that the General Drivers' Union was known and admired. All inquired not about what we have done—this they knew—but what the union intended to do next. They expressed satisfaction with our account of the present healthy condition of 574 and its excellent prospects.

In every big industrial center we found the workers and the progressive union leaders in very good spirits. All are highly enthused over the new possibilities of effective union organization now opening up for them through the strong movement for industrial unionism. Every sincere, intelligent leader and the overwhelming majority of the workers in the heavy industries are completely convinced of the ridiculousness of craft unionism. They tell you convincing stories to show that their beliefs are not based on pure theory.

Craft Unionism Disastrous

A union is created in a steel plant, an automobile factory, a rubber plant—it matters not where, for the story is the same. All the workers band together in one embracing unit. They prepare to do battle with the employers, to fight for higher wages, shorter hours, a decent living. Then, on the eve of action, the craft union officials sweep down with their paper claims of jurisdiction, their program of division. It matters not that they have been unable to organize in these plants. They police, motionless, like birds of prey, until they see a good opportunity, and then they swoop down for the kill. It is a sorry sight that they leave in their wake. They gain a few members for the various crafts, but most of the workers are driven back into the ranks of the unorganized, embittered by the experience.

The bosses seize the chance and intensify their anti-union campaign. Active unionists are fired. No organization remains to defend them. The cloak of a special "labor board," which the government has obligingly provided for the craft union officials, quickly proves its impotence. The union is gone and with it the rights of the workers. We were shown the spot where a year ago the Akron rubber workers made a huge bonfire of union cards after such an experience.

But now the whole picture is changing. Hope has taken the place of despair. "Get these craft union leeches off our backs," say the workers in the basic industries, "give us a free hand to organize industrially, and we will show the world a union movement the likes of which has never before been seen."

Workers Want Action

And these are not mere words. Beginning with a series of sit-down strikes, the workers in the Good-year plant at Akron have shattered the fetters which restrained them, and, swarming to the picket lines by the thousands, they have demonstrated the value of industrial organization combined with militant struggle. Nobody scabbled on a craft union card in this strike.

45 delegates from 24 unions, unemployed and fraternal organizations and over a hundred fraternal delegates and visitors heard a report from Oscar T. Wiles, secretary of Warehouse Union 867 and unanimously decided to broaden the anti-Kroger boycott movement, to prepare for a general strike movement in St. Louis and to further aid the strike by soliciting strike funds.

Wiles' Report

In a stirring speech, punctuated by vigorous applause, Wiles reviewed the long, hard-fought struggle of local 667. He reviewed the rise of the union under NRA, the attack made on it by the employers, the resistance of the workers and the outbreak of the strike on Nov. 6, 1935. One hundred and forty-six men manned the picket lines and kept the strike going, battling two detective agencies, the Pinkerton and the Ahner, and the steady importation of scabs and strike-breakers. Kroger's best ally has not been the detective agencies, however, but the leader of the in-

574 Leader Gives His Impressions of Industrial Union Movement in the East

One union for all and all on the picket line. The craft union leaders would have liked very much to pluck this union, but they did not dare. All eyes were on this strike. The lessons to be drawn from such action would have been too obvious.

The strike of the building service workers in New York is a second example. Here again the sweep of the movement was tremendous. The strike spread like wildfire. Elevator operators, caretakers, janitors, over one hundred thousand workers fighting as one, and fighting very effectively, against the real estate czars.

The craft unionists do not like these manifestations; they do not like the zeal with which the workers take to the ideas of industrial unionism; they do not like the manner in which the workers apply the power which is theirs when they are organized industrially. But the workers do like it; they have enjoyed the thrill of the first taste; they hunger for more. The craft unionists are finally beginning to understand that they are sitting on a powder keg. The discovery has shocked them deeply.

"Rule or Ruin"

The craft union controlled Executive Council of the A. F. of L. has ordered the Committee for Industrial Organization to dissolve. The C.I.O. has refused. What action will the Executive Council take at its next session? Will it expel the International Unions affiliated with the C.I.O.? This is very doubtful. As a matter of fact, the order to dissolve was issued to the C.I.O. only with great reluctance on the part of most of the members of the Executive Council. Not because of any sympathy they might have for industrial unionism, but because they were well aware that the demand would meet with refusal, that their bluff would be called, bad to be called, by the C.I.O.

Daniel J. Tobin came into the Miami session of the Council with his usual self-centered, narrow-minded, hard-belled attitude. He demanded the immediate expulsion from the A. F. of L. of the affiliates of the C.I.O. (Tobin, the charter revoker, who probably still thinks that 574 is smashed because he revoked its charter. 574 has done better without him than it ever did with him. The A. F. of L. will probably some day enjoy the same pleasant experience.) There are other Tobins in the Council who also believe in "rule or ruin," who are drunk with imaginary power—Hitchhiker of the carpenters, for example. They support him. The slightly more intelligent of the craft unionists opposed this program. They understood better than Tobin the weakness of their position. The order issued was a poor compromise which will return to haunt them at the next session of the Executive Council. There will be much bluster and tall talk, but their efforts to "purge" the C.I.O. will be as ineffective as were Meyer Lewis' efforts to "purge" 574.

Another development in the fight at the top is the quiet, unadvised and methodical manner in which the International Unions are paying per capita tax to the A. F. of L. on additional members. It has long been a recognized custom for international unions to pay a tax on only part of their membership. Even Tobin that

great exponent of the sanctity of per capita tax, has followed this practice. Voting strength in the A. F. of L. convention is based on the paid-up membership of the international unions. Hence the campaign to pay in for every possible member. There is a vital issue at stake; the jobs of the craft union office holders vs. the welfare of the workers of America. Every vote counts.

Role of the C.I.O.

To properly understand the role of the Committee for Industrial Organization, we must first recognize the background of the committee members. None of these men can boast of a clear record of progressivism. Some of their past actions are downright reactionary, and to say the least, undemocratic. This is a matter of record. True, they are now supporting a progressive cause: the movement for industrial unionism. But their prime motive is one of personal ambition.

The members of the C.I.O. have one distinct advantage over their fellow officeholders, the craft unionists: they have been able to correctly estimate the mood of the working masses. They realize that the workers are determined to have industrial unionism, that they will sooner or later unseat every leader who stands in the way of this objective. Understanding this, the members of the C.I.O. have declared themselves for the industrial form of organization. They are assuming the leadership of this movement in a cautious and hesitant manner. They stand with one foot firmly planted on the old; with the other foot they feel gingerly about for a safe place to implant themselves in the new.

Many workers look upon the C.I.O. as a messiah. There is a strong tendency to render it blind allegiance. This is a dangerous attitude which can very well detract in a large measure from the ultimate gains to be made through industrial unionism. We need something more than industrial unions. We need a democratic freedom of action to apply the power which this form of organization creates.

Craft Union Blocks Shirt Workers' Organization

By ALBERT DANE

PHILA., Pa.—The men's shirt industry is the most sweated industry in the country. It is in these factories in the coal mining sections of Pennsylvania and in the South, in particular, that pay envelopes were as low as \$4, and less, a week, before the N.R.A. Since the N.R.A.'s demise these low wages naturally have retrenched.

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers in 1933, then not affiliated to the A. F. of L., started a campaign to organize the shirt workers on a national scale. The workers eagerly responded to the Amalgamated wherever it went and by 1935 it had entered practically every shirt factory district and organized most of the shops. The one area it left for last was the Philadelphia district, which is the biggest shirt factory production center with the possible exception of Troy, New York.

The Amalgamated had entered Philadelphia at the start of the campaign but selected the strongest factory as the first for organization and lost a drawn-out, violent strike. This probably made it change its tactics to organizing the small town factories first.

Amalgamated Progress

When the Amalgamated entered Philadelphia again about eight months ago, with a big staff of organizers and plenty of money, it was a member of the A. F. of L. This A. F. of L. affiliation is important because the U. G., the United Garment Workers, which had original jurisdiction in the A. F. of L. over the shirt workers, had signed an agreement with the Amalgamated to avoid such a jurisdictional quarrel, one part of which said that the Amalgamated could organize any dress shirt area (the Amalgamated had first right in organizing the work-shirt factories) which the U. G., for whatever reason it had, would not try organizing.

The U. G., a disintegrating organization, made no attempt to organize any area and so the Amalgamated had the shirt industry for itself.

From the very start of the campaign in Philadelphia the response was gratifying and it looked as though all the bosses would capitulate without much of a fight.

When the A. F. of L. convention ended, as rumor has it, a Mr. Polson, organizer for the U. G. in Philadelphia, received a telegram from his President to "shoot the works."—In other words to smash the Amalgamated campaign and, if possible, get the workers in the U. G.

"Organizing" with Bosses Aid

Whether this rumor is true or not, the effect was the same. Despite the promise from the Amalgamated that it would organize the

The workers should support the C.I.O. in its stand for industrial unionism, but, at the same time, they must constantly put forward demands for the elimination of the machine control which now exists in the A. F. of L. and the restoration of true democracy in the local unions.

Our long conversation with John Brophy, director of the C.I.O., gave us a very comprehensive picture of the present activities of this group. The principal work of the committee is confined to the educational field. Books, pamphlets, news releases and editorials sent to labor editors, speeches, and other mediums of expression are being used to clarify the issues throughout the national labor movement. The C.I.O. has not, however, taken the initiative in solidifying the industrial union groups in the various industrial centers and co-ordinating the movement on a national basis. As yet the strong feeling of the workers is only a seething ferment, evidencing itself in sporadic heat lightning, which give warning of the impending storm. Organized action to rid the movement of the evils of craft unionism is yet to come.

Through the medium of its participating International Unions, the C. I. O. has lent aid and direction to the local unions in important strikes; a notable example is the Akron rubber strike. The proposals to organize the steel industry put forward by the C.I.O. proved a great embarrassment to the craft unionists.

On the other hand, the craft unionist Executive Council has set about a deliberate campaign to eliminate the Federal Unions. This type of local was created in an attempt to forestall industrial unionism. It has since become a staunch supporter of and a potential springboard for the industrial union movement. Federal Union charters are no longer issued. The Federal Unions are being dissolved into the craft International wherever this can be done. These charters are being revoked on a wholesale basis on the slightest pretext.

Threats of a split by the Right Wing Socialists, led by Indelicio Prieto, are reported by the conservative republican organ, "Ya," which states that Prieto and twenty other deputies plan to unite with the left Republicans. The split, it states, will take place before the Socialist convention, which takes place in June in Asturias. "Ya" says that Prieto considers himself "virtually expelled from the party" because Spanish socialism is transforming itself into revolutionary communism. Since the Right Wing Socialists actually have a majority at present on the National Executive Committee, and control the daily "El Socialista," Prieto's threats are undoubtedly merely a maneuver to scare into line wavering elements who are impressed by the growing strength of Left wing sentiment in the ranks.

Statisticians, Right wing Socialists and the bourgeois republicans joined together to peddle to the masses an extraordinary and significant victory the ousting of President Zamora, which had been a foregone conclusion after the February elections. Under the Spanish constitution, the President has no power comparable to that of the American, or the German under the Weimar republic. He is similar to the French president. Zamora has been succeeded by Martinez-Barrios, who was elected Speaker of the Cortes by almost unanimous vote, including the rightist deputies.

The American Daily Worker, which receives the United Press service, suppressed the full U.P. dispatches describing Azana's speech and its friendly reception by the rightists and Statisticians. Their only story this week on Spain was one hailing the ousting of Zamora.

Naturally the workers joined, particularly because the Amalgamated had strangely failed them. All the Amalgamated did was to tell the workers to remain loyal to it, but if their jobs were thereby jeopardized they should sign up with the U. G. The workers did not hesitate to follow this advice, especially because the Amalgamated OK'd it, which they figured foolishly was a clever maneuver by the Amalgamated, and also because they got a \$2 raise (but that was all the U. G. got them in improved working conditions).

Polson finishes his work. Polson then went around to several other shops and put the fear of the Amalgamated in the hearts of the bosses and by showing the agreements of the other shops to the cutters, made them feel it was useless to fight the U. G. and the boss alone.

The Amalgamated soon left town with the lame alibi that if it continued organizational work, the rest of the shops would be forced by the bosses into the U. G., and it didn't wish to organize for the U. G.

The bosses in the other shops did not even bother to get their workers into the U. G., as it would mean a raise of \$2 to all the cutters. Polson did not object, probably because he was already so well rewarded for his efforts.

With the Amalgamated definitely gone and the U. G. rejected by the workers, the only perspective of the cutters, who should enlist the support of the operators, pressers, etc. in their shops, should be one of individual shop organization, and of striking when strong enough. In that way the Amalgamated help can be demanded, as it could not claim that the workers are not assuredly behind it.

The very air is charged with a feeling of impending change. Events are moving at a rapid pace. The next period will see many significant happenings. Labor is preparing, in its gigantic, lumbering way, for a tremendous stride forward. Local 574 can look ahead with complete confidence. We are on the side of progress.

Azana Speech Conservative

(Continued from Page 1)
firm intention of carrying out the People's Front pact, and the Communists will loyally support him throughout (on todo momento)."

This is true enough: the Statist "Mundo Obrero" has been more lavish with praise of Azana than even the government's own papers dare to be.

Largo Caballero, whose strength in the Socialist Party rests on the growing Left Wing, was wiser than the Statist. Asked to comment on Azana's speech, he reserved decision: "It's much too soon to give an opinion on the speech." When Azana, twenty-four hours later, called off the municipal elections, Caballero, speaking the next day to the Young Socialist meeting in Madrid, in a speech bristling with revolutionary phraseology, served notice on Azana that if his government does not solve the political and economic problems, "the road will remain open" for the dictatorship of the proletariat. Caballero declared that the Azana government will not solve the problems "easily." Azana was right, said Caballero, in terming his government the last bulwark for the defense of the right of the bourgeoisie, and that the government could not rule by cannons and soldiers.

At every step of Azana against the masses, Caballero delivers himself of such "left" oratory, but takes no action toward breaking with the bourgeois-republicans. So far, this has enabled him to ride the wave of undoubtedly genuine revolutionary feeling which animates the Socialist ranks, especially the youth. But other leaders, with a more consistently militant position, like Javier Bueno, Socialist leader of the Asturian rebellion, are being heard more and more by the Socialist masses.

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Statisticians, Right wing Socialists and the bourgeois republicans joined together to peddle to the masses an extraordinary and significant victory the ousting of President Zamora, which had been a foregone conclusion after the February elections. Under the Spanish constitution, the President has no power comparable to that of the American, or the German under the Weimar republic. He is similar to the French president. Zamora has been succeeded by Martinez-Barrios, who was elected Speaker of the Cortes by almost unanimous vote, including the rightist deputies.

Ferrero-Sallito Denied Writ By Federal Court Judge

After two months of procrastination, Judge Francis G. Caffey of the Federal District Court of the Southern District of New York finally handed down his reactionary decision in denying an application for a writ of habeas corpus by Vincent Ferrero and Dominick Sallito. The hearing was held on Feb. 4, 1935, and the decision was not rendered until March 28, 1935. In the meantime the two defendants have been imprisoned in Ellis Island. Immediate steps have now been taken by the Ferrero-Sallito Defense Conference for an appeal, and for obtaining the release of the two innocent men on bail pending action on their appeal.

The case has aroused widespread protest in labor and liberal circles, partly because of the openly antagonistic attitude taken by the U. S. Department of Labor to this case. The men were first arrested in San Francisco in April, 1934, on trumped-up charges, and taken before a minor functionary of the District Office of the Department of Labor. This official, acting as prosecutor, judge and jury all in one, after a perfunctory "hearing" on practically no evidence, ordered the defendants deported. The action caused immediate protest by labor elements who formed the Ferrero-Sallito Defense Conference in various sections of the country.

Nation-wide Protest

Thousands of protest letters, telephone calls and personal communications from all over the country have swept in to the immigration and labor authorities from such outstanding organizations and individuals as the American Civil Liberties Union, the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign-Born, the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, the I. W. W., the International Labor Defense, the League for Industrial Democracy, The Non-Partisan Labor Defense, the Workers' Alliance, the Workmen's Circle, many central trades and labor bodies in Philadelphia, Baltimore, Cleveland, Toledo and elsewhere, labor unions representing musicians, bakers, railroad trainmen, painters, teachers, cement workers, cooks and waiters, textile workers, furriers, jewelry workers, pocket-book workers, carpenters, etc., and Norman Thomas, John L. Lewis, Tom Mooney, A. F. Whitney, David Dubinsky, Joseph Schlossberg, Heywood Brown, Kirby Page, Upton Sinclair, Albert Sprague Coolidge, Robert Lovett, Roger Baldwin, and hundreds of others.

The attitude of the Department of Labor authorities is clearly shown in the following excerpts from a letter by Edward W. Cahill, District Commissioner of Immigration in San Francisco, referring to the Ferrero-Sallito case, addressed to Commissioner D. W. McCormack in October 1935:

Peoples Front John Bull Model

In its sharp turn toward collaboration with the Labour Party, the British C. P. finds it necessary to concentrate a sharp fire against the I.L.P., particularly because of the latter's position on sanctions and the Imperialist war. Lacking for arguments, the Statisticians have resorted to invective. Thus, at a meeting at City Hall at Glasgow on January 26, William Gallagher, dumping an "annihilating" charge against the I.L.P., it appears that Maxton and Buchanan are continually in the company of Tory M. P.'s and refuse to associate with Labour M.P.'s. Gallagher further charged that on the day of the Hoare-Laval debate, Maxton "had his hands on the shoulders of two Tory members." No more, no less!

John McGovern, M.P., retorted with "a hard hitting reply" in the February 14 issue of the New Leader. Says he, "Such an attack demands a forthright reply. Gallagher has asked for it, and he shall have it." And McGovern proceeds to list the following facts:

1) Harry Pollitt appeared on the platform at Edinburgh with the Moderator of the Church of Scotland, Mr. Guy, M.P. (Tory K. C.) and Sir Archibald Sinclair, M.P., the Liberal leader and landowner of 23,000 acres.

2) Mr. Maisky, the Soviet ambassador, was chatting with the Prince of Wales on his right side, and Signor Grandi (Fascist ambassador of Italy on his left side)—in the gallery of the House of Commons on the day of the Hoare-Laval debate, the same day on which Maxton was observed in a compromising embrace with two Tories. Adds McGovern, "They (the trio in the gallery) appeared to be enjoying themselves immensely."

3) McGovern reveals another state secret in telling that Gallagher himself had asked Maxton "to speak to Tories and Liberals to get a requisition signed for the purpose of having the Daily Worker in the library of the House of Commons; and even secured the signature of Mr. Marcus Samuel, M.P., secretary of the anti-Socialist Anti-Communist Union."

4) He furthermore charges that

"Some of the newspapers out here are calling frequently inquiring as to whether or not there has been a final decision on these cases. There are also a number of civic organizations showing unusual interest in the two cases. . . Should they succeed in overcoming the order of deportation, we shall have to be prepared to take it on the chin, as the publicity will be very much against our department."

Sec'y Perkins "Has No Authority" In reply to the demand of a delegation from the Conference that she review the cases of Ferrero and Sallito and intervene in their behalf, Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor, wrote the Conference as follows on February, 1935:

"In reply, you are advised that the two aliens named have been ordered deported under the provision of law which requires such action where it is found that an alien belongs to any one of certain specified groups believing in the overthrow of organized government or advocating measures having that end in view. Where charges of this nature are found to be sustained by the evidence, the Secretary of Labor has no authority under existing law to avert deportations."

So flimsy was the so-called "evidence" submitted in Sallito's case, that after the hearing had been closed, the record was sent back from Washington with a request for more convincing evidence. Whereupon these stool-pigeon inspectors of the Labor Department called another hearing and calmly introduced into Sallito's record excerpts taken from the record of another case.

Such is the "evidence" which Madame Perkins is willing to accept as a basis for deporting workers to Mussolini's Fascist dungeons.

The Italian Fascist government has asked to be notified when Ferrero and Sallito are to be deported. Every worker who knows what is going on in Italy today will realize what this means.

Help Defend Ferrero and Sallito!

The Ferrero and Sallito case involves the freedom of expression and association which is a life and death necessity for all workers in their struggles. Every worker and every labor organization should rally solidly behind the Defense Conference. Get your organization, your union, your cooperative, your club, to send delegates to the meetings of the Ferrero-Sallito Defense Conference in your vicinity. In New York, at the offices of the Joint Board of the I.L.G.W.U., 218 West 40th Street, every Monday night at 8:30; in Philadelphia at 415 South 19th Street. Communicate with the Secretary at P. O. Box 181, Station D, New York, N. Y., for information concerning the Defense Conference meetings and activities in Cleveland, Chicago and San Francisco.

During the Scottish Hunger March Gallagher who was sent to Edinburgh, remained hidden in his room.

5) Next, in Gallagher's election address, the latter also preferred to remain illegitimate. He never mentioned that he was a Communist candidate nor did he even mention the word Socialism. Comments the late McGovern, "It was the poorest document I have ever seen and could have been issued by any Liberal."

McGovern then asks Gallagher some very embarrassing questions:

1) What have you to say about all that, comrade Gallagher?

2) Why did you, Gallagher refuse to vote for the right of the unemployed agricultural worker to receive the ordinary unemployed benefit, when the bill was presented to the House?

3) "What do Gallagher and Pollitt have to say about Malsky and Litvinov's party in the late King's funeral and their presence at dinner with the new King at Buckingham Palace?"

Adds McGovern, "The truth is that they dare not criticize these Russian representatives, because they are their bosses and paymasters."

In short, Gallagher asked for it, and he got it!

GUILD STRIKE SOLID

MILWAUKEE, Wis., Apr. 7.—Striking editorial workers of the Wisconsin News and hundreds of their supporters from the ranks of labor will stage a mass demonstration at 8 P.M. Friday in front of the News building. It will be the first night demonstration at the News building during the strike, which is now in its eighth week. The Milwaukee Newspaper Guild will be host to all Milwaukee newspapers at a party at 10 P.M. Saturday at the Hotel Schroeder. There will be a midnight supper. Heywood Brown, national president of the guild, will be speaker. Brown will appear in the district court here Monday with five other persons arrested during a mass demonstration a few weeks ago. Brown is charged with resisting an officer.

J. Nash McCrea, strike chairman, and Jonathan Eddy, national secretary, returned from the Twin Cities where the guild pledged \$400 more for the strike fund. The Twin Cities guild has already given \$500.

MARCH OF EVENTS

By JACK WEBER

America Plans for War

The outcome of modern war depends on the home front as much if not more than on the battle front. The availability of resources at the beginning of, and during a war, and the level of the technical productive forces are vital matters that enter into all the plans and preparations of the General Staffs. Thus one large section of the United States War Department has as its task the keeping of up-to-the-minute files of statistics and technical information on every raw material and commodity that enters into military use, either directly or indirectly. These Commodity Files show the annual needs of the country, both civilian and military, the sources of supply, the stocks on hand in warehouses and in factories, the possibilities for quick expansion of production, the available substitutes in case of shortage. Where certain materials necessitate importing from abroad, particularly from South America, the navy is assigned the duty in advance of keeping the sea lanes open to protect the ships delegated to carry these materials. The war office keeps a watchful eye on the stocks on hand so as not to be caught with a shortage of some strategic commodity on the outbreak of war. Naturally in carrying out this phase of its imperialist duties, the War Department is in close touch with the capitalists who control the supplies, with the trusts and combines.

The news of the embargo on export of tin scrap is an indication of the mutual helpfulness of this intimate relationship. At the outbreak of war certain factories will be immediately mobilized according to prearranged plan to start production of military supplies. These strategic plants are naturally subsidized and given every assistance in time of peace.

DETINNING AND WAR

Tin is not an essential or "strategic" commodity. It is more a convenience in modern life than a necessity. Substitutes could easily be found for tin in the food industries and in the manufacture of automobiles. It seems strange, at first sight, therefore, that Secretary of State Hull in his capacity as Secretary of the National Munitions Control Board, should have seen fit to endorse the protest of two detinning firms and place an embargo on export of scrap tin for three months. It is followed by licensing of such exports. The Vulcan Detinning Co. of Seawen, N. J., and the Mutual and Thermit Co. of N. Y., the two major producers of tin from scrap, claim that the running of their business profitably is being threatened by Japan's extraordinary purchases of scrap metal here. Therefore, in conformity with the War Department plan for mobilization of industry in time of war, Hull took quick action. Evidently the war

department wishes to maintain these plants. But it would be quite incorrect to assume that the only reason is to assure a supply of tin for the war. That is a relatively minor purpose. The real motive must be sought in the process of detinning, in the chemicals formed during the process of recovering tin from scrap. This process uses chlorine in considerable quantities. Chlorine is one of the elements that enter into the production of certain of the poison gases. The tetrachloride of tin, one of the chemicals produced, is used in explosives to produce a concealing smoke, and is also used in producing glares. It is for these purposes that the war department is anxious to keep going these detinning plants, and not for the tin primarily. Of course tin enters into the making of all Babbitt bearings which are so essential to all machinery, particularly on ships and in mechanized warfare. But Bolivia is a source of tin that is under the direct control of the United States navy, a source that could not possibly be closed to American imperialism in wartime. No, it is poison gases and the materials for producing glares and concealing smokes that motivate Hull and Roosevelt.

PREPARATIONS FOR WAR

Precisely because war involves the utmost need of technical preparation, the careful planning of the complete industrial life of the nation, it takes a number of years for a country to build up the stocks necessary and to see that the plant equipment is adequate. The United States today is engaged in these technical preparations, just as is every other power. The rivalries, the competition for markets and colonies, the need for expansion on the part of each national branch of capitalism, have reached the explosive point. The capitalist world is on a volcano ready to blow up and to destroy civilization. The workers of all countries will be the victims of imperialist war. Such wars have as their aim the bolstering-up of a decaying and tottering capitalism. The capitalists aim to maintain the system of exploitation of the working class at home by extending their field of operation to other lands and to other peoples. If workers once learn that such wars are aimed just as much at them as at the "enemy" abroad by the home capitalists, then all the technical preparations of the war mongers and their military servants will come to nought. For in the final analysis, the primary and absolutely essential productive force is the man-power of the worker himself. The capitalists can conduct war only so long as they can successfully suppress the militant working class, only so long as the proletariat is forcibly prevented from taking the means of production out of the hands of the exploiters and into its own.

Tokyo-Berlin Alliance

(Continued from Page 1)

(2) Tokyo, preparing to bring renewed pressure on Nanking, once more circulated the report that a Soviet-Nanking pact was likewise in the offing.

There has never been any basis for previous Japanese reports of similar tenor and the sharp denials issued at Nanking and Moscow on this occasion can be taken at their face value. Japan still stands too solidly athwart the path of possible Sino-Soviet rapprochement. The present regime at Nanking is committed to a policy of capitulation to Japan and there is no sign that it is prepared to swerve from that orientation. The Nanking government, or any other similar Kuomintang regime, will tread the dangerous path of resistance to Japan only when it is assured of powerful support from the outside, preferably from other imperialist powers, primarily Britain and the United States.

Offer to Liquidate Red Army

The new turn of the Stalinist party in China, the offer to liquidate completely the peasant Red armies and to suspend entirely all revolutionary struggle within the country (if it can), represents an attempt on the part of the Soviet bureaucracy to find possible allies in Nanking or in other sections of the Chinese bourgeoisie.

For such is the nature of all Stalinist pacts. There would not nor could be any objection to a Soviet pact with Nanking or any other bourgeois government if required by the diplomatic and strategic interests of the Soviet Union. But the Stalinist *quid pro quo* is always the suspension of the class struggle in order to conciliate the bourgeois ally. That is, Stalinism—which rests on the theory of socialism in one country—establishes a contradiction between the interests of the international proletariat and the supposed interests of the Soviet Union, a contradiction which in the end has always proven fatal for both, a fact which the "realists" in Moscow cannot understand. As they have done in Czechoslovakia and in

France, as they will seek to do tomorrow (indeed, already today!) in the United States, the Stalinists now seek to do in China.

The Treaty Myth

But in any event, this process has not gone as far as actual contact between Nanking and Moscow. Nanking is Tokyo's vassal and too subject to Tokyo's pressure, especially at the present time. The Japanese circulate such reports only to use them as a lever to press Nanking harder for the concessions it demands.

On the very day of the Tokyo report of a Nanking-Soviet agreement, Nanking forwarded a protest against the Soviet-Mongolian pact of mutual assistance, claiming that it infringed Chinese sovereignty. Moscow replied on April 8 with an attempt to justify the pact in terms of the Sino-Soviet treaty of 1924 in which Chinese sovereignty over Outer Mongolia was specifically recognized. That clause of the treaty has been rendered inoperative by the Mongolians themselves, who established their own independent regime. We would refer Chinese claims of sovereignty to Unga—but Moscow, you see, is committed in the same notion of the "inviolability of pacts" so the myth of 1924 has to be repeated in 1936.

NEW MILITANT

with which it merged THE MILITANT

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THE ELECTORAL PACT

Full Text of the People's Front Agreement in Spain for the Elections to the Cortes

Editor's Note: In response to many requests for the full text of the Spanish electoral pact, we publish it below as translated from *El Socialista* (Jan. 16, 1936), organ of the Socialist Party of Spain. All remarks in parentheses are editorial comment, not contained in the pact, but which will facilitate the understanding of the reader. Only material in quotation marks is directly quoted, but the rest is carefully summarized.

The pact begins with a few sentences that the undersigned organizations retain their own principles but agree on the following measures as necessary to "public peace":

1. Amnesty for all political offenses after November 1933, and "those of a similar character" not released by the April, 1934 amnesty.
2. Public functionaries (municipal and provincial officials) fired or suspended for political reasons to be returned to their jobs; workers fired from public utilities, railroads (bank of Spain and other institutions) and industries in which the government holds shares or has a voice, and from public services (refers notably to the postoffice where many were fired after a strike) shall be reinstated; and all those unjustly fired in private industries shall have their rights protected by the labor boards. (Though the clause referring to private industry is weaker than those preceding it, apparently private industry followed the rest in reinstating the workers.)
3. Laws to be passed, granting adequate reparations to families of victims of revolutionary events (those killed in October, 1934) or "victims of illegal acts of the public authority and the police."

II

1. The constitution to be re-established; all violations of it to be revised. The law governing elections to the Cortes shall be revised (the Supreme Court, which is elected by an intricate system which gives undue weight to universities and the upper classes) shall be revised so as to prevent that the defense of the constitution "from falling into the hands of those contrary to the regime."
2. Laws necessary to implement the constitution shall be passed, especially the municipal and provincial regulations as provided for in the constitution (local government). Reform of the rules and regulations of the procedure of the Cortes (not clear for what purpose).
3. "The principle of authority is declared in all its vigor but its exercise is bound up with full recognition of the principles of liberty and justice." Revision of the law of public order (the laws which empower the government to quickly institute state of alarm, state of siege, and martial law) to avoid "abusive uses" of it (i.e., not drag out martial law too long!).
4. Reorganization of the courts "to free them from the weights of social hierarchy, tradition and economic privilege." "Justice, once reorganized, shall be given the independence that the constitution lays down. Civil procedure shall be simplified. Speed up the civil courts and increase their power; and greater protection for defendants in criminal cases; cut down special privileges (such as freedom of guards from civil courts, prosecution of civilians assaulting guards in military courts, etc.). Prisons "shall be humanized and bad treatment done away with; no arbitrary solitary confinement."
5. Police abuses under the reaction to be investigated to place responsibility; guilt shall be determined and punished. Commanding officers to be re-examined and all those guilty of abuse or political prejudice to be dismissed. Reorganization of the guards (vanguard) with officials loyal to the regime. (This section deals with abuses from November 1933 to February, 1936.)
6. In future, grave punishments for officials who abuse their power.

III

"The Republicans do not accept the principle of the nationalization of the land and its free distribution to the peasants, solicited by the delegates of the Socialist Party. They (the Republicans) consider desirable the following measures which are aimed at the redemption of the peasant and the medium and small farmer, not only because it (the land program) is just, but because it constitutes the strongest basis for national economic reconstruction."

IV

1. Measures to help the direct farmer ("cultivador directo," apparently the farmer, peasant, or landworker indiscriminately, only differentiating them from the non-working landowner); lowering of taxes and tributes; special attention to the repression of usury; lowering of abusive rents; increase of agricultural credits; re-valori-

zation of the products of the land, especially of wheat and other cereals (in Spain, the government fixes the price of wheat); adopting measures for the elimination of the middleman; doing away with the agreements (contabulaciones) among the millers; and stimulation of the export of agricultural products (this last is bait for the small landowning farmers of the Mediterranean coast, who depend on export of olives, grapes, etc.).

2. As measures to improve the condition of agricultural production: agricultural instruction and technical aid to be organized by the state; plans for rotation of crops; development of pasture lands, cattle industry and reforestation; water works and dams and irrigation works to reclaim land; roads and rural construction.

3. As measures to reform the property of the land: the law of tenancy (passed by the reaction) shall be immediately cancelled; all evictions shall be re-examined; old and small renters (sharecroppers) shall be aided to buy the land they till on a plan of long-term liquidation; pass a new tenancy law which shall guarantee tenure (stability) on the land; rents subject to revision shall be made moderate; prohibition of sub-renting and its concealed forms; indemnification of useful and necessary improvements carried out by the renter; land cultivated for some time shall be available for acquisition by the cultivator. Cooperatives (consumers and agricultural) shall be stimulated. Colonization of peasant families with necessary technical and financial aid. Measures for recovery of the communal land (the commons). Laws to be cancelled which returned or paid for grantees' land.

V

"Our industry cannot raise itself from the depression in which it now finds itself unless we revise the complicated system of protection by the state, according to a strict criterion of the coordinated subordination of the national economy to the general interest. As a consequence it is in order:"

1. To dictate law or system of laws which shall fix the basis of protection to industry, including tariff laws, tax exemption, methods of coordination, regulation of markets, and other methods of assistance which the state may conceive of interest to national production. To promote the national recovery of industries in order to lighten the load of speculation that has hampered industry.
2. Institutions to guide industry (dept. of commerce, labor, etc.).
3. "Adopt necessary measures to protect small industry and small commerce."
4. "To elevate the activity of our fundamental industries by means of a plan of public works." Organization and assistance to the rural population in the form of self-liquidating public works.

VI

The Republicans consider public works not only as a public service or an imperfect method of unemployment relief, but also as a potent means of developing sources of wealth not being developed by private entrepreneurs.

1. "Great plans" of construction of urban and rural housing, also cooperative and public services, ports, communications, irrigation works and other land improvements.
2. To carry these out, legislative and administrative arrangements to be made, which shall guarantee the usefulness of the work, its good administration and "its contribution of the same to the private industries directly favored."
3. "The Republicans do not accept the subsidy to unemployment (dole) solicited by the workers' delegation. They believe that the measures of agrarian policy and those which are to be carried out in industry, public works and, in sum, the whole plan of national reconstruction, will fulfill not only its own ends but also the essential task of absorbing unemployment."

VII

The Treasury and the banks shall be at the service of the effort of national reconstruction, without stirring over the fact that such subtle things as credit cannot be forced "outside of the sure field of profitable and remunerative effort." "The Republican parties do not accept the measures of nationalization of the banks proposed by the workers' parties. They know, however, that our banking system requires certain perfectings if it is to fulfill the mission that is put in its hands for the economic reconstruction of Spain." As mere re-narration of examples, we point out the following measures:

1. Direct the Bank of Spain in such a way that it shall fulfill its function of regulating the credit according to the interests of our economy shall dictate, "losing its character of partner of the banks and liquidating its frozen

assets.

2. Subjecting the private banking system to rules of organization which shall benefit its liquidity on the "basis of the classic principles which have been emphasized by the experience of the last crisis," in order to guarantee depositors' accounts, etc., etc.

3. Improve the functioning of the savings banks in order "to make them fulfill their role in the creation of capital," dictating also those measures necessary to protect private savings and the responsibility of the initiators and promoters of them. Equalize taxes, and stop increasing the public debt.

(1) Direct taxation to be completely revised and reorganized on a progressive basis;

(2) Indirect taxation reformed "aiming at coordination"—(completely unclear) (yet the one point important to workers);

(3) Fiscal administration perfected to serve as an efficient instrument.

VII

"The Republic that the Republican parties conceive of is not a republic directed by social or economic class motives but a regime of democratic liberties impelled by considerations of public interest and social progress. But precisely because of this, the Republican policy has the duty of elevating the moral and material conditions of the workers to the maximum limit "that the general interest of production permits," without stopping at making all the sacrifices that may have to be imposed on economic and social privileges. The Republican parties do not accept the workers' control solicited by the socialist delegation."

The Republicans agree to:

1. Re-establish the social legislation "in the purity of its principles" for which they will dictate the necessary dispositions in order to cancel all the laws which detract from upright sense of justice, revising all the checks and punishments established . . . (nothing more concrete than this).
2. Reorganize the jurisdiction of labor (labor boards) in conditions of independence, in order not only that the interested parties "may acquire a consciousness of the impartiality of their decisions" but also in order "that in no case shall the general interests be minimized."
3. Rectify the process of the falling salaries of the land workers, truly starvation salaries, fixing minimum salaries in order to guarantee all the workers a worthy existence, and creating the offense of dragging down salaries, which shall be prosecutable before the courts. Although policy of economic reconstruction is aimed at the absorption of unemployed, it is also necessary to organize administratively and technically the struggle against it, establishing statistics, classification, employment agencies and workers exchanges, with special attention to the unemployment of youth and without forgetting the institutions of planning and insurance which, promised by the constitution, should be begun.

The Republicans shall dedicate to the public welfare and health the attention they deserve in any civilized land, without stopping at sacrifices. They will unify under the direction of the state private welfare and health institutions "without violating will of the deceased" (this refers to church institutions).

VIII

The Republic must consider education as the inalienable attribute of the state

1. "shall impel with the same rhythm as in the first years of the Republic the creation of primary schools, canteens, clothing depots (for schoolchildren), school colonies. Private education shall be subject to vigilance in the interest of culture analogous to that of the public schools."
2. develop intermediate and professional education.
3. Amalgamation of universities and superior schools to obtain more adequate ones.
4. The necessary methods to guarantee to the youth of the working class and in general to students of capacity, access to intermediate and superior education.

The signatories shall replace in all its vigor the autonomous legislation of the Constituent Cortes. "International policies shall be oriented in the direction of adhesion to the principles and methods of the League of Nations."

SIGNATURES. . .

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READ THE NEW MILITANT

WORLD OF LABOR

What Happened at the Trade Union Unity Congress in Toulouse, France

By JOHN G. WRIGHT

The Congress held in Toulouse, March 2-5, was not a fusion Congress, but the first Congress of an already united trade union movement. The Toulouse Congress only ratified formally the already effected merger between the reformist C.G.T. and the Stalinist-controlled C.G.T.U., which took place last September, when, after both the C.G.T. and the C.G.T.U. had held their conventions, the parallel units of these organizations merged on a local, territorial and national scale.

The membership of the new General Confederation of Labor is about 1,000,000 (in 1920, on the eve of the split, the old C.G.T. had a membership of 1,500,000). More than 1,700 delegates attended the Congress to deal with the two questions that were before the Congress: (1) the statutes of the unified Confederation; (2) the political policy to be pursued.

Under the organizational question, the following three points were in dispute: what the structure of the Confederation should be, whether it is "compatible" to combine trade union posts with leading functions in political organizations, and, finally, which international affiliations to maintain.

Jouhaux and Co., the leadership of the old C.G.T., stood pat on the "old" traditions; the leadership of the Stalinist U.C.G.T. went through the motions of attempting to institute "progressive" reforms. The debates took place in an atmosphere of "mutual trust."

The structural make-up of the hidebound C.G.T. appears on the surface to be very loose, very autonomous and quite de-centralized, but, in reality, its so-called Federalist structure is ideally suited for rigid bureaucratic control.

The basic, and "traditional" unit of the C.G.T. is the local trade union organization known as a *syndicate*. In the majority of cases these local syndicates are quite small. Nationally, these syndicates are united into Federations, one for each industry; and, on the other hand, they are also united territorially into Departmental Unions, one for each district, or "Department."

Each syndicate, however large or small, can send one delegate to the Congress, and each has but a single vote (the National Federations and the Departmental Unions can send delegates to the Congress, but only with consultative votes).

Obviously, therefore, the Congresses of the C.G.T. are not representative democratic bodies. In 1925, the representation of the larger syndicates was increased to make up for this crying discrepancy, but this purely formal gesture was intended only to screen the fact that the Congresses are a democratic sham—far removed from proportional representation.

The Congresses play on the surface the role of the highest directing organs. But that is another sham. Between the Congresses, the C.G.T. is directed by the joint Central Committees of the National Federations and the Departmental Unions. This joint Committee is not elected by the Congress but comprises the representatives of all the Federations, and of the Departmental Unions (which are themselves made up of a single representative from each syndicate, with a single vote).

The joint Committee (which is not a representative democratic body), in its turn, elects an Administrative Committee (about 35), primarily selected from among those functionaries who reside in Paris. This Administrative Committee then handpicks a small Bureau (a secretariat, headed by Jouhaux) which is the actual leadership of the C.G.T.

It goes without saying that Jouhaux and his associates were adamant in preserving this antiquated structure, so ideally suited for bureaucratic machinations and so obviously in need of "reform."

One might imagine, after all the talk about rank and file rule, that the Stalinists would seize upon a chance to demonstrate their progressive ideas on trade union organization. And, indeed, they did propose a "reform." Speaking in the name of democratic centralism (no more, no less!) they proposed—in sum and substance—not proportional representation, but that the Administrative Committee be henceforth elected by the Congress and that this Committee, to be elected by a Congress far removed from proportional representation, then proceed to select the Bureau of Eight, with Jouhaux as General Secretary. But even this sham reform was overwhelmingly defeated, and the hoary, reactionary structure was preserved intact.

The second lively point of controversy was over the decree of Jouhaux and Co. that it was "incompatible" for a leading functionary of the C.G.T. to be a member of the leading body of any political party.

Semard, one of the Stalinist leaders, made an eloquent speech in which he declared that such a proposal was tantamount to "sanctions" against the leading workers in the trade union movement, and argued that it was entirely com-

patible with the traditions and principles of the labor movement for a trade union functionary to occupy an important political post. The Congress recorded itself overwhelmingly in favor of the "incompatibility" clause, and Frachon and Racamond, who by previous agreement were slated for the Bureau, proceeded to declare demonstratively that they considered the decisions of the Congress as absolutely binding, and in proof of their good faith immediately resigned from the N.C. of the French Communist Party of which they are members.

The third and final organizational dispute revolved about international affiliations. Jouhaux and Co. proposed affiliation to the Amsterdam International. Once again the Stalinists were most modest and reasonable. Far from proposing affiliation with the Red Trade Union International, they pleaded that the Confederation adhere to neither International, but maintain connections with both, and work for the calling of an International Trade Union Unity Congress as soon as possible. Could anything be more reasonable? Yet, Jouhaux in his speech simply passed in silence over the proposal to maintain any ties with the Profintern, and work for international unity.

The Congress once again voted overwhelmingly against the Stalinist proposals. The purely formal character of the Congress is best illustrated by the fact that after the stage play, speeches and votes for the record, the Statutes were referred back to the Commission and were then accepted unanimously.

The self-same procedure was gone through on the second point of the agenda, pertaining to the "political policy." Racamond made an impassioned speech, pleading that the Congress solemnly proclaim that the program of the People's Front "is the program of the struggle of the organized workers." Jouhaux and Co. spoke for their Labor Plan. And the Congress passed a unanimous resolution (to quote the dispatch in Pravda, March 4) to the effect that: "The General Confederation of Labor will struggle decisively for the demands in the program of the People's Front . . . the resolution goes on to point out that the program of the People's Front should include the specific demands of the working class formulated in the Labor Plan of the C.G.T."

Thus, the social-patriots of 1936 are standing shoulder to shoulder with those who betrayed the French working class in 1914. The united trade union movement in France will march to victory only in the irreconcilable struggle against the policy and practice of Jouhaux-Racamond and their associates.

RESULTS OF THE SPANISH ELECTIONS

We have received an inquiry relating to the results of the last Spanish elections. The reports as to the outcome in the American bourgeois press appear to conflict primarily because the various reporters in recording the results of the elections differ in their manner of listing the parties of the Right and of the Center.

We print below the final results of the elections as reported in a Havas dispatch of March 3rd.

The "People's Front" electoral bloc won 263 seats. The Socialist Party obtained 94 seats. The Communist Party—14. The seats that fell to the share of the petty bourgeois partners in the electoral bloc, the party of the Left Republicans, were 85.

The three parties of the extreme Right obtained 135 seats, the C.E.D. A. (the concentration led by Gil Rubies) getting 99 of them. The Basque Nationalists obtained 10 seats.

Listing all the other parties in the Center, the latter obtained 65 seats.

The relationship of forces in the parliamentary fraction of the Socialist Party of Spain between the right wing led by Prieto and the left wing led by Caballero can be gleaned from the results of the contest for the election of the Praesidium of the Socialist fraction: in the voting, 49 votes were cast for Caballero and 32 for Prieto.

The elections show that as a result of the People's Front policies not only did the petty bourgeois parties obtain representation far exceeding their actual social and political weight in the country, but also within the Socialist Party itself. The Right wing was able to capitalize on these policies.

The 'Suicide' Advice of the German CP in Plebiscite

If in France, Stalinism drags the masses into support of the government and its war plans and policies, in Germany they accomplish the same purpose by the slogans they employ against the government under Adolf Hitler.

According to Ralph W. Barnes of the Herald-Tribune, "Communists" were very active in the plebiscite, recently concluded for the purpose of endorsing Hitler's Rhineland policy. A leaflet charging Hitler with preparing a war against the Soviet Union is quoted by Mr. Barnes. It reads as follows:

"Of what importance are non-aggression pacts, if for Chancellor Adolf Hitler they are only scraps of paper? ... This undoubtedly refers to the Locarno Treaty, an integral part of Versailles.

"No country on earth entertains aggressive designs against Germany," it continues. "Fascist Germany under Hitler is the instigator of war in Europe." "Half the enemy of the masses! Hitler means war: Stalin means peace."

What a hopeless muddle! And what ammunition for Herr Goebbels! We sincerely hope a copy of this leaflet does not fall into his hands for he will certainly use it to a fare-you-well against the "Marxists."

Arguments on a Platter
"No country has aggressive designs against Germany." Cannot Goebbels point out that France through the Versailles Treaty with all its oppressive clauses keeps Germany "paralyzed" for imperialist reasons? Can he not pick up any organ of the French Front Populaire and read a call for a "preventive war" against Germany?

Or cannot Rosenberg punch holes in this leaflet by lecturing the German workers on the present distribution of the world's colonies? Will he fail to say that German economic life is crippled by its lack of colonies and that therefore this situation constitutes a war threat against Germany, even if negative?

Not that alone, however. The Hitler mob will print figures running into seven or eight ciphers representing the expenditures on armaments in France, England, Czechoslovakia, Italy, etc. Are these the expression of peaceful intentions and of non-aggressive designs, they will ask.

But the choicest morsel for them is undoubtedly the counterposing of Stalin to Hitler. Because, what they have to contend with here is not a revolutionary internationalist policy against nationalist militarist ambitions. On the contrary, Stalin's support of Imperialist France, its little Entente and its colonial property lends plausibility to Hitler's demagoguery.

What Are the Conclusions?
Hitler tells the workers that Germany is oppressed by the international bankers and Jews through the Versailles treaty. The German

worker objects that the international working class and Soviet Russia is not in this category. Whereupon Hitler points to the People's Front where workers join with capitalists in national unity and Soviet Russia, through Stalin, blesses this arrangement and becomes a partner to it. Is it entirely illogical that the German workers should revise some of his conceptions about the class struggle?

Would he be entirely impervious to the propaganda that the days of class war are over and the days of race war have begun? Unfortunately the German workers have been taken in by this pop. If the "plebiscite" means anything at all it means just that.

The conclusion is inescapable: When the French, Stalinists became sponsors of the shibboleth "democracy" against "fascism," they inevitably became agents of French imperialism and Hitler can point to the absence of class struggle in France to those who agitate for class war in Germany. When the German Stalinists employ the same slogans, how can they escape being called—by Hitler—agents of a foreign government?

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A Counterpart to Social Patriotism in France, Equally Disastrous

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Prospects for a Farmer - Labor Party in the 1936 Elections

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A Jingle of Lies to Please the 'Master'

The reactionary literature Aldanov, who writes historical novels which treat the emancipatory movement of mankind from the standpoint of an alarmed philistine, has occupied himself of late with writing historical notations to the October Revolution. (Written in Paris in Milukov's paper—Ed.) In one of his feuilletons, basing himself on a ludicrous analysis of the budget of Pravda for the year 1917, he attempts to prove that the Bolsheviks did "just the same" receive German money. To be sure, in the process, the many-millioned subsidy is reduced to a very modest sum, but, in return, the moral and mental equipment of the historian himself rises to its heights.

In a subsequent feuilleton Aldanov recounts how Trotsky, in June, 1918, informed the German diplomat, Count Mirbach, that we, Bolsheviks, "are already dead, but there is as yet nobody around able to bury us." Mirbach himself as is well known, was killed shortly after June by the left S. R.'s. This story, retelling the words of one Bothmer, who in turn quotes the dead diplomat, is so absurd in itself that it is hardly worthy of notice. In June, 1918, and therefore, just in the period between the time the rapacious Brest-Litovsk peace was signed and the day he left for the front in Kazan, Trotsky gave secret information—to whom? to a diplomat of Hohenzollern!—to the effect that Bolshevism was "already dead." This is a case of slander passing into raving.

A Consumer for the Garbage
But there is always a consumer for anything vile. And one was found in this case also. The January 30th issue of Pravda carries several yards of Demyan Bedny's jingles in which the account of Bothmer-Aldanov is taken to be an incontrovertible truth, and as the final proof of Trotsky's "permanent treachery." Today, Pravda is the personal organ of Stalin. Demyan Bedny fulfills a personal order. Today, Pravda does not venture as yet to carry verses relating how Lenin and Trotsky received money from the German General Staff, but the moral evolution of the Bonapartist bureaucracy is nevertheless proceeding in this direction. To Aldanov, at any rate, the receipt of the Hohenzollern subsidy by the Bolsheviks and Trotsky's conversation with a Hohenzollern diplomat constitute an entity. In Pravda, together with its "poet," the single whole does not emerge as yet. But, never mind! The order was fulfilled. The meaning of the order is expressed in the following quatrain:

"To god, forsooth, that in Berlin
They had the news we so late glean!
Brief judgment: we such leaders spurn
To Limbo, whence there's no return."

This "poetical" conclusion to of course based not upon a fictitious

conversation years ago but upon the actual events in our own time. The Fourth International is a dire threat to these gentlemen. The growth of the Leninist ("Trotskyist") Opposition in the U.S.S.R. frightens the usurers. That is why they find it necessary to seek for inspiration from Aldanov-Bothmer.

A Compromising Par
Yet, once upon a time, this self-same Bedny also wrote about Trotsky in a somewhat different tone. And, moreover, in the very heat of the Civil War, at a time when men and ideas found themselves subjected to a serious test. A proposal of a rumor alleging that General Denikin, the Chief of the White Army, was making preparations to have himself crowned, Demyan Bedny published in Izvestia, some 16 months after the alleged declarations of Trotsky to Mirbach, the following verses:

"Strike no hero's poses, king!
Our deuce will do the covering.
When we hit we are no chumps
For ours is the deuce of trumps.
Lenin-Trotsky, there's our deuce,
Try to match it, if you choose!
Why, Denikin, the sudden blues?
There is no covering our deuce."

Aldanov, incidentally, also quotes this ditty; but in contrast to the conversation with Mirbach, it does not happen to be an invention but an absolutely genuine product of Demyan's creative efforts. It was printed in Izvestia, Oct. 19, 1918.

Repulsive as it is to probe into this mess, we hope that the reader will bear with us: a few rhymed lines can convey much better the atmosphere of 1919 and the then prevailing mood in the party than all the latest luxurious growths of falsifications and calumny. "Lenin-Trotsky, there's our deuce." How is that? How could a man who gave out treacherous statements to the august ambassador of the Kaiser turn up on the same "deuce" with Lenin? And where is Stalin? Is it possible that Demyan Bedny who lived in the Kremlin, who met all the top leaders in the party, who, it is even told, used to sup in the dining room of the Council of People's Commissars—is it possible that Demyan Bedny remained unaware of the fact that the "deuce" was—Lenin-Stalin? Or, it may be that Demyan Bedny was unacquainted with Stalin? No. Bedny worked with Stalin in the legal Bolshevik publications back in 1911, and perhaps even earlier. He was well acquainted with Stalin, with Stalin's past, his specific weight, his intellectual resources. Demyan knew very well what he was writing. And if he did not know, how did Izvestia, the official Government organ, happen to print verses in which Trotsky's name creeps in by mistake instead of Stalin's? Or, was it merely done, perhaps, for the sake of a rhyme? And, finally, why and how did the party keep quiet about these sacrilegious verses? We ought to add that in those days no one ordered laudatory verses from Demyan Bedny—we had

occasion for different things at that time, and, besides, the people were different—the verses simply expressed what was in the air.

History is not a heap of old rag that can be placed into a boiler and mashed into clean paper. A Russian proverb says: "What is written down with a pen cannot be hacked away with an axe." The history of those years was written not merely with a pen—at any rate, not only with the pen of Demyan Bedny. If, in 1919, Bedny, picked up by the great wave, on his own initiative executed the literary order of the masses, then, in 1936, he fulfills only the order of Stalin. This customer pursues aims which are not at all literary but purely practical. Demyan Bedny, as we already know, was ordered to provide the formula for the necessity of sending Trotsky to a place, "whence there is no return."

Stalin is obviously making preparations to entrust the fulfillment of this task to the "poets" from the school of Yagoda, the General Commissar.

And that is how we note it down!

Croppers Swindled

(Continued from Page 1)
well, the "red bogeyman" of the Liberty League. He granted a sympathetic audience and listened patiently to the grievances of the farmers as they were developed by the representatives of the S.T.F.U. The result was an empty promise to look into the matter. Tugwell need only consult the official Department of Agriculture report which reposes in some remote file of the department's archives in order to verify the story of tragic horror which is the daily lot of some millions of share-croppers.

Mr. Roosevelt has expressed some concern over the fate of these farmers, their children and wives. In fact, even the President himself has been moved to action. He asked that an inquiry be set afoot by a commission whose members were to be appointed by the Governor of Arkansas, Futrell, notoriously unsympathetic to the claims of the farmers to earn a decent livelihood and a plaster himself.

The demands of the Union are as follows:
"Just and adequate settlement at end of season, legal rates of interest on advances made share-croppers and tenants, wages of \$1.00 per 10 hour day with 15c per hour overtime for all work done by day laborers, and a written guarantee binding owners not to interfere with union organization or discriminate against union members."

Union leaders have asked for support which should be generous forthcoming. Send all contributions to the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, 2527 Broad Avenue, Memphis, Tenn.

SPEAKER
H. R. ISAACS
Former editor, China Forum, recently returned from five years' sojourn in China.

QUESTIONS DISCUSSION
Ausp.: N. Y. District, Workers Party U.S.

FACTS ON TAMPA CASE

(Continued from Page 1)
their description of all of which is to the Solicitor known and in furtherance of said assault they with the said whips, straps and tar had and held in their hands, did then and there strike, beat, bruise, wound and ill-treat him, from which said wounds the said Joseph Shoemaker did languish and on the 9th day of December, A. D. 1935, did die."

The Defendants
Those indicted on the murder and kidnapping charges are: Police Sergeant C. A. "Smitty" Brown, leader of the raid and one of the best pistol shots in the country; Patrolmen Sam E. Crosby, John E. Bridges and F. W. Switzer, the latter also under indictment for the kidnapping of Robert M. Cargill, a St. Petersburg lawyer; C. W. Carlisle, former employee of the city tax department; Robert Chappell, former employee of the city water department; A. F. Gillan, Ed Spivey and James Dean, Orlando Klansmen and special policemen during the Tampa primary election. Chief of Police R. G. Tittsworth and Manuel Menendez, police stenographer, were indicted as accessories after the fact.

The Attorneys
By direction of Governor Dave Sholtz, the prosecution is being conducted by State Attorney J. Rex Farrior, Assistant State Attorney R. M. Huntley and County Solicitor C. Jay Hardee, the latter said to be tied in with the gambling ring. The defendants are represented by Fat Whitaker, chief counsel, his brother Tom Whitaker, Charles F. Blake and L. E. Womack, all intimately associated with the Ku Klux Klan.

The Judge
Judge Raleigh Petteway of Hillsborough County disqualified himself as trial judge on March 17, on motion of the defense, because he is a candidate for Governor. Sholtz

assigned Judge Robert T. Dewell of Polk County in his place.

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Woe to the Vanquished--Mussolini Slogan

Jobless Masses Unite Ranks

An Analysis of the Washington Unemployed Convention and the Task Ahead

By MAX SHACHTMAN

A long and decisive step has been taken to put an end to the division of the organized unemployed workers of this country into three separate national organizations and countless local groups. By virtually unanimous vote, the delegates assembled in convention in Washington last week in the auditorium of the Department of Labor brought about the amalgamation into one body of the Workers Alliance of America, the National Unemployed League, the National Unemployment Councils, the American Workers Union (a Missouri organization) and several other local and state-wide organizations of the jobless.

The name of the new organization, as agreed upon by all its constituent bodies, is to remain that of the group which had the largest representation at the Washington convention, namely, the Workers Alliance of America. Similarly, the principal officers of the new Alliance have been drawn from the old one.

There can be no two opinions about the progressive nature of the merger. The separation of the unemployed workers into organizations which were not far removed from enlarged editions of the political organizations mainly responsible for their formation or maintenance, has proved to be a costly division of energy and efforts. It may even be added that, just as on the trade union field, so among the unemployed, workers should be organized not upon the basis of their political beliefs, associations or sympathies, but upon the basis of the simple and adequate fact that they are workers—in the case of the trade unions—or that they are unemployed (or part time, or relief) workers in the case of the organizations of the jobless.

The indispensable corollary to this principle is that in both cases the field must be left entirely free for any member who may be so inclined to agitate in a loyal and comradely manner for the particular political, economic, philosophical views he may hold. The workers demand of their employer, that hiring be not confined to those of one sex, creed, race, color or political view. This demand is usually accompanied by the right which every worker in a plant takes to himself: to agitate among his shopmates for any views he may have. The two propositions have at least equal validity in the broad organizations of the working class.

Advantages of Unity

The unification of the organizations of the unemployed is therefore correct generally speaking, and even more correct and urgent in the present circumstances. Assembled under one banner, and determined as they are to maintain the most intimate contact with the organized trade unions, the masses of the unemployed who have already understood the need of organization will be imbued with a greater spirit of self-confidence and consequently of militancy. The disunity of the jobless gave the ruling class and its government, indubitable advantages in the struggle between the two forces. The unification not only takes these advantages out of the hands of the enemies of the unemployed, but gives the latter a corresponding and hitherto unpossessed superiority.

The whole outcome of the struggle to ameliorate the lot of the jobless and the relief workers—to the extent that this can be accomplished under the capitalist system which inexorably creates their wretched conditions—now depends entirely upon the extent to which the unemployed combine with their new solidarity a militant policy of action, a policy of class struggle. Without the latter, even the completeness of unity can mean nothing at all, or worse yet, can become a treacherous consolation.

Politics and the Unemployed

It is especially from the latter standpoint that the situation is far from reassuring. The course of the convention registered several deficiencies in the movement which, in our opinion, require the earliest possible rectification. The fact that these shortcomings relate to political questions in no sense conflicts with our previous contention that the unemployed cannot merely be the appendage of a political party, a disguise for it. For, from the latter view one must not for a moment conclude that political ques-

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IN STALIN'S PRISONS

Dr. Ciliga Continues Series on Persecution of Revolutionists Under the Stalin Regime

EDITOR'S NOTE:

"Question: Is it a criminal offense to speak against Communism in the Soviet Union?—M.C.

"Answer: No. There is complete freedom of speech in the U.S.S.R. Any person can have and can voice any opinion about Communism or about the Communist Party, or about its policies, or leaders. . . ."

Daily Worker, April 16.

Now read the testimony of Dr. Anton Ciliga who was jailed for five years in the prisons and exile camps of the Soviet Union for differing with the Stalinist bureaucracy on questions of policy. Ciliga, a member of the Political Bureau of the Yugoslav C.P., came to the Soviet Union an exile only to find, through bitter personal experience, the repressions against revolutionists more severe than in his native land. Another installment of this series will follow in the coming issue of the NEW MILITANT.

By DR. ANTON CILIGA

III. In the Prisons at Leningrad and Verkhne-Uralsk

I spent five months (from May to October 1930) in the Detention Prison in Leningrad. During the first part of this term, up to the conclusion of the investigation, I was committed to a small dark cell with several other prisoners. During the latter part of the term, while awaiting my sentence, I sat in a large cell, intended for 23 people, in which there were from 80 to 110 of us. The occupants of the large cells were continually changing and in view of the fact that 4 to 5 large cells were let out together for 15 minutes into the yard, I had the opportunity to become acquainted with a great many prisoners with hundreds of "cases" and the fate of hundreds of individuals. These were the days of the mass uprisings of the peasants against

the Stalinist collectivization, the days of mass executions throughout the whole of Russia, the days of the famous execution of the "Forty-Five" so-called wreckers. During this time prisoners in our jail were taken out almost daily to face the firing squad. Except in rare instances, the press carried no news about these executions. But one I witnessed the following case. The morning papers, which had been just brought in, contained a dispatch that the death sentence of so-and-so had been "carried out." But this man was still alive, sitting, entirely unaware, among us in the cell. The entire cell, the whole tier fell into a frenzy, into horror. . . . but a few minutes later this oversight was "corrected," and the man led from the cell to face the firing squad. . . .

I also became acquainted here with the methods by which certain

(Continued on Page 3)

Huge Student Strike Nears

350,000 Expected to Join in Protest Against War in Nation's Schools

Over 350,000 students are expected to leave their classes on April 22 at 11 A.M. in the third nationwide students' strike against war. Called by the American Student Union, the strike has been endorsed by a number of college presidents and professors as well as leaders of other student organizations. The New York Teachers' Union and other local unions have pledged support to the strike.

While in the colleges and universities the students will hold their own demonstrations, in the high schools, where "peace assemblies" are being called by the administrations, the A.S.U. urges student participation on four conditions: that it be student controlled; that student resolutions be permitted and recognized as part of the national action. Whether or not the conditions are granted, there is little doubt after last year's experience that the assemblies called by the school administrations will in most cases be patriotic rather than anti-war demonstrations.

Warn Against Intimidation

Two national strike calls have been issued by the A.S.U.: one for the colleges and universities and a "milder" one for the high schools. Warning against intimidation by the authorities, the college call states: "To surrender the militancy and purpose of this strike at the first sign of opposition is to pave

the way for far greater retreats and concessions later"; a view that is made meaningless by the provision permitting A.S.U. participation in administration controlled assemblies in the high schools.

The call describes the strike as a "rehearsal for the future" and calls for support of the Oxford Pledge (not to support any war in which the U.S. government is involved).

A Confused Slogan

"War anywhere is war everywhere; stop the aggression!" (the new formula of the "peace is indivisible" pro-Sovietist conception of the Stalinists) is among the slogans in the strike call. And in another section of the same call we find:

"With genuine neutrality circumscribed, a strike of 350,000 students for the principle of no loans, credits or supplies to belligerents will indicate that at least the student population of the United States has learned the lessons of the Nye inquiry."

Can one logically support the slogan of "Stop the aggression"—and at the same time "principle of no credits or supplies to belligerents," which includes both "aggressors" and "defenders"? Yet, the Stalinists do so in practice!

At the Cleveland congress of the American League Against War and

(Continued on Page 3)

Fascist Army Overruns Ethiopia

Two Internationals Reveal Bankruptcy Once Again

With the capture of Dessale and the announcement by the Italian forces in Africa of plans of a three-day march at the end of which it is expected to take the capital city of Addis Ababa, the main immediate objective of the Fascist invasion of Ethiopia seems to be definitely assured.

The occupation of the capital which now appears inevitable will undoubtedly be a severe moral blow to the defenders, and little more will be left to the courageous Ethiopians save the continuance of sporadic guerrilla warfare to prevent the Italians from completing the subjugation of this last of the "independent" lands of Africa.

At Geneva, meanwhile, the Italian representatives, laughingly exuberant with victory, have laid down the victor's peace terms in accordance with the old Roman war-cry which is the shibboleth of all modern imperialist pirates: "Woe to the vanquished!" From the intimate terms, it is clear that the Italians plan simply to convert Ethiopia into a colony, to humiliate her to the depths and to inflict such penalties upon her for her fight for independence as will constitute the maximum guarantee against the future resumption of the struggle against the invaders.

The Fascists are bluntly contemptuous not only of Ethiopia but also of the great "guarantor of peace," the League of Nations. Mussolini's representatives, demonstratively ignoring the League, insist upon negotiating exclusively with Ethiopian representatives, without even the presence of League representatives, and in a locality ostentatiously removed from the League seat, Geneva. As a "concession," it is reported from Geneva, Italy may "permit a League observer to be present at the direct negotiations on the condition that he remained silent and took no part in them. That would be tantamount to the League's blessing them in blank." (N.Y. Times 4-17.)

The pathetic protests of the Ethiopian delegates to the League are, of course, entirely unavailing, as was to be expected. Since October 1935, when by unanimous vote the League Council labelled Italy the "aggressor," the pacifists of all colors and kinds, from the French Radicals through the Second International to the Third International have been slinging the praises of the League of Nations as an instrument of peace and the protector of small nations whose independence was in jeopardy. From both Brussels and Moscow came blazes of drug stances calculated to put the independent working class movement to sleep with the consolation that the League, by virtue of sanctions, would take care of everything.

The League bandits, however, were preoccupied with all the considerations in the world save that of the independence of Ethiopia. While Mussolini's modern and infinitely superior war machine has inexorably crushed the woefully inadequately equipped Ethiopian forces, the rival imperialist powers in the League jockeyed about to improve their own respective world positions.

Indeed, without the active support of the independent international working class, the isolated struggle of the Ethiopians was doomed in advance. To expect tribesmen by themselves to triumph over a modern, industrially-backed imperialist army, is preposterous. But it is precisely the working class movement which failed of its obligations. More exactly, the Second and Third Internationals, with all their bragged manifestoes and bluster and bluff, once more disclosed their utter bankruptcy.

They collapsed in Germany, in Austria, in the Saar, in Spain, and now, in face of one of the most shameless imperialist aggressions in our time, impudently conceived and insolently executed, the two old Internationals have once more failed. The tragedy of the whole Italo-Ethiopian struggle lies in the fact that in point of simple fact the working class movement did not react to strike even those simple blows at the Italian Fascists which they were in a position to deal.

THE OLD GUARD AND THE S P PRIMARIES

By JOHN WEST

In the recent New York State Primaries, both in New York City and up-state, the Militant Socialist Party won a substantial and decisive majority over the Old Guard. This result is particularly important in its prophecy of an equally progressive outcome to next month's national convention of the Socialist Party. From every forward-looking point of view, this repudiation of the Old Guard represents a genuine step in advance not merely for the Socialist Party itself, but for the developing labor movement in this country as a whole.

The extent of the victory of the Militants exceeded most predictions, even those of the Militants themselves. It is important and necessary to understand what accounts for the result.

Basically—as we have on numerous occasions pointed out—the factional struggle within the Socialist Party reflects new processes of ferment and differentiation which have been taking place within the advanced sections of the working class as a result of the Spanish, German, and Austrian events, the intensification of the war crisis, and the character of the post-1929 economic crisis. The ferment and differentiation are not, of course, confined to this country, but are reproduced in an analogous manner on an international scale. The central lesson drawn from the world events, with varying degrees of clarity, by increasing sections of workers within the orbit of the Second International has been: traditional social-democratic reformism is bankrupt, and serves only to lead the working class to disaster, and to sacrifice the working class to finance-capital in every crisis—to fascism as readily as to imperialist war.

This is, it will be observed, the negative half of the lesson which must be drawn if the full positive potentialities of these developments are to be achieved. It is necessary not merely to understand that social-democratic reformism is bankrupt; but, positively, to break sharply from Social Democracy; and this sharp break can be decisively accomplished only by embracing and adhering firmly to the principles of revolutionary Marxism. Half-way measures and ambiguities can provide a partial and temporary solution, can make possible even certain victories on the road; but anything less than the full conclusion will in the end cut short the progressive development, will route the advancing workers

back to reformism, aside into the death-house of Stalinism, or down into futile isolation.

At each stage of the development, the basic underlying process appears only to a limited and to some degree distorted extent on the surface. The political differentiation takes on in the struggle an organizational form; and for a while it is the organizational contest which appears as paramount over the political issues—though it is the latter which in the long run determine the organizational expressions. The opposing slogans hide as often as they reveal the basic questions. Nevertheless, the process and the movement continue, and gradually re-shape the slogans.

Two Decisive Factors

The New York Primaries fight, itself a stage in the larger struggle, is highly instructive as an aid to our understanding of the process as a whole. If we examine the specific and immediate factors which account for the sweeping victory of the Militants, the following two seem to have been decisive:

(1) The Old Guard openly and consistently conducted its fight on the basis of conservative social-democratic reformism. Their campaign was a campaign of furious Red-baiting, in which the New Leader accused the Militants every week of being dyed-in-the-wool Communists, rascals, Trotskyists, and revolutionists. But the majority of the dues-paying party members and the non-party enrolled Socialist voters have already absorbed the negative half of the lesson of the past three years; they have become convinced that hardened reformism is useless and worse than useless. Thus, this campaign of the Old Guard, though consistent and on the whole ably conducted, lost rather than gained support, recommended the Militants to the members rather than frightened the members away. The case of the Old Guard against the Militants was, in the eyes of the majority of the membership the best case that could be made for the Militants. In this sense, it might be said that the New Leader was the most effective agitator of the Militants; politically speaking, more effective than their own Socialist Call.

Ranks Activized

(2) A different kind of factor played almost an equally important role in this Primary struggle. For the first time in years, under the

leadership of the Militants in the past few months, the Socialist Party of New York State showed real signs of activity. The Militants sent organizers up-state, renewed branches, made speaking tours, sent out communications, increased their participation in strikes and demonstrations. They conducted debates with the Stalinists—and outdebated them. The party felt some new blood in its veins. The Old Guard had completely neglected the rank and file of the party. And, indeed, the Old Guard is not greatly interested in the rank and file. It rests on institutions like the Forward, on the trade union bureaucracy, on fat remuneration from the unions, for Old Guard lawyers, on appointments to la Guardia. In many ways, a rank and file is an inconvenience to the Old Guard. The membership was undoubtedly strongly impressed by this difference between the Old Guard and the Militant leadership. They responded to the Militant appeal for "an active, effective Socialist Party." They linked this slogan for "a democratic, inclusive party," and saw that together they meant a resolve to bring the Socialist Party out of the backwater in which it had been sleeping for a decade into the broader stream of the mass movement. Many members doubtless cast their votes for the Militants on this basis rather than from the more complex theoretical considerations—though the two are not, of course, unrelated.

The character of the struggle of the Old Guard is very strikingly shown by the issue of the New Leader (dated April 11) which followed the Primaries. Indeed, this issue sums up in brief the whole nature of the Old Guard. Significantly, we find a repeated insistence that their fight is a fight "for principle"; and repeated references to themselves as "Social Democrats" and to their principles as the principles of "Social Democracy." Their fight, they make clear, is absolutely uncompromising and intransigent.

"Voice of Social Democracy"

"The voice of Social Democracy," they threaten, "will be heard in Cleveland" (at the national convention). "The Social Democrats in the party," they warn, "know no surrender. They have just begun to fight." In an editorial headed "Our Fight for Principles" they herald the approaching end of the present struggle—"The long struggle of the New Leader for funda-

mental principles and policies is drawing to a close. . . ."

The feature article on the New Leader's Anniversary Banquet quotes from the speech of Louis Waldman: "Ours was not a fight, as some tried to make people believe, for the continuance in power of our side of the Socialist Party but for the fundamental program of Social Democracy. From that program we shall not recede, no matter who is in control of the Socialist Party."

This issue of the New Leader, furthermore, makes entirely clear what the Old Guard understands the fundamental program of Social Democracy to be. No opportunity is overlooked to crack down on "dictatorship" and to uphold "democracy"; that is, to attack the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat, and to announce the adherence of the Old Guard to the bourgeois-democratic state, whose agents in the working class the Old Guard prizes itself on being, and aims to continue to be.

Bill Green Toasted

The biggest display of the entire issue is given to the speech of William Green, the guest of honor at the Anniversary Banquet. . . . Green, whose long record of thorough-going reaction and treachery in the trade union movement has been eliminated during the past year by his firm resistance to every progressive development, by his bitter fight against the industrial unionists, by his dictatorial brutality in connection with the automobile workers, the rubber workers, the teachers, and the radio workers, by his pitiful cringing before the government on every possible occasion. Vladeck, at the banquet, paid handsome tribute to Mr. Green for his constructive leadership of the American labor movement and for his conduct as the champion of the oppressed."

The other featured trade-unionist among the speakers at the banquet was Matthew Woll, partner of Ralph Easley, for years in the National Civil Federation. Hearst's chief red-baiting rival. Another leading article, proudly displayed in a box on the front page, is by Abraham Lefkowitz, co-leader of the Teachers' Guild, splitter of the Teachers' Union, and active duelist to the A. F. of L. The Old Guard, of course, is a great denouncer of "dual unionism"—except, naturally, when more "basic" issues are involved.

The strategic aim of the Old

Guard is also given: "Confident," said Waldman at the banquet, "in the conviction that we represent on the political field the same program, the same principles, the same loyalty to labor exemplified in the British Labour Party, we are equally confident that with our allies of the labor movement the future belongs to our type of socialism." Abe Caban looked forward to "the rapid development of fraternal relationship between the Socialist and labor movements in this country similar to that existing between the British Trades Union Congress and the Labor Party." The visit of Herbert Morrison of the British Labour Party to this country is hailed and advertised. And well might the Old Guard greet its British brothers: has not the British Labour Party set them grandiose examples in the technique of representing the interests of finance-capital within the working class? Was it not through the British L.P. that national unity was achieved in the last war? that the General Strike was broken? that the budget was balanced at the expense of the British workers? that British imperial policy is now being put across to the masses in the present war crisis?

Yes, the Old Guard knows where it stands. It stands for the tried and sure methods for bringing defeat and disaster to the working class; for the policies that assembled the workers for Imperialism in 1914; the policies that defeated the revolution in Germany; the policies that greased the ways for Hitler, that shed the despairing blood of the workers in Austria and Spain. These policies it inscribes on its banner, and displays proudly and openly to the world.

Safety-Valve Labor Party

Nor is it to be imagined that these policies are defeated by the victory of the Militants in the Primaries, or by their probable victory at the national convention. The Old Guard looks ahead. It realizes that a broad rank and file is not vital to its plans. It sees the "model of the British Labour Party." And it aims, together with the trade union bureaucrats, to head off the development of the revolutionary party in this country, during the years after 1936, by harnessing the leftward movement of the workers into a reformist Labor Party controlled by it and the bureaucrats, together no doubt with various of the "progressives" and liberals. And it is confident that

(Continued on Page 4)

MALCOLM COWLEY: Portrait of a Stalinist Intellectual

The Saga of the Literary Cop Who Patrols the New Republic Beat for Stalin

By FELIX MORROW

An analysis is long overdue of the type of mind which the Communist Party has drawn to itself from the middle class intelligentsia. The latest and most shocking example of the product of this mind is the attack on Leon Trotsky, in the April 8 issue of the New Republic, by its literary editor, Malcolm Cowley.

Mr. Cowley has for some years been covertly stacking the cards against "Trotskyism" in his columns. Now, at last, he has openly played his hand. In what pretends to be a review of Leon Trotsky's "My Life"—six years after its publication—Cowley delivers himself of a personal diatribe; nothing more venomous in tone, false in fact, and confused in thought, has been published against "Trotskyism" outside the official Communist Party press.

The significance of his "review" does not lie in the actual influence Mr. Cowley exerts among intellectuals. Cowley interests us, rather, as an illustration of the type of mind which has espoused Stalinism. He himself is undoubtedly unconscious of what he represents; for, as we shall see, the character of his talents and the specific set of his emotions, as well as the quality of his mind, render him constitutionally incapable of understanding the implications of the political phrases he uses and the position in which they place him.

The Lost Generation

Mr. Cowley has called himself a member of the "lost generation" (the phrase is Gertrude Stein's). The lost generation consisted of that specific group of post-war intellectuals who were unable to integrate themselves in relation to their social environment. They could read no pattern into the war and its aftermath of imperialism, revolution and counter-revolution; and they sought to escape from what they could not understand. It is even too flattering to imply that they sought to understand and could not; their course was rather a purely emotional refusal to come to grips with the life around them.

They regarded politics as a mystery or a bore. The American scene was something to run away from, if you had the money. They sat around, these literary people—the word "intellectual" implies a training and discipline which they did not have—in the European capitals, and the great post-war mass movements swept by their café tables and the Cowleys had not the faintest inkling of what it all meant. They looked upon individuals who concerned themselves with social problems or actively participated in the class struggle as a species of cultural barbarian. Those were the heroic days of the Communist International: the alternative destinies of Europe were poised on the edge of a knife; all who had eyes could see that the future of humanity, of culture, was with the masses. But to the Cowleys "the masses" were an object of distaste.

The Bohemian Life

The "civilized" life for these "intellectuals" consisted in the organization of "esoteric literary cults" with a ritual of gin, fornication and dandified rowdiness, which permitted the freest personal "expression" to everyone. Every lad had his own coterie and its own catchwords of the moment. After a brief period of sterile excitement these coteries would dissolve in a quest for new and more striking literary mannerisms. Everything was at a premium—except ideas.

The one member of the "lost generation" who really possessed creative talent of a high order, Ernest Hemingway, was the *minnesinger*, the immortalizer of the group. "The Sun Also Rises" was an unforgettable portrait of their feverish bohemianism, their complete lack of social or personal responsibility, their utter disintegration and hopelessness. In "A Farewell to Arms," Hemingway explicitly stated, through the mouth of his chief character, the lost generation's distrust of abstract ideas and contempt for thought. Hemingway himself made great literature out of the chaos about him. Creative writers and artists are never lost. But the group of which Cowley is representative substituted dramatic symbols, through conspicuous forms of public exhibitionism, to get the assurance that they, too, counted in the world. They possessed no creative talent; and their headless gyrations helped them to avoid the realization of this sad truth about themselves.

When the European currencies were finally stabilized and these literary *Vahntschweine* (as the Germans bitterly named those who fattened on the unfavorable rate of exchange) regretfully returned to America, they transplanted their cliques and brawls and gin-parties. Their American period was perhaps even uglier and tawdrier than

their European stay. Europe had been for them a Roman Holiday; in America they made a habitual routine out of their petty vices. By 1928 they had pretty well exhausted their febrile ingenuity and were thrashing about for new literary mannerisms.

The New Urge

The depression came close on the heels of this search for new styles to conquer, and further accentuated the bankruptcy of their old literary schools. The antics of the "lost generation" ceased to be amusing even to themselves and their friends. The grim realities of hunger, unemployment and pervasive economic insecurity crowded out of attention the petty feuds and monkeyshines of speakeasy bohemians, Parisian expatriates and "art for arters." Generous advances from publishers, good fees from magazines and lecture bureaus came to an end for many of them; not a few faced actual economic need. In the post-war years, they had caroused, unseeing and uncomprehending, among starving multitudes in the European capitals. Now, however, hunger and insecurity were striking themselves or their friends. Their psychological compulsion to find refuge and emotional security in a world which had collapsed around their ears was intensified a hundred-fold. But their new orientation, like the old, was hectic and unreflective, and equally exhibitionistic.

It became fashionable to "take positions"—avowals won not by study or reflection, but suggested by the dramatic possibilities of the situation and by what literary friend or foe was doing. Some became Catholic. Some became Babbittian Humanists or Southern Agrarians. Some became "Communists." Some became Communist because others had become Humanist, and vice-versa.

Gorham B. Munson, whose career so closely parallels Cowley's, and with whom Cowley and his friends so frequently found themselves in critical and even in physical combat, is a case in point. After passing through all the coteries of literary Bohemia, the depression brought him to Irving Babbitt's reactionary Humanism and, finally, to the Social Credit Utopia of Major Douglas.

Malcolm Comes to...

Stalin

Cowley was among those who proceeded to avow Communism. They did not know what it was but they had a notion that on the political scene it corresponded to what surrealism represented on the literary scene. It was extreme. It broke with everything. It simplified things and made possible dramatic gestures which cost very little. It had a liturgy whose rhetoric left something to be desired, but which did have some fine, strong words like "class struggle," "proletariat," and "revolution." It was at least as authoritarian as the Humanism and Catholicism of their literary foes, thus providing them with the emotional refuge they sought. Yet it was much more exciting. A close friend of Cowley, Kenneth Burke, has explicitly formulated this rhetorical and religious approach to Communism in many recent articles.

The Cowleys were genuinely surprised when the Communist Party, with little following among workers and at that time none among the stylized intellectuals, greeted them with enthusiasm, and instead of giving them a political education and teaching them a little mental discipline, used them as window-dressing for phony united fronts. "Communism came to the Cowleys with the suddenness of religious conversion; and like all new converts to a gospel, their zealotry was in inverse proportion to their knowledge. This was amusingly evident in their reactions to Love-Donelites, Socialists, and those who were defending Trotsky against the malicious slanders of the Stalinists. The Cowleys did not know what it was all about, but they were irritated whenever serious differences arose. If only, they groaned smugly, these eternal quibbles would let up! They read little of Marxist literature and understood less. Some leaders of the Communist Party had at the outset entertained the fear that these intellectuals would try to function as intellectuals, i.e., think. They were soon reassured; it became clear that their whole past had failed to prepare the Cowleys for such a function; only the most rigorous retraining could have transformed even the best of them; but the Communist Party would not and could not give them such a training.

Love at First Sight

Moreover, to their ignorance and unwillingness to learn, was added the fact that Cowley and people like him feared nothing more than being thrust into the outer dark-

ness by those who were the official guardians of salvation by faith in Stalin and his works. Nor was it only fear; there was also affinity. These "intellectuals" knew what it was to assume an attitude and to refuse to defend it except by excommunication, exhortation and blows; they had conducted their literary struggles at that level. The irrationalism and bombast of Stalinism struck a responsive chord in the Cowleys, and they nestled comfortably and uncomprehendingly in the bosom of the Stalinist Church. They did not understand "the theory of social-fascism," but defended it. They did not understand what the "united front from below" meant, but they were sure that it was a fine thing. They did not understand the implications of "socialism in one country," but what was good enough for the Daily Worker was good enough for them. If this seems exaggerated, one has only to turn to one of Mr. Cowley's literary efforts as proof.

Cowley Spills the Beans

At the time of Hitler's coming to power, the Stalinists were privately saying that there had been no chance of a German revolution, that if there were a slight chance it was not worth taking because it would disturb the status quo and lead to a European war which would interfere with the Five Year Plan. Publicly, of course, the Stalinists were shouting that the revolution was on the order of the day, that Hitler would not last the next month, that already the masses were girding to smash him, etc., etc. The real line was for private distribution only. Cowley showed how little he understood by blunderingly giving away the real line (New Republic, April 12, 1933):

"Trotsky's alternative policy, with its continual threat of war [i.e., shattering of status quo] would be justified only in case there was an imminent chance of proletarian revolution somewhere in the West. Can it be reasonably expected?"

No, said Cowley. And in the same piece he gave one of the baldest (because unconscious) statements of the Stalinist "theory" of revolution. The American proletariat is weak, said Cowley. "But the chief obstacle to a revolution in this country is not the weakness of the proletariat; it is rather the strength of the middle class." How, then, win the middle class? The classic Marxist answer is that a powerfully organized and determined proletariat will draw to itself all those elements of the middle classes which have similar economic interests with the proletariat and which functionally and culturally stand to gain under socialism. The struggle to win the middle classes begins with the organization of the proletariat. Not so for Stalinism and Cowley: "the only thing that can turn us aside from that steep path into the sea (Fascism) is the influence on the middle classes of the Russian experiment, the success of 'socialism in one country.'" "The only thing!" Never was Stalinism stated more baldly—or indeed, stupidly; for to put it in such terms gives the whole show away.

Criticism a Crime

If painting Russia as a paradise is the way to stop Fascism and make the revolution, any criticism of the Stalinist bureaucracy becomes a crime. The distinction between hostile bourgeois criticism and revolutionary Marxist criticism of Stalinism is a distinction which the Cowleys are incapable of making. Any statement of doubt or criticism, they greet with bitter resentment. Unable to defend what they believe, they turn upon dissenting views with fierce impudence. They have lived too long without serious thought about social and political problems; they want only the luxurious emotional security they have won by their new allegiance; the labor of thinking is too high a price to pay for the truth.

Note what happened when the line of the Communist Party changed and all the earlier dogmas except the infallibility of Stalin were thrown into the discard. Without sopping so much as to draw a breath, or change their tone, or give any reasons, the Cowleys continued their chorus of amens to the pronouncements of Browder and Hathaway. Instead of the "dictatorship of the proletariat," the cry now became "the People's Front"—all the people, including Republicans and Democrats, not to speak of yesterday's Social-Fascists. The somersault was not unlike those of their literary past, when the slogans of "objectivism" followed the slogans of "expressionism" without very much concern for meaning or consistency.

It is only in relation to the foregoing background that Cowley's type and its significance can be understood. This background has accentuated his personal characteris-

tics as a literary critic. The qualities he has displayed in fulfilling his post as literary editor mark a violent break with the previous literary tradition of the New Republic. Compare him with his predecessors. Francis Hackett was noteworthy because of his disciplined imagination and genial warmth. Philip Littell had a certain dry acerbity and intellectual incisiveness which one could enjoy without accepting his judgments. Edmund Wilson was always distinguished for the lucidity and sympathetic plausibility with which he rendered the visions of the great artists of our day.

Malcolm Cowley, however, is completely incapable of handling ideas. He cannot analyze them, cannot play with them, cannot place them in a significant context. Consequently, he is compelled to confront ideas with attitudes usually irrelevant to the subject matter of his criticism, and asserted with rhetorical force rather than with precision. This gives to all of his criticism the characteristic quality of bluster. For bluster always results, when an attitude—even a valid one—is defended without insight, without qualification, and without imagination. One can almost predict in advance what Cowley will say and how he will say it. For his attitudes are formulated for him by political agencies, even for works of literature, and within the limits of his understanding he applies them to every work upon which he feels called upon to pass judgment. These attitudes Cowley calls Marxist. Since they are reached not by thought but by his sense for the dramatically appropriate, he invests them with the patter and jargon of Marxism without any conception of the real meaning of Marxian principles.

Cowley as a Thinker

In other words, Cowley has made a theory of criticism out of his incapacity to think. Or if he thinks, he thinks (so to speak) with his guts. Like most viscerally-minded people, he is baffled by ideas and arguments. Unable to respond on the same level, his responses became blocked and he is overwhelmed with a sense of frustration which can only be lifted by some violent release of energy. In his Left Bank literary days, he could break this frustration by a blow or a fight or, as he has confessed, by threatening to beat the head off a hostile critic like Ernest Boyd. But in print, the violent release of energy by which he breaks the impotence produced by argument is accomplished through abuse or denunciation or their equivalent in innuendo. Most often this means that when Cowley must review a book of ideas, he will write about its author. If he can deliver some thwacking slaps at the author, or the author's grandfather, he feels he has delivered himself of his critical obligations. Lately, he talks about the author's class, without even attempting to establish an organic connection between the ideas and the class.

A case in point that comes to mind is Cowley's review of a book on Pareto. Pareto is meat for a Marxist. It is an easy task for any competent Marxist to evaluate Pareto's ideas and show that they cannot adequately account for the structure and development of any social institution. But all that Cowley could grasp about Pareto is that a Marxist cannot accept his doctrines. And he promptly proceeds to "annihilate" Pareto by some choice epithets about Pareto's pretensions and difficult terminology. No argument, no development of the Marxist position—to understand which the poor fellow painfully scans every copy of the Daily Worker and the New Masses—and not even the faculty of stating intelligibly the position with which he disagrees.

Towards an "Understanding" of Marx

But it is when Cowley reviews books on Marxism that he reveals himself most, as in his piece on the English translation of Franz Mehring's biography of Karl Marx. To read Mehring's book for the first time is a profound intellectual experience for any intelligent radical; the book is one of the most attractive introductions to the intellectual life of Marx and his epoch. It is notable for the way in which it weaves a skillful pattern out of Marx's ideas and activities. Mehring presents Marx's ideas in their time and context, evaluates them, does not hesitate to take issue (not always happily) where he thinks Marx was wrong. The least one could expect of a critic of this book—not to speak of a Marxist critic—is to describe these extraordinary qualities of the work, to make a concise statement of Marx's contribution to the thought of mankind and to attempt to summarize—no matter how briefly—the significance of Marx's ideas.

Cowley's ideophobia prevents him from even suggesting why it is that Marx and not any of his contemporaries is the intellectual leader of the working class. Cowley probably does not know why. He cannot run the risk of attempting to say why, for fear of pulling a bowler. What, then, does he do? He graciously praises Marx; praises him for having written poetry when he was a very young man, and for having read Aeschylus (and in Greek!); praises him for being a great lover, a Romantic rebel, a persecuted soul; praises Frau Marx, too, for being a devoted wife. Thrashing about for some way to connect Marx with what he (Cowley) knows, Cowley hits upon the notion of pronouncing Marx to be "the spiritual contemporary of Baudelaire and Flaubert." In his blundering way, Cowley has picked out two men who represent in different ways the precise antithesis to Marx. The revolution of 1848, which brought Marx to revolutionary maturity, left Baudelaire an embittered reactionary. Flaubert cultivated a philosophy of personal isolation and the cult of literature for its own sake; he became one of the gods of the Left Bank pantheon of Cowley's post-war years. Another analogy of Cowley's is worth noting because of its perfect ineptitude. After the defeat of the revolution of 1848, he likens Marx to Lucifer proclaiming to his followers, "All is not lost; the unconquerable Will," etc. At that moment, in actual fact, Marx was belaboring those emigres who were exalting the Will and thus confounding their desires with the state of actual affairs. One could go on like this from sentence to sentence; for Cowley cannot write a line even about the personal details of Marx's life which does not cry for correction. Not a word has he to say, however, about Marx's ideas. Marx's metaphors? Yes. But the sense of the metaphors? Cowley finds no room for that, in the longest review of the season. Reading Cowley's review, in fact, one would get the impression that "The Life of Marx" was a series of dramatic actions by a romantic man of letters. That Marx was a revolutionist is mentioned only once, and then with a sneer, as if that was the least significant aspect of his thought and life. "He was above all a revolutionary" as ten thousand people have quoted from Engels' address at the grave. One is a revolutionary for Cowley, presumably, by temperament—something like being a poet. Ideas have nothing to do with it.

With an eye on those "Trotskyites" who are always giving him a pain in the neck by answering the slanders of the Stalinist press, Cowley tries to make Marx out as a man too proud to answer those who denounced him. "Marx did not answer these personal slanders," says Cowley smugly and wrongly. It would be truer to say that Marx never failed to answer any one who attacked him, even those who, like Vogt, Ruge and Bukhmin, specialized in slander. Practically everything Marx wrote was an answer to somebody.

Discovering Trotsky

His review of Mehring's Marx, according to Cowley, brought a query from a reader who wanted to know why, if Marx was great because of the things recounted about him by Cowley, Trotsky was not entitled to the same kind of homage. This, says Cowley, led him to read Trotsky's "My Life" and to "review" it in the New Republic of April 8.

It is significant of Cowley's mentality—and of his purpose—that he does not refer to the voluminous political writings of Trotsky which have appeared in the six years since "My Life" was published. The malicious dishonesty of his piece on Trotsky does not obscure Cowley's specious pretense of objectivity. He says he found his reader's letter "perturbing" and therefore "set myself the task of reading and reporting on Trotsky's 'My Life.'" Thus, he seeks to evoke the atmosphere of an unprejudiced judge, who is sifting the evidence in order to come to a fair decision. This piece of chicanery on Cowley's part is not fortuitous; it is a necessary part of the job he wants to do on Trotsky.

An honest controversialist would have no need of such devices. A trained Marxist is fair enough to his opponent to state the latter's position accurately and to use against him accurate and relevant material; but he disdains to simulate a neutrality he does not feel. This method of polemic has brought rich results in clarification of thought and enunciation of positions; it is the method of Marx and of Lenin, and all their work is written from this standpoint.

But this method is a closed book to Cowley. Its primary requisite is the mastery of ideas and the ability to weave them together, counterpose them, fuse them, apply them to facts and modify them when facts so dictate. In the light of our analysis of Cowley and his type, it is clear that this method is alien to him. Dealing with ideas is not

his metier. He can confront them only with attitude and attitudeizing.

Moreover, Cowley's political masters forbid the use of analysis as a method in dealing with Trotsky and "Trotskyism." The true beliefs do not argue with Trotsky and those who stand with him. They shower abuse and denunciation of the vilest kind on "Trotskyites"; in the Soviet Union they shoot them, torture them, and imprison them; in other countries, not least in America, they attacked our meetings with clubs and brass-knuckles—all in the name of the revolution, of course. Even if he were capable of carrying on an ideological controversy with Trotsky, therefore, Cowley's mentors would forbid it.

Everything Goes

Cowley cannot, however, adopt his masters' methods against Trotsky, in the pages of the New Republic. First, because the liberalistic tradition still formally retains the doctrine that discussion of differences should be conducted on a rational basis. Second, because to attempt in liberal circles to assert that Trotsky is a counter-revolutionary would only provoke howls of laughter. The liberal (who is also a bourgeois) has a pretty clear picture of what the class lines are. He knows that Trotsky is a revolutionist and blood and bone of the proletariat. It is for this reason, indeed, that so many liberals feel more friendly to Stalin than to Trotsky; Stalin, apostle of the international status quo, is closer to them politically. Cowley can scarcely attempt to peddle the usual Stalinist baldness about Trotsky; for a bourgeois-liberal audience, he requires a different kind of clap-trap.

The usual Stalinist methods are certainly not too low for Cowley. He uses them himself, he solidifies himself with them, outside the pages of the New Republic. The murder and imprisonment of Bolshevik-Leninists in the Soviet Union does not stir him from his complacency. He has never been known to object to thuggery used against "Trotskyites" in America. After the ill-fated Madison Square Garden affair, when John Dos Passes and other writers addressed a letter to the Communist Party protesting against the physical onslaught on the Socialist meeting, Cowley refused to sign the letter or to make any protest. As a member of the editorial board of the Book Union, Cowley countenanced the publication of Barbusse's "Stalin," a combination of fantastic adulation of Stalin and character-assassination of Trotsky that is so repulsive, that even the more sophisticated Stalinists are embarrassed by it. Only a few weeks ago, before the collapse of the Stalinist slander that Trotsky was writing for the least, Cowley was hawking this slander around in literary circles. This is the measure of Cowley. The only reason he does not write as he talks, is that he can't get away with it in the New Republic, and that his usefulness to the Stalinists at this stage lies in "adding" his "outside" voice to theirs.

In a pinch, Cowley will even deny that he is a Communist—meaning that he does not carry a membership card. He is more useful without one.

Character Assassination

Cowley comes on-stage, therefore, with his neutral make-up, on, and regrettably reports that Trotsky's autobiography is a "disappointing book." Why? There then follows an essay portraying a vain peacock, indeed a megalomaniac, a poseur and ham actor—whose name is Trotsky. This approach is calculated to reach an audience of liberals, who have not the information or Marxist standpoint with which to detect Cowley's slyable finger-work.

The attack on a man's character is one which, if plausible, makes a deep impression on liberals. The reason for this is simple enough. In bourgeois politics, the political differences between opposing groups are generally insignificant; and the liberal, is sophisticated enough to realize this fact. His choice in politics narrows down, therefore, to "choosing the best men." And since he will not draw the necessary consequences, the liberal continues to look for men of character even after it has become abundantly evident that his yesterday's choice may be a fine man but must carry out his class role. These considerations make the question of personality profoundly important to the liberal. That is why American capitalist politics is so largely a campaign of character assassination. And that is why Cowley chose this device with which to attack Trotsky.

But to Marxists, Cowley's "portrait" of Trotsky is not only a slander against Trotsky himself but, much more important, it is a slander against the very founda-

tions of revolutionary theory. If what Cowley says about Trotsky were true, then we would have to radically revise our conceptions of the revolutionary process.

Revolutionists hold a very realistic view of the nature of revolutionary leadership. We view democratic control as compatible with the fullest authority in the hands of chosen leaders, and revolutionary advance as only possible when the leaders actually lead the rank and file. It is our contention that so long as democratic control remains alive in the revolutionary party, that party will tend to put its best leadership forward. The revolutionary struggle demands the best leadership available. Under capitalist democracy and fascism, puppets may rule—the leading strings are pulled from behind. But the revolutionary struggle, a struggle conducted by the vanguard of the proletariat, can be waged successfully only under outstanding leadership.

A Titanic Task

The demands made upon revolutionary leaders in the hour of the conquest for power are truly awe-inspiring. To be able to estimate the epoch, the year, the day, almost the hour at which to strike; to drive through the party an acceptance of that estimate; to weaken the opposing forces by every possible method before coming to a test of armed strength; to rally the myriad masses for that test, which lasts not one day or one battle but years of civil war and intervention; to lay the foundations of the workers' state even before the enemy is entirely vanquished; in the midst of civil war to call together the vanguard of the world proletariat and organize the assault on all the citadels of capitalism throughout the world—such were the tasks of the Bolshevik leadership from 1917 to 1923. These tasks could have used supermen; fortunately there were geniuses to do them, men who were intellectual giants and lion-hearted, men selfless enough so that they could be transformed into the embodiment of the historical process. Who was Trotsky? In those heroic six years "Lenin-Trotsky" was the synonym of the revolutionary movement. According to Cowley the man entrusted with these gigantic responsibilities, second only to Lenin's, was a peacock and a mountebank. Is this not the ugliest libel on the revolutionary movement?

An Ugly Libel

"With some people, it is more important to watch their fingers than listen to their arguments," Trotsky once said. Cowley is an example in point. His "portrait" of Trotsky is built up by downright misrepresentation of what Trotsky says. We can take space only for a few choice examples.

"In effect, this book is unjust to Trotsky and makes him seem smaller than life. In effect, it reduces his tragedy to the dimensions of a personal quarrel. This is partly the result of a story that he brings forward to explain his fall from power. It seems that when he was a second-year student in an Odessa high school, the boys 'gave a concert' to an unpopular teacher. A dozen of them were caught and punished, but Trotsky, the bright student, was not suspected. A particularly stupid and disagreeable boy named Danilov was so jealous of his intellectual prestige and so angry at his going scot-free that he accused him of being responsible for the whole affair—and the bright student was expelled, even though several friends came to his defense. 'Such,' Trotsky says, 'was the first political test I underwent.' He believes that the pattern established in Odessa was repeated all through his life, and that Stalin, whom he calls 'the outstanding mediocrity in the Party,' played the same ignominious role as Danilov. Other Bolsheviks helped Stalin because they were becoming self-satisfied Philistines and were made uncomfortable by Trotsky's revolutionary virtue. . . . But most people accept a different explanation of his fall, and one that makes him seem more important. Trotsky originated and refused to abandon the idea of the permanent revolution. . . ." (My emphasis.)

The interested reader will not realize the enormity of Cowley's dishonesty in the above paragraph unless he compares the phrases emphasized with those portions of Trotsky's book which they purport to deal with. Trotsky's book, though couched in the form of an autobiography, gives a great deal of space to the struggle between Leninism and the post-revolutionary reaction and its expression in the theory of "socialism in one country." So much so, indeed, that Trotsky finds it necessary to explain this in the Foreword:

"I have dealt in especial detail with the second period of the Soviet revolution, the beginning of (Continued on Page 3)

LIFE IN STALIN'S PRISONS

Dr. Ciliga Continues Series on Persecution and Political Life of Imprisoned Revolutionists in the Soviet Union

(Continued from Page 1)

trials of wreckers were prepared and organized. One of the men who "confessed" spoke to me as follows: "They kept me in solitary confinement for five months, without newspapers, without tobacco, without my being allowed to receive packages (of food and clothing) or to see my family. I was starved and tortured by loneliness. They kept demanding that I confess myself guilty of acts of wrecking that never took place; I refused to assume responsibility for crimes I never committed—I was afraid of the consequences of such grave self-accusations, but the prosecutor kept assuring me that if I was really for the Soviet power, as I said I was, then I must prove it by deeds: the Soviet power was in need of my confessions, and therefore I must give them. I need not be afraid of the consequences because the Soviet power would take my unreserved confessions into account, and give me an opportunity to work (he was an engineer), and enable me to expiate my sins through work. I would immediately be permitted to receive visits from my family, obtain newspapers and packages, and go out for walks. But if I persisted in remaining stubborn and kept mum, I would be treated ruthlessly and not only find myself subjected to repression but my wife and children would be persecuted as well. . . . For months I refused to capitulate, but then things became so hard, I was so lonely that it seemed to me that the future could hold nothing worse in store. In any case, I became indifferent to everything. Then I proceeded to sign everything the prosecutor demanded."

The consequences? He was immediately permitted to receive newspapers, visits, books, packages, and was transferred to a common cell. The G.P.U. kept its promise. His lot was improved by his false self-accusations (and his accusations of others, although he made no mention of them directly to me). But why does the G.P.U. insist upon forcing such false testimony? Obviously in order to shift the responsibility for the difficulties and failures in the fulfillment of the Five Year Plan from the Government onto the shoulders of the engineers—that is the answer. In this jail I later ran across many similar cases.

In the Leningrad prison I was also treated to the spectacle of people compelled to spend the entire day standing in the corridor before the doors of the prosecutor's office—without food or sleep—subjected to 16-24 hours' grilling in order to force from them "confessions" wanted by the G.P.U.

There is no sense in deluding oneself that these inquisitorial tortures are, if you please, applied only to the representatives of the former ruling classes, or to the bourgeois intelligentsia, and the middle classes. No, they are applied to workers. I saw a sailor who, on being led out from the cell, was several times told that he was going to face the firing squad. He was led out into the yard, and then brought back to the cell.

"After all, you are a worker. We don't want to shoot you down like a White Guard. As a worker you should make a clean breast of it. . . ."

The sailor persisted in refusing to confess. But as a result of these tortures he went half-mad. Then he was left in peace. They insisted that he confess his fictitious participation in a fictitious plot against Stalin. This happened not after the Kirov affair in 1934, but long before, in the year 1930.

Persecution of Chinese

All that I witnessed in the Leningrad prison came as a frightful blow to me. Until then I had the highest regard for the G.P.U. This was another one of the phases which demonstrated to me that the degeneration of the once revolutionary power had gone much further than I had presumed. I immediately protested to the prosecutor against these horrors, tortures, false accusations, and "confessions."

Upon the conclusion of the investigation of my case, I sent a letter to the collegium of the G.P.U. and the C.E.C. of the U.S.S.R., demanding that I be permitted to depart abroad. My communication was left unanswered. There was no need to treat us with ceremony, for we were only representatives of a small Balkan people. Together with my Yugoslav comrade Deditch, I was shipped off to the political prison in the Urals. The question of my returning home was postponed indefinitely. As I found out later, the treatment accorded us was quite "respectable." After all, I was a European, a man, as Hitler would say, belonging to the white race.

But so far as Chinese and all other "Asiatics" are concerned, the present Soviet rulers deal with them much more mercifully: they are generally not

recognized as political prisoners. Thus, for instance, the students, the Communist Oppositionists of the former Chinese University of Sun Yat Sen in Moscow were either shipped to the worst exile areas and into concentration camps where only criminals were sent, or they were simply handed over for extermination to Chiang Kai-shek (they were placed on board of a ship which goes from Vladivostok to Shanghai).

Comrade Deditch and myself were removed from Leningrad in the middle of October. True to its methods, the G.P.U. did not tell us where we were being taken. Only in Chelyabinsk did we learn that our destination was Verkhne-Uralsk. We arrived there on the evening of November 7. Throughout the day, from our car windows, we could observe the October parades, the celebrations in the cities of Trotsky, Magnitogorsk, and other places through which we passed. Everywhere against the sky rose the foundations, walls and chimneys of factories, power plants and industrial giants in process of construction. A new America, cruel and mighty sprouting over one-sixth of the terrestrial globe. . . .

The three of us, all Yugoslavs (comrade Dragulich was brought there three months later) spent 24 years (until May, 1933) in the Verkhne-Uralsk political prison (a political isolator, in Russian terminology). This prison is an old military jail, a structure three stories high on the steppes of the Ural Cossacks. The bottom story of the prison is very cold. One has to wear overshoes and sheepskin throughout the entire winter, sitting in the cells of the first tier. The inside window panes become covered during the night with a thick sheet of ice.

Student Strike

(Continued from Page 1)

Fascism they supported the program which includes a call for "genuine neutrality." Officially, the Communist Party favors legislation pledging the U. S. government to sanctions against the aggressor. But this position was not presented at Cleveland. Similar "inconsistency" is displayed by the Y.C.L. to the American Youth Congress.

In the A.S.U., the Young Communist League has the predominant voice in the national committee. The slogans for the student strike were arrived at in agreement with the Y.C.L.ers on the committee. The result has already been stated.

Pacifism has always been rampant among the students—during peacetime! This pacifism was easily converted into the most frenzied patriotism during the last war. "Rehearsals" for action against war when it breaks along pacifist lines can have only this effect. For the militant struggle against war, pacifist and patriotic slogans and concepts must be rejected. In the concrete situation this implies above all a struggle against the widespread Rooseveltian illusions of the students and the social-patriotic position of the Young Communist League.

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SATURDAY, APRIL 13, 1936

The food is the traditional fare of the poor Russian mouzhik: bread and gruel for dinner and supper, day in and day out, from year to year. In addition we got a tiny portion of bad fish or of canned, and often half-rotten meat. Conflicts broke out several times over the rotten meat. Once a week we were given vinaigrette (a sauce made of vinegar and oil—Ed.). This day was considered a holiday. Two times a year—on May 1 and on November 7—we received a slice of white bread. But even this modest and monotonous fare was given us in inadequate quantities. The portions were slightly increased only after the 18-day hunger strike in 1931. The quality, unfortunately, remained unchanged.

When, in the beginning of 1933, we began reading in the papers about the workers' delegations that were being sent to Germany to visit the prisoners there, we were seized with downright envy! If some workers' delegation or a democratic delegation would only arrive from abroad to pay us a visit, to take a look at what is going on, and observe how we are living in the prisons, concentration camps, and exile! But for some reason or other, the self-same leaders of the foreign working class organization, and the self-same democratic lawyers who grow indignant at any protest against the terrors of Hitler Germany keep quiet and remain unconcerned about measures, quite

similar in nature, taken against workers, peasants and revolutionists in Stalinist Russia.

The Hunger Strikes

In 1931 we went through an 18-day hunger strike in our prison. It passed peacefully, and most of the demands were granted. This was the only case of a peaceful settlement of a conflict. During the 1930 conflict, during one of the harshest winters, in the month of February, the prison administration—the self-same G.P.U.—used the water hose, sprayed the protesting prisoners with ice water, broke the windows, and shut off the heat. During the conflict in 1929, the G.P.U. went even further—after they were doused with water from the hose, the prisoners were bound hand and foot, and in this condition, soaking wet, hog-tied, without any food, they were left lying on the cement floors for three days and three nights—in solitary confinement. Such is the juridical label for these abominations. In the 1934 hunger strike, which was held in protest against the arbitrary automatic and universal extension of the prison terms, the Communist Oppositionists were once again hog-tied and subjected to forced artificial feeding, and then, they were transferred either to concentration camps or to other prisons.

Heavy Casualties Among Prisoners
Several of the imprisoned female

Malcolm Cowley

(Continued from Page 2)

which coincided with Lenin's illness and the opening of the campaign against "Trotskyism." The struggle of the epigones for power, as I shall try to prove, was not merely a struggle of personalities; it represented a new political chapter—the reaction against October, and the preparation of the Thermidor. From this I have so often been asked—"How did you lose power?"—follows naturally." (Pp. v-vi.)

One need but thumb through the book to see that the "personal quarrel" myth is completely exploded by Trotsky; it might be said that the *raison d'être* of the book is to explain the political content of his struggle. It is an out and out fabrication when Cowley says Trotsky brings forward the Odessa school story "to explain his fall from power" and that Trotsky believes that Stalin "played the same ignominious role as Danilov." Trotsky does use terms like "self-satisfied Philistines" in his description of the political effects of the political reaction expressed by Stalin's national Bolshevism; it is crystal-clear in the book what Trotsky is talking about. When Cowley counterposes this with a "different explanation of his fall"—so magnanimously—he is either deliberately lying or he is too ignorant to understand what he is reading.

One further example of Cowley's trickery: "But the least admirable quality he reveals is a vanity that is always striking poses and playing roles," writes Cowley; and as proof he weaves together some incidents in Trotsky's life. Each one distorted sufficiently—by the simple device of describing them in semi-humorous language! If Trotsky makes a forced march in the Civil War back to his main forces, Cowley describes it as "General Phil Sheridan riding twenty miles to Winchester." If Trotsky is forcibly carried into exile, Cowley has him "carried downstairs kicking and squirming." So that, having painted a picture at his own sweet will, Cowley can sagely conclude: "In all these episodes there is a mixture of profound drama with actor's parade, and sometimes with actor's parade in circumstances that make it seem trivial and unpleasant." Truly, Cowley is just an honest judge who discovers that Trotsky's "personality seems less sympathetic than the reader had expected." Expected!

The above examples of Cowley's method must suffice. That method is not peculiar to him, but is employed by other Stalinist intellectuals when writing in liberal publications. Louis Fischer uses it; so do others who write for The Nation and the New Republic.

Who was defeated when Trotsky was defeated? Only Trotsky, apparently. In Cowley's estimation. Yet his own few sentences on this point (if Cowley understood them he would never have written them) indicate the true answer. "The revolution in Western Europe was checked in 1923, with the failure of the last German uprisings. In 1927, when the Chinese revolution was also suppressed, most Russians decided that their only hope was to develop socialism in their own country. Trotsky the internationalist was thus defeated by events in Shanghai and Berlin." Not only

Trotsky; the world proletariat was also defeated. Brandler's policy of 1923, Bordin's policy of 1927,—this was the policy of Stalin based on the "theory of socialism in one country"; Cowley can scarcely be expected to know—he knows so few things about the revolutionary movement—that Stalin's policy was already formulated in those days, and not after 1927. "Today his tragic burden is that he has been defeated by historical forces," Cowley says of Trotsky. Yes, the world proletariat has been defeated by "historical forces," but Stalinism is the "historical force" which made that defeat possible.

One wonders whether Cowley realizes how much he is revealing when he writes: Trotsky "has not only been expelled bodily from the country he helped to win, but also pointed out of its pictures and deleted from its schoolbooks." We know that these Stalinist methods are commenced by Cowley, who is one of the editorial sponsors of the book, written along the specifications of painting out the picture of Trotsky from the October Revolution, signed by Barbusse. Does Cowley understand the implications of this method of struggle against "Trotskyism"? What does it mean, when the Stalinists cannot meet Trotsky's arguments on the level of logical argument? When they try to conceal from the Soviet population not only Trotsky's ideas, but even his historical achievements? When prison or worse is the punishment for speaking or writing that Trotsky is not a counter-revolutionary? When such methods are employed against proletarian opponents in the nineteenth year of the revolution? Has it ever dawned upon Cowley that there is no warrant for the Stalinist pogrom-tactics in Marxist-Leninist theory? Does he know that they are as alien as is Fascism to the revolutionary tradition? But Cowley knows nothing; he only knows that he stands with Stalin, and anything that is good enough for Stalin is good enough for him. Just let Cowley know the line.

This, the reader will say, sounds more like the task of a policeman who must enforce the law, than the role of the critic whose intellectual duty is to analyze and interpret. Yes, it does sound like a policeman; and Cowley by natural inclination, past training and present allegiance, functions in the pages of the New Republic as a literary cop. He is a minion of the law of Stalin—a cop patrolling his beat in the book review section of the New Republic with ready-made memoranda drawn up for him by his Stalinist masters. Like most of the beef-eaters patrolling our streets, in a simpler world he would have been a farmer, suspicious of the ways of city folk, good with cattle, simple and content so long as the seasons kept their appointed rounds, but sullen and savage when perplexed by a problem. In our world he is a prize exhibit of the kind of "intellectual" who has been won by the Communist Party. They can use no others.

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WORLD OF LABOR

Polish Bund Flays Stalinists for Pogrom Intimidation Against 4th Internationalists

By JOHN G. WRIGHT

POLAND

The Polish C.P. has not been behind-hand in following out the social-patriotic line of Stalinist diplomacy, and of the Seventh World Congress of the C. I. The Polish Stalinists run second to none when it comes to proclaiming the love they feel for their Polish Fatherland, and their readiness to defend its frontiers against "foreign aggressors." The real enemies of the Polish people, according to the Stalinists (who masquerade under the name of "Lefts"), is a small gang of Fascist plotters at the head of the Government who are bent on selling Poland to Hitler and his Nazis.

As elsewhere, so in Poland, too, the Stalinist social-patriotic campaign, their beating of the drums for a "People's Front" is accompanied by a vile campaign of slander against the most consistent opponents of the Stalinist treachery in Poland as elsewhere—the "Trotskyists." Upon the entry of the "Trotskyists" into the Bund and into the Polish Socialist Party, the Polish Stalinists have "redoubled their efforts."

Under the heading: "The Campaign against the 'Trotskyists'." The Volkszeitung, the Warsaw organ of the Bund (March 11, 1936) takes cognizance of the most recent piece of Stalinist abomination, a circular issued by the Warsaw C.E.C. of the Communist Youth and addressed to the students, and the working class youth, on the subject of . . . the "Trotskyists."

The Volkszeitung article begins with the statement that the Bund has always looked upon the "Trotskyists" as a part of the international proletarian movement (even though small numerically). The writer then goes on to comment as follows:

"We have always viewed with astonishment and deep concern (not to use a harsher term) the bitter, arbitrary and venomous struggle that the Stalinists have waged against the small groups of Trotskyists. One might have imagined that after the Comintern had changed its approach towards the non-Communist movements, the Stalinists would also modify their struggle against the Trotskyists; that an end would be put to the previous venomous methods of struggle which they have directed against this group. Just the opposite has been the case. Not only has there been no modification in the struggle against the Trotskyists, but, on the contrary, it has been made still sharper—if that is conceivable."

"We have before us a circular signed by the Warsaw C.E.C. of the Y.C.L., addressed to the students and the working class youth, and devoted entirely to the 'Trotskyists.' We have no intentions of reprinting in the columns of our paper the flowers of this circular: we refuse to do the authors of this circular such a favor. Everyone who has had the occasion to read it, and who is not afflicted with Stalinist myopia, has had to agree that its contents cannot be appraised otherwise than as an incitation to a program against the Trotskyists."

"While this mimeographed circular has been read by a few, there are, however, many who have had the opportunity to hear Stalinist speeches or to read the so-called 'Left' publications. And they, too, have been compelled to recognize that what the 'Lefts' permit themselves in relation to the Trotskyists is absolutely unheard-of! Twisted quotations, the most senseless remarks, abusive epithets—all these do not quite exhaust the entire arsenal of 'weapons' they employ against the Trotskyists."

The writer of the article then points out of the Stalinists that the Trotskyists, who are members of the Bund, have not only obligations towards the party, but that the party has also a duty towards them: "We, therefore, hold it necessary in stress that in addition to the right to defend their views full-

culture and trade. These concessions were liquidated, by and large, during the period of the Five Year Plan, after which there was established in Russia the system of far-flung bureaucratic state-capitalism in the domain of economy, supported by a regime of Bonapartism in the sphere of politics.

Because of these views I left the "collective of the left Bolshevik-Leninists," and became one of the initiators of the unification of the so-called ultra-Left groupings. This unification took place only after my departure from Verkhne-Uralsk. "The Federation of left Communist" (consisting of extreme left Bolshevik-Leninists, a section of the D.C.ers, Workers' Opposition, followers of Myasnikov) was organized there. This Federation numbered 25 people. The re-united organization of the Bolshevik-Leninists consisted of 140. A section of the D.C.ers and "independents" remained outside both these united groups.

(To be continued in next issue)

ly in the ranks of our party, our comrades are entitled to one other right, namely, the right to be defended by the party!"

Should any member of the Bund fall in his obligations to the organization, he must be called to account. He will be judged but not "in accordance with reports carried by the 'Left' papers."

(From the tenor of the remarks in the Volkszeitung article, it is clear that the Polish Stalinists have appointed themselves as spies to switch on the "disloyal acts" of the Trotskyists who have entered the Bund.)

The writer disclaims any knowledge of disloyalty on the part of the Trotskyists. He points out to the Stalinists that the Bund is "not a barracks," and that differences of opinion are permissible in its ranks, "because in our party every member has the right to defend whatever views he deems to be correct."

In any case, the manner in which the Trotskyists deport themselves is purely the internal business of the Bund, for the latter to decide, and not for the Stalinists.

The article concludes with the following warning:

"We will not tolerate any attempt on any body's part to conduct an incitation to a pogrom against them (i.e., the 'Trotskyists')."

Appropriately enough, the Stalinists are unfolding their pogrom campaign against the Trotskyists practically at the same time that that Polish Fascists are intensifying their anti-semitic propaganda, and staging actual pogroms against the Jews. A monster protest strike against this Fascist drive was held on March 17, in Warsaw.

The rising tide of reaction in Poland is, naturally enough, accompanied by a violent drive against the living standard of the workers. A wave of strikes has been spreading through Poland for the last two months (since February).

Early in March, the struggle of the textile workers in the city of Lodz, and the surrounding region, developed into a general strike in that area. The Warsaw textile workers were prepared to come out also, but the strike was shortly settled.

Sporadic outbursts elsewhere, among the chocolate workers, the taxi drivers, the miners, etc. have been flaring. All these struggles are purely defensive in character. Thus, 500 miners struck at the state mines near Cracow, remaining underground, because the Government introduced a two day lay-off per month.

At Lodz the textile workers struck to compel the manufacturers to abide by the contracts signed in 1933. The General Strike was called off after the manufacturers promised "to maintain the terms of the agreement," and also to preserve the 46 hour week, as well as to "mitigate the methods of introducing rationalization" into the industry.

The Warsaw organ of the P.P.S., Robotnik, stated, in commenting upon the settlement of the Lodz strike, that it was "quite a success."

A week after the supposed settlement of the strike, the papers reported that in the Lodz area, 800 small textile mills were still out on strike, together with 3,500 knit-goods workers.

The police methods throughout Poland have been unprecedented in their brutality. The friction between the workers and the police came to a head in Cracow, where more than 10,000 workers demonstrated on March 23 against the harsh police methods used on March 20, in the city of Cracow, against striking workers.

The demonstration was staged despite the strict police orders prohibiting it. When the police charged, the demonstrators erected wooden barricades. The struggle lasted the entire afternoon. The police charged with drawn sabers, and from the first opened fire. Eight demonstrators were killed on the spot. More than fifty were wounded, including several women. Two of the wounded died in the hospital. The brutality and ruthlessness of the police aroused the Cracow workers to a fighting pitch. And when a few days later, the funeral procession took place, thousands marched in the procession, a hundred thousand lined the streets, and the police were conspicuous by their absence.

The brutality in Cracow has stirred the workers of Poland as few events have to recent months. But there has been no mitigation in the offensive of the bosses against the living standards of the workers.

So far as can be gathered from the reports, all the struggles of recent months have been under the leadership or with the active participation of the Bund and the Polish Socialist Party. Hundreds of socialists were arrested during the Cracow events, as well as in the various strikes.

Analysis of the Akron Strike And the Role of the C.I.O.

By A. J. MUSTE

The analysis of the recent strike in the Goodyear Tire and Rubber plants in Akron centers about three points: the role and temper of the strikers themselves; the role of union officials and in particular John L. Lewis's Committee for Industrial Organization; and that of the working-class political parties and groups.

In tackling the Goodyear Company, the strikers were pitting their forces against the biggest of the tire and rubber companies, which had one of the oldest, and until the recent strike most "successful" company unions, and which had very important connections with big corporations in steel and other industries. Thus Tom Girdler of Republic Steel is on the Goodyear board of directors and offered his strike-breaking troops to Goodyear. On the other hand, the intensely competitive situation existing in the industry was favorable to the strikers in that Goodyear could not afford to lose business to other companies. From another standpoint it was this very competitive situation leading the companies to devise means to cut labor costs which brought the combination of wage-cuts, speed-up, increased hours and lay-offs by the Goodyear Company against which the workers revolted.

Vigilantes Crushed

The militancy and solidarity of the Goodyear strikers marked the high point in the class struggle for 1936 and in some respects for the entire recent period in American labor history. Before the Goodyear men were assured of support even from their own local and international union, they closed down the Goodyear plant and militantly and successfully defied an injunction. Immediately thereafter the workers in the Firestone and Goodrich plants and in most of the other industries in Akron as well as the Project Workers Union were mobilized. They were set to pour out of the plants on mass and institute a general strike at any attempt by any agency to break the Goodyear picket line by force. When in one of the last weeks of the strike, the company inspired the organization of a vigilante organization on a large scale and publicly appealed for violence against the strikers and their leaders, six thousand strikers gathered on the picket line openly armed with clubs and other weapons and challenged the vigilantes to do their worst. After all their loud talk, the so-called "forces of law and order" decided that their aim was simply to rally public opinion for an early settlement of the strike. The strikers maintained their ranks and their spirit to the very end. Whatever was gained, in the strike, and that was considerable, was gained because of this.

Role of C.I.O.

The role of Lewis's Committee for Industrial Organization in the Akron strike, as in other situations in this period, was not a simple one and no simple and completely final estimate of it is possible. There is, on the one hand, no question that the C.I.O. made contributions to the strike. The moral influence of its support counted for a good deal. The trained organizers sent into Akron by the Committee had an important share in building up the excellent strike organization. The fact of C.I.O. endorsement doubtless helped in getting financial support from union bodies throughout the country, though that given by the C.I.O. and the unions affiliated with it was utterly insignificant.

There is, however, much to be said on the other side. The C.I.O. came out in support of the strike only after the workers had shut down the plant. It made no effort, although repeatedly urged to do so by militant strikers, to extend the strike to Goodyear plants in other cities, an elementary step. By speech and action C.I.O. representatives sought to tone down rather than capitalize to the utmost upon the militancy of the Akron workers. They agreed to permit fires to be moved out of the plant though the strikers were against it and there is every reason to believe that railroad men would not have moved any freight cars if a picket line had been maintained across the tracks.

An Agency for Roosevelt
That the C.I.O. is an agency for rallying Roosevelt support from among the unions and the workers generally has been openly demonstrated since the close of the Akron strike with the organization by Lewis, Hillman, Berry, etc., of the Non-Partisan Labor Committee. The Akron strike furnished an illustration of the equivocal role to which this leads in strike situations. It is generally understood that the "influence" of Lewis and other trade unionists with Roosevelt had an important bearing on keeping the militia out of Akron—in an elec-

Industrial Unionism in Mass Production Industry

tion year in a key state. But this means, for one thing, that in "gratitude" votes are to be corralled for Roosevelt and for another thing that the strikers must be restrained so that the politicians may plausibly contend that there is really no need for calling out the militia. Obviously, too, it is fantastic to suppose that labor leaders who base themselves upon Roosevelt can possibly push employers in the basic industries to a settlement that costs them anything. And this point is of crucial importance in considering the strike settlements which the C.I.O. will support or be "forced" to make in situations like Akron.

The McGrady Arbitration

Now the C.I.O. was prepared to accept the McGrady arbitration proposed at the beginning of the strike. The effect of accepting it would unquestionably have been a betrayal of the strike. The role of the C.I.O. representatives in the March 14 "settlement" which was rejected is not wholly clear. That is not the case with regard to the March 21 terms, the acceptance of which brought the strike to an end.

Admittedly these terms were an improvement on those of the previous week. Admittedly also they did not offer the strikers even that minimum (of assurance, for example, that Goodyear would no longer finance the company union, nor recognize its representatives) which they had laid down in a compromise proposal from which already certain important demands had been eliminated, the previous week. It is also a matter of public record that the C.I.O. representatives suddenly launched the most vigorous, even feverish, public activity in order to get the strikers to vote for the acceptance of these terms and so wind up the strike. If the C.I.O. opposed acceptance of the March 14 terms, it has to explain what induced it to make such frantic efforts to put over only slightly improved terms a week later. There is not the slightest indication of any important change during that interval either in the general objective situation or in the temper of the strikers. In the effort to put over the March 21 terms the C.I.O. representatives who had themselves been the object of C. Nelson Sparks's "red scare" campaign during the week put on a "red scare" against the Workers Party, Communist Party, "radicals" generally and the present writer by name, stooping lower than A.F. of L. reactionaries have ever gone in similar situations in which I have been involved by saying to reporters that I must be acting for a strike-break-

ing agency which just wanted the strike prolonged so as to make money by cracking workers' heads. It was in such an atmosphere of hysteria that the strikers voted to accept the March 21 terms and ended the strike, after the more militant elements among them had criticized the terms and indicated their preference for continuing the fight, but stated their readiness to accept joyfully whatever decision might be taken by the majority.

Now in the first place any child can see that the terrific effort that was required, the barrage that had to be laid down in public and private, to put the settlement over disposes completely of the argument that either the general run of strikers or the more conscious, militant elements were tired or discouraged or for whatever reason wanted to get back to work on pretty much any terms.

How the Agreement Carried

Secondly, it disposes of the argument that the terms themselves were so clear and so desirable from the strikers' point of view that any criticism or opposition could spring only from dense ignorance or actual treason to the union. The Rubber Workers officials and the C.I.O. were able to put them over only by taking a vote in an atmosphere of hysteria and without giving the strikers a minute for real study of the terms. Two large sheets of mimeographed material of a very complicated nature were handed them as they came to the meeting where the vote had to be taken, and this in spite of the fact that the strikers had been told two days before that they would be given several days to study the proposals.

One argument that has been presented by defenders of the C.I.O. role is that funds were low, money for feeding strikers was running out and the strikers were afraid to go on under these circumstances. One unwillingly admits the audacity of the cynicism that is implied here. It is generally agreed that the C.I.O. with some of the mightiest unions in the country attached to it gave a paltry few thousand dollars to the strike fund. Let us restrain any indignation which the situation might occasion, and simply observe that no group which thinks that the employers in the basic industries in this country can be licked on the basis of putting a few thousand dollars into a strike against Goodyear Tire and Rubber involving fifteen thousand workers can expect to be taken seriously.

Timidity of Local Leaders

Still another argument used by the defenders of the C.I.O. role is that the local and national officials of the Rubber Workers Union were weak and timid, did not want a vigorous and large-scale struggle, would not ask for money which had virtually been put at their disposal. If they had only followed the

wishes and the lead of the C.I.O. much more might have been won. It takes our credulity to pretty near the breaking point to believe this. An organization with prestige and money offers a victory and a union to a group of new and ambitious union leaders on a silver platter, and the latter decline the gift!

But let us assume there is some basis for the argument, then what follows? That these weak-kneed leaders and their course must be backed up by the kind of red-baiting campaign Germer of the C.I.O. along with Burns of the Rubber Workers launched in the closing hours of the strike? That the "beat" must be turned on as was done, on the militants among the strikers to force them against their will to accept this situation? Obviously, if the job of organizing the basic industries is to be taken seriously, then in such a crisis a (supposedly) genuine and competent leadership must find means of rallying the masses as against a false and incompetent leadership. We may surmise that John L. Lewis who still maintains arbitrary provisional presidencies under his own direct control in most of the soft coal districts of the U.M.W. is not likely to see eye to eye with the rank and file or insurgents as against officials in such situations. But that is another reason for concluding that he cannot be relied upon to see the job of organization in the basic industries through.

There is but one logical conclusion. Whether in so many words or not, Lewis's real master, i.e., Roosevelt and the interests and forces which he represents made it clear: "This thing has gone far enough. Goodyear is giving all it will give without a regular fight. That we will not stand for. We will not hold back the militia any longer. Wind it up at any cost." And when it was wound up the rubber companies, Goodyear included, had the 36 to 40 hour week although only a month before a U.S. Department of Labor Committee had stated flatly that there was no excuse for the abandonment of the 30 hour week. Furthermore, the companies laid the basis for recouping any losses and fattening profits by an increase in the price of their product!

Parties in the Strike

Finally a word about the role of political parties and groups. The local S.P. in Akron is small and attempted no distinctive role. The S.P. leaders in Akron were attached to the C.I.O. and played no independent part.

The Stalinists had some influence on some of the militant rank and files. When the "red-baiting" started in the closing hours of the strike, the Stalinist representatives took to crawling on their bellies before the union bureaucrats in the abject manner which has become so familiar by now and so easy for them. They declared unceremoniously for the settlement terms before seeing them and laid any opposition that was being voiced at the door of "crazy Trotskyists." This, despite the fact that one who reads between the lines of the Daily Worker articles following the strike, gets even there a confirmation of every criticism we have made in this article. In exchange the C.P. received an "apology" from Vice President Burns of the Rubber Workers Union for having included them among the critics of his course. To date they seem not yet to have gotten a similar public vote of confidence from John L. Lewis or even from Adolph Germer but perhaps these will also be obtained eventually—for a price!

The Workers Party group in Akron has for two years been in close touch with the militants among the rubber workers. Throughout they played a highly creditable part in the strike in line with the policies sketched in this article. The Akron strike, like all the recent strike struggles, demonstrated the key position of a group of progressives and militants including conscious revolutionary elements. The better organization of these elements is a crying need.

To summarize: Militants must make every use that can be made of the C.I.O. They rightly support any specific correct measure for which the C.I.O. may stand, for example industrial as against craft unionism. At no time can they simply uncritically identify themselves with the C.I.O. or foster the illusion that the C.I.O. as such can be trusted to carry through the terrific struggles which we are bound to see in the basic industries.

The solidarity and militancy displayed by the Goodyear strikers and their fellow-workers in Akron achieved substantial results. They tied up the great Goodyear plants, they smashed an injunction. They made a farce out of the vigilante movement. They forced Goodyear to negotiate with a union committee. They won some concessions in the settlement. They laid the foundation of a union, having proved to themselves that they could stick together and fight. They are carrying their struggle forward now in the plants—well aware that the fight has not ended but has just begun in real earnest.

Unification of the Unemployed and the Task Ahead

(Continued from Page 1)

tions, politics in general, can or should be excluded from the organization of the unemployed or of any other group of workers. It would be even more absurd to try this among the jobless than almost anywhere else. For, whereas the average trade unionist directly confronts his "individual boss" every day in the week and the "political state" only infrequently, the unemployed worker faces the "political state"—the government—every single day of his life. This important fact, stressed by more than one delegate to the convention, should be enough to indicate how exceptionally preposterous it would be to attempt to rule out "political questions" in such a movement—be they questions of capitalist politics, the capitalist government, or working class politics.

The convention was divided, so to speak, into two parts. The first was devoted to the sessions of the old Workers Alliance, which culminated in all intents and purposes when the resolution in favor of unity was adopted by an overwhelming majority of the votes. The second part was participated in by all the fusing groups and it was here that the elections of the officers and the National Executive Board and the adoption of resolutions took place. Apart from the fact that every single session was presided over by the same chairman—a custom which we do not find healthy or fitting in the labor movement—there were other features of the convention which revealed what we consider its essential and very serious weakness: the absence of firm, consistent and well-prepared guidance. With the exception of the question of unification itself, on which the leadership of the W.A.A. took a positive and generally correct stand, its sails were set in such a manner on virtually every other convention question that they could be blown by winds from almost any direction.

What the Stalinists Wanted

With the bulk of the National Unemployed League having merged into the Workers Alliance even prior to the general amalgamation, the essential problem before the convention boiled down to the fusion between the Alliance, led by militants of the Socialist Party, and the Unemployment Councils, led by the Stalinists.

Now, although only a reactionary would oppose unification with the Councils because they are headed by Stalinists, at the same time only a miraculously naïve person would throw prudence and vigilance to the winds when effecting such a unification. For a grown-up person to be taken in by the pious humility and amicableness of Benjamin, who represented the Councils, is really inexcusable. The Stalinists are motivated in their conduct by the interests of the unemployed to approximately the same extent that the writer is motivated in his actions by his concern over the flora and fauna of sunken Atlantis.

To put the matter bluntly and squarely, the Stalinists today see in the movement of the unemployed—as in every other movement—(1) a vehicle for the formation of their fraudulent "Farmer-Labor" or "People's" party, and (2) a recruiting ground for the war of "good, peace-loving" imperialists against the "bad, bellicose" imperialists, presumably in the interests of the "defense" of the Soviet Union. That is why their energies were bent so exclusively towards committing the new organization to their views on these subjects, or preventing commitments to contrary views, and to further these ends, towards obtaining as firm—even if anonymous—a measure of control of the new organization as

APRIL ISSUE OF THE NEW INTERNATIONAL IS OUT

Articles by Trotsky, Sidney Hook and many others. A criticism by George Soule, editor of the New Republic, and a reply by George Novack. "Will Roosevelt be Re-elected?" by John West; "What is this Business Revival?" by Arne Swabeck; and much other material.

Order from The New International, 55 East 11th Street, New York, N. Y.

IMPORTANT NOTICE

Maurice Spector will speak on the "Changing Line-up in European Diplomacy," dealing specifically with the question of "Sanctions," at Irving Plaza Hall, 8 P.M. Sunday, May 3. THERE WILL BE NO MEETING ON SUNDAY, APRIL 26.

A Report of the Recent Convention at Washington

the relationship of forces and their renowned skill at manipulation would permit.

'Militants' Disorganized
To the extent that the organization of the unemployed must deal with such problems—and it is impossible and incorrect to avoid them entirely—it was the job of the progressive elements in the convention to counter the tactics of the Stalinists. More easily said than done, however!

The Stalinists came to the convention in the usual manner. They were prepared in advance to act on every question, and what is more, to act as one man. In a word, they were a disciplined political force. The same cannot be said of the Socialists. Except for Lieberman of Pittsburgh and one or two others, the Old Guard of the S.P. was not even represented at the convention (work among the lowly jobless is hardly a dignified occupation for a respectable social democrat!). But while the bulk of the Socialists in the W.A.A. are supporters, in the S.P., of the Militants, and even count among the best Left wing elements, there was no noticeable unity, and certainly no efficiency in action, in their conduct during the convention.

No Unity in Action at Meet

On these questions in which the Stalinists are vitally interested—and rightly so; everybody else should also be—such as the Farmer-Labor party, the C.P. representatives showed both aggressiveness and unity. Barring isolated cases, the representatives of the S.P. showed neither quality. It was evident to the observer that not only did the S.P. Militants at the convention display a deplorable lack of unity of opinion (which is far from a vice, providing the prevailing opinion is a correct one), but what is worse, this lack of harmonious view was translated on the convention floor, in negotiation committees and in other committees, into a lack of unity in action—that is, into an absence of discipline.

The entirely proper sentiments of many of the S.P. Militants to organize a unity of action, while it resulted in remedying conditions in some measure, did not prove sufficiently effective in attaining that necessary level of discipline particularly demanded by the presence of the organized Stalinist phalanx.

The Farmer-Labor Party

We limit ourselves to a few illustrations.

There were really three views represented in the convention on the "Farmer-Labor" party: the familiar Stalinist view; the S.P. Militants' view in favor of a "genuine" Farmer-Labor party but not in 1936; and the revolutionary Marxian view held by many of the delegates of the former National Unemployed League. Aroused out of their hypocritical meekness when the question arose toward the very end of the convention, the Stalinists stormed and shouted from floor and platform in favor of their standpoint. A few Socialists also took the floor for contradictory speeches in line with their own views. But the representatives of the third tendency sought in vain for even the five minutes allotted to discussion speakers.

Important for our theme, however, is the fact that, leaving apart the principle differences we have with the Militants on the question of the F.L.P., they are entirely correct in their resistance to any commitments that would tie them to the life of a Stalinist Farmer-Labor Party hoax in the 1936 elections. Nevertheless, even though they were presumably a minority in the convention, the Stalinists virtually shouted through a "substitute motion" by their spokesman, Weisman, worded in such a manner as to leave the door wide open for the C.P. agents in the W.A.A. to maneuver the organization into precisely the position the Socialists do not want to take. How? Mainly because the Stalinists acted on the rule of every man as one, while the Socialists acted mainly on the rule of every man for himself.

The War Question

Similarly on the question of war. With trifling exceptions in formulation, the resolution originally drafted by some of the Militants in the W.A.A. was flawless from a working class standpoint. It pledged the organization not to support the capitalist government of the U.S. in any war it may undertake, regardless of who its allies may be.

Now, this last clause is far from a trifle, for if you wish, it is around this "trifle" that the Stalinists are already recruiting troops for

French imperialism. Are the Stalinists against imperialist war? Absolutely! They will vote against it any day in the week and twice on Lenin's birthday. But, if the imperialist government fights a war against another imperialist government in alliance with the Soviet Union, then, do you see, it is no longer an imperialist war. Or, if the "capitalist" government is allied with the Soviets in a war against another "capitalist" government, the former somehow ceases to be "quite" a capitalist government and its war is not "quite" a capitalist war.

Is this merely a question of petty factional bickering between Stalinists and Marxists? If it is, then at the same time it involves nothing less than the life of the labor movement, and literally, the lives of millions of workers in the world war to come. It is such a "trifle" that the hawk-eyed Stalinists promptly pounced upon it, with the result that the phrase underlined above was deleted from the final draft of the resolution. The Stalinists were vigilant, aggressive, organized. The Militants were not, with the result that they ceded ground where they had no need to, where they should, instead, have advanced.

The "Independents"

The contrast of firmness and looseness, manifested in these two situations, was not absent in other convention fields. The Councils acted as a unit, as did the C.P. stooge organizations in the so-called "independent caucuses" which was rigged and framed with all the expertness that comes from years of Stalinist training. The W.A.A. acted like anything but a unit in the convention, and the S.P. Militants acted like anything but a unit in the W.A.A. Result: the work of the Stalinists was facilitated, both politically and organizationally. Even flagrant (and characteristic) acts of disloyalty of the Stalinists—such as was involved in the violation of agreement made on representation from the "independent caucuses"—could not be counteracted by the unorganized Socialists.

This is not only an indication of the road that must still be travelled by the Left wing in the Socialist Party—a road which the presence at the convention of splendid rank and file workers gives high promise that they will take. But it is also a matter which justifies apprehensions about the course which the Stalinists will take in the immediate period to follow, during which arrangements are to be completed for the holding of various unification conventions on state-wide scales. A repetition of what happened in Washington, on an even more injurious scale, is inevitable, unless its lessons are learned and steps are taken accordingly.

The N.U.L. Delegation

A word remains to be said about the ranks of the former N.U.L. Its delegation of close to 100 men and women from the field made an impressive showing, especially by the side of the financially—infinitely more resourceful Stalinist Councils, whose convention had only a score more in attendance. A lamentable contrast to this showing was made by Arnold Johnson, former national secretary of the N.U.L., and belated convert to Stalinism after months of postulations of fealty to the Fourth International. Despite all the C.P. support and Daily Worker bullyhoo behind him, Johnson was only able to muster a good baker's dozen from nowhere in particular for his "convention," which promptly dissolved into the "Independent caucuses." The business meeting of the former N.U.L., after a report by a special investigating committee which heard both Johnson and the loyal officers (Ramaglia, McKinney, Selander), voted unanimously to endorse the action of the officers mentioned in removing Johnson from office in the emergency he had created, and in joining forces with the Workers Alliance.

The delegates present at the N.U.L. convention could count themselves among the most devoted and experienced front-line fighters in the movement of the unemployed, and for that matter, in the labor movement generally. Their entry into the ranks of the united organization, reinforced by the election onto the new National Executive Board of such well-known militants as Ted Selander of Toledo and Sam Gordon of Allentown, brings to the merged movement the best of the traditions of the National Unemployed League, the best of its fighters, its experience, its ranks—constituting, all together, one, and not the least, of the guarantees for the great future of aggressive struggle that the new Alliance has before it.

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Down Tools May First! Demonstrate Against War and for Workers Republic

Seamens Struggle Settled

West Coast Unions Retreat, But Employers Aims are Spiked

By ARNE SWABECH

An intense struggle of wide ramifications, precipitated by the open national shipping companies and waterfront employers associations, and involving issues of life or death to the Pacific Coast maritime unions, has come to an end by joint agreement. The unions found themselves compelled to make a retreat; but the shipping companies were frustrated in their openly avowed aims to overturn the present militant leadership, which was to be only a preliminary to the complete smashing of the unions. One may be sure, however, that these waterfront employers have not at all abandoned their aims. They are biding their time for a new opportunity. This epic struggle has come to an end only for the time being.

It was long protracted, bitterly contested, at times smoldering, then out in the open and finally coming to a head during the last couple of weeks. Its wide ramifications involve many seemingly side issues which are nevertheless all interwoven to form one of the intense dramas so typical of the American labor movement. Leaving aside for the moment the great San Francisco general strike, which constitutes the background for the more recent events, it is necessary to mention only such outstanding questions as:

Five Outstanding Questions

Firstly: the hearings now taking place before Secretary of the Department of Commerce Roper and Secretary of the Dept. of Labor, Perkins, on the case of the sailors from the Panama Pacific liner California, whom Secretary Roper charged with insubordination and mutiny when they struck for their demands.

Secondly: the case of a crew released 70 years ago during recon-

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Red Scare Is Raised In Tampa

Mimeograph Machine Becomes Threat to "Civilization"

By SIDNEY HERTZBERG

BARTOW, Fla., April 19 — A humble and somewhat dilapidated mimeograph machine with two important parts missing became the slurs or weapon with which "our Anglo-Saxon civilization" was to be destroyed when Pat Whitaker, chief counsel for the defense in the Tampa kidnaping murder trials, definitely revealed last week that he would use the cry of communism to justify the acts of the seven former Tampa policemen now on trial for the false arrest and kidnaping of Eugene F. Poudnot, Chairman of the Florida Workers Alliance.

The particular segment of civilization that Whitaker is striving to preserve is usually guarded by the Klu Klux Klan, an organization of torturers and executioners that exerts its civilizing influence on barbarians who try to organize exploited citrus workers, phosphate miners, longshoremen or unemployed.

The Klan was performing this function last November 30 when police raided a home in Tampa, arrested six men who were writing the by-laws of the Modern Democrats, a new progressive political coalition, and mercilessly flogged three of them. Joseph Shumaker tied off the flogging.

Through the combined efforts of labor, socialist, religious and civil liberties organizations, this brutal power has been challenged; and now, for the first time in the history of Florida, the Klu Klux Klan is standing trial.

The questioning of ventriloquists and the first three days of testimony have clearly indicated the defense tactics Whitaker intends to follow.

He has revived a sedition law passed 70 years ago during recon-

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On the 50th Anniversary of May Day

AN EDITORIAL

THE tradition of May Day is a tradition of militant mass action. On this day the proletarian prisoners of capitalism assert their right to act as free men and women. Defying the discipline of their bosses, all class-conscious workers lay down their tools; quit their places at the machine; and emerge from factory and workshop to assemble in unified ranks with their comrades in the streets. The masses who march on May Day herald the time when they will storm the Bastille of capitalism; overthrow their exploiters and oppressors; and construct the socialist society that will usher in a new epoch of peace and progress for all mankind.

The holiday of workers the world over, May Day has a special significance for the American working class. Here the idea of setting aside the day as the workers' own was first proposed. Here on May Day, 1886 thousands of workers thronged the streets in a mighty demonstration for the eight-hour day, a warning flash of proletarian power so terrifying that it drove the magnates of capital to inflict their brutal retaliation upon the martyrs of Haymarket.

This May Day marks the fiftieth anniversary of that memorable demonstration. There could be no more appropriate occasion to review the results of labor's struggle for emancipation; to celebrate its victories; and, above all, to assimilate the lessons of its defeats.

"Proletarian revolutionists," wrote Marx, "criticize themselves ceaselessly and interrupt themselves constantly in their own course. They return to what has already been accomplished in order to begin it again and deride with ruthless thoroughness the half-heartedness, weakness, and wretchedness of their first attempts. They appear to throw their adversary to the ground only in order that he should draw renewed strength from the earth and rise again still more powerfully before them. They recoil again and again from the uncertain and tremendous nature of their own aims until a situation is created which makes retreat impossible and the circumstances themselves cry out: 'Hic Rhodus, hic salta!'"

The prophetic insight of these words, written in 1851, has been confirmed a hundred times over in the history of the revolutionary movement of the past fifty years. What a terribly steep and winding mountain road the proletariat has had to travel during that period! Every advance toward its goal of liberation from wage-slavery has been followed by a corresponding retreat; for every two steps forward the movement has been compelled to take one step backward. Whole generations have exhausted their energies and expended their blood in the struggle. Three international organizations, and now a fourth, have been needed to lead the working class in its campaign against the citadels of world capitalism.

And yet, tortuous and as the ascent has been, in spite of the severe setbacks suffered time and again, the labor movement has gone steadily forward. The ground lost after each defeat has been recovered in the next assault—and more added. Capitalist society is doomed.

Each of the three Internationals represents a landmark in the historical progress of the working class. Each has given its name and political program to a particular epoch. Each has in its turn lifted the revolutionary vanguard to a higher level of organization, theory, and struggle, and then collapsed—with the exception of the First—under the colossal burdens of leadership imposed upon them.

The First International gave to the rising proletariat for the first time a scientific program of revolution and a world banner. The crushing of the Paris Commune, the immaturity of the working class, and its lack of a mass base led to its collapse. Its successor reunited the scattered sections of the working class during the Golden Age of imperialist expansion into a powerful international body, numbering millions of members, and prepared them for joint action against their exploiters.

But when the imperialist war exploded, the opportunism which had been ripening within the upper circles of the Second International bore its bitter fruit. Overnight the leaders of the Social Democracy turned into social-patriots and dragged the disoriented masses of their respective countries into the imperialist slaughter on the side of their masters.

Only a handful of revolutionists with Lenin at their head resisted the patriotic torrent and remained true to the principles of revolutionary internationalism. In the first months of the war Lenin proclaimed the necessity of breaking with the betrayers of the Second International; of turning the imperialist war into civil war; of building the Third International. With these slogans as a guide, the Bolshevik party under Lenin and Trotsky led the Russian workers to victory over their own bourgeoisie; beat back the counter-revolution; and reconstituted the revolutionary vanguard under the banner of the Third International.

For five years the battalions of the Third International conducted an heroic struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. With the turn in the revolutionary tide following the defeat of the German workers in 1923, it fell victim to the post-war political reaction, which gave a new lease of life to the Social Democracy and found its consummate expression within the Soviet Union in Stalin's theory of "socialism in one country." The history of the Third International under Stalin is an unbroken record of retreat and defeat, culminating in Hitler's victory. The Third International has become nothing more than a pawn in the diplomatic deals of the Soviet bureaucracy with its imperialist allies.

Today the world trembles on the brink of a second world war. All the great powers are arming themselves to the teeth. Their statesmen no longer pretend that the conflict can be avoided; their only questions are when, where, and between whom will it break out? How soon will we be drawn in?

Its attitude toward the impending war is the acid test of every political party in the labor movement. The leaders of the Second International are prepared to repeat their traditional role and once again send the workers into slaughter at their masters' command. This time they have found worthy allies and disciples in the leaders of the Third International, who have already declared that the workers of France, Czechoslovakia, and the United States must suspend the class struggle and support their capitalist governments in case it is allied, or may be allied, with the Soviet Union.

The unconditional defense of the Soviet Union is the duty of every revolutionist. The only real defense of the Soviet Union is a revolutionary defense. This has nothing in common with the present policy of the Soviet Union in staking all upon its deals with its imperialist allies and nothing upon the power of the world proletariat. We say, on the contrary, that the only reliable ally of the Soviet Union is the international proletariat. Now as ever the task of the workers in every capitalist country is to overthrow its own ruling class. "The main enemy is in our own country."

To go forward it is necessary to return to the ideas of Marx and Lenin. The emancipation of the working class can be accomplished only through its own revolutionary action. The indispensable instrument for that action in our epoch is the Fourth International. Just as the red International of Lenin was forged in struggle against the social-patriots of the Second International, so its successor must be built in struggle against both the Second and Third.

Such is the meaning of May Day to those internationalists who remain loyal to the teachings of Marx and Lenin. Against the social-patriots of the Second and Third Internationals! For the regrouping of the revolutionary vanguard under the banner of the Fourth International!

New York Labor to Unite in Huge Parade

All Political Tendencies Combine for First Time in Years; Only Bankrupt Old Guard and Labor Bureaucrats Sabotage

By MARTIN ABERN

On Friday, May 1, 1936, New York City will witness and take part in the largest and greatest May Day celebration and demonstration in many a year. A far larger number and variety of labor and political organizations are participating in the vast parade that will march for many hours, with bands playing, floats and banners by the many thousands, through the streets of New York, hailing labor's solidarity.

For the first time in many years, since 1919 in fact, numerous political tendencies of labor will march together, proclaiming common cause against the capitalist system. The Communist Party (Stalinists), the Workers Party ("Trotskyist"), the Socialist Party (Militant Socialists) and other political bodies and large numbers of labor unions, fraternal and workers' organizations of varying kind, are am at the participating bodies on this May Day.

The labor movement of New York as a whole, its official Central Labor body, etc., are not yet taking part directly or officially in a common May Day demonstration, but the more advanced and increasing class-conscious and radical forces of New York labor have at last established a United Front for May Day, 1936. Hence, this May Day represents marked progress in the development of labor solidarity and the united front on specific issues and slogans.

The S.P. Old Guard

There are, nevertheless, important influences hampering the solidification of labor's ranks this May Day. The S.P. Old Guard, for one, vociferously attack the United Front May Day Committee and call upon workers not to participate in the parade and demonstration. But these elements only continue the reactionary role they have been playing in the labor movement for years. Today they try to divide labor's ranks on Labor's May Day. Today they attack the fundamental tenets of the great Russian Revolution and hail only the backward forces and processes which Stalin and his degenerated bureaucracy have set into motion against bona fide Bolshevism, as exemplified by Lenin and Trotsky.

Tomorrow these Old Guard Socialists (Omear and Co.) and others of like ilk will demonstrate their extreme treachery by calling upon the American working class to support actively any war which American imperialism proclaims. But that is the function of the Old Guard or reactionary socialism as against the policies of revolutionary socialism; and against the Old Guard's treachery on May Day and all the time, there can only be war to the end.

The Old Guard's anti-Sovietism is expressed in their effort today to break the May Day United Front. Naturally, the slogan for the unconditional defense of the Soviet Union against any form of imperialist attack is a major slogan of the United Front May Day; this slogan represents a heart-felt desire of every militant and class-conscious worker, and on May Day they want to assert this widely and demonstratively. The Old Guard on this May Day hence concretely expresses its anti-Sovietism and anti-working class character by their sabotage of a united May Day demonstration.

But additional forces (Old Guard Socialists and others) also are trying to hold back the urge for united action and solidarity on May Day by the workers. It must be admitted that these elements are succeeding in some measure in blocking unified ranks on May Day here, but more and more of their following hesitate or do not listen to their false counsel.

Three major unions of New York City, the International Ladies Garment Workers, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the Millinery Workers Unions, speaking through their officialdom, are also doing all they can to disrupt the forces of labor, to crack the growing numbers and unity of labor on May Day. These unions have organized a demonstration at the Polo Grounds for May Day and are opposed to the United Front or May Day achieved

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Two Negro Boys Framed in Arkansas

Protest Must Stay Hangman's Hand Acting on Planter's Orders

(Special to the New Militant)

By JAMES EVANS

BIATHEVILLE, Arkansas—The vengeance of the planters has fallen upon two young Negro workers falsely accused of rape. The Arkansas officials are answering the unbreakable solidarity of white and Negro share-croppers with a frame-up whose sole purpose is to divert militant militancy into racial prejudice.

These vicious gentlemen of the South have been uneasy ever since two successful strikes of the cotton pickers. Things look bad for the plantation system when whites and Negroes who gather in the same leaky cabins and begin to talk over matters. Red-baiting appeals have failed; the croppers know only that the landlords keep crooked books and that their kids never have shoes. Desperately, the gentlemen have resorted unsuccessfully to evictions, floggings, kidnappings, and jail sentences to smash the fighting Southern Tenant Farmers' Union.

Planter "Justice"

The rape charges preferred against Buthies Clayton and Jim N. Caruthers are the last cards being played against the tenants. Somebody, maybe a drunken crook, grazed the snuff of Sheriff Clarence Wilson, not long ago, Wilson, already down on the two unemployed Negro youths, at first arrested them for this "crime." The sheriff is the same gentleman who drove Norman Thomas out of Arkansas.

When Wilson took the boys to jail, he proceeded to give them the third degree in approved Arkansas fashion. Clubs, gun boots, and kicks were administered to the youths in an effort to make them confess to shooting the sheriff. The boys' clothes became literally caked with blood, so that the rags in which they were clad stuck to their bodies.

After the boys had been removed to Tucker Prison Farm and placed in the death cell, a white prostitute, (Continued on Page 2)

NEW ADDRESS

Comrades, friends and sympathizers are requested to take note of the new address of the New Militant, New International and the Workers Party which is now:

109 FIFTH AVENUE
ROOM 1010
NEW YORK CITY

Please address all correspondence to the above.

Donkey and Elephant Gird for Election Struggle

G.O.P. and Democrats Vie for Privilege to Represent Capitalist Class and for . . . the Gravy

By JOHN WEST

The Donkey and the Elephant are now getting their preliminary run-downs in preparation for their formal entry into the world's greatest puppet show, the last act of which is scheduled for the first Tuesday after the first Monday of November. The Nominating Conventions will be held in June, and for the next six months the well paid publicists will use their energy and money in trying to persuade the citizens of this country that their lives, liberties, and general happiness depend on marking the cross on the appropriate side of the ballot.

The Election Campaign started this year earlier than usual. Its first big gun was fired by Roosevelt in the form of his Annual Message to Congress, a procedure which the Republicans left was a distinctly uncorrupted abuse of the privileges of his office. The Republicans managed, however, to follow up during the next six weeks with a barrage of grotesquely ghost-written speeches by Hoover, a studiously meaningless statement by Landon, Tammany's ill-fated Grass Roots gathering, and a heavy offensive thrust through their press. Neatly padded statistics were issued weekly to show that the people were ready to throw New Deal policies on the garbage pile.

Point, Counter-Point

Things quieted down, to be revived on both sides during the past months. The Republicans surprise

themselves by announcing a brand new Brain Trust all their own—naturally non-partisan in character, whose public-spirited function it will be merely to demonstrate in the most objective scientific manner conceivable how Roosevelt is leading the country to destruction. They continue to observe that Marx reigns as the guardian deity of New Deal Washington. The Democrats have more substantial weapons at hand for the counter-attack: they utilize the investigations of the Congressional Committees to secure front-page agitation against the Tories, and to show the public that the Republicans plan to turn the government over openly to Morgan and DuPont. Roosevelt mounted his white horse again at Baltimore to ride at the head of the nation's youth, and to promise once more security for all.

It is, of course, a foregone conclusion that Roosevelt will be re-nominated on the first ballot at the Democratic Convention. There will be a few squabbles over the wording of the platform, but in the end it will be worked out according to the Roosevelt pattern. The Annual Message and the Baltimore address make clear what this will be: Roosevelt will lean back on the New Deal slogans of his first campaign, and will appeal to the voters on the basis of the "left" promises which he is so gracious in formulating. The old melody needs little tuning up: denunciation of the

(Continued on Page 2)

HUNGER STRIKE IN STALIN'S PRISONS

Heroic Struggle of Revolutionary Political Prisoners Against Despotism GPU Is Told by Dr. Ciliga in Fourth Installment of Series

By ANTON CILIGA

May 22, 1933 was the day on which our prison term expired. On March 21, we sent a declaration to the C. E. C. and the collegium of the G. P. U. demanding that we be given permission to depart unhindered from Russia upon the expiration of our sentence. We pointed out in our declaration that in the event of a refusal or failure to receive an answer we would begin a hunger strike on the day our sentence expired, and should the necessity arise, we would not refrain from resorting to the most extreme measures, sparing neither our health nor lives in the struggle.

A short time ago, I succeeded in obtaining permission to depart. Comrade Dragutich, a former member of the C. E. C. of the Yugoslav Communist Party, in his struggle to achieve this aim is still incarcerated in the secret dungeons of Soviet Gulag, the terrible Solovetski Islands, because he attempted to cross the frontiers illegally after permission to depart legally was denied him. Comrade Deditch, a well known trade union activist in Yugoslavia (Herzegovina) is sitting ill, famished, and without employment in distant Siberian exile.

Reasons for the Struggle

We were so stubborn in insisting upon permission to depart abroad for several reasons. First of all, we came to Russia in 1926, only for a temporary stay and were supposed to return home after accomplishing certain work. By 1933, our mission had long been fulfilled. Secondly, there were no possibilities in Russia for doing revolutionary work as we understood it, and besides we had infinitely greater possibilities abroad. Thirdly, after our harsh experience in Russia we want to become directly acquainted also with the experience and the ideas of the Western European and American labor movement. And, finally, we could not reconcile ourselves with the conduct of the present Soviet Government, which permits itself to treat foreign workers into its perpetual prison and revolutionists like slaves, turners, depriving them of their elementary human rights, seeking to strip them of all human dignity. Hundreds of foreign workers and revolutionists find themselves in Soviet Russia in the status of thinly veiled slavery and captivity. All this is being perpetrated by a Government that passes off its regime so persistently and falsely as the fatherland of the toilers of the entire world. It is this combination of the cynicism of infinite oppression with the cynicism of infinite lies that most aroused our indignation at the Soviet bureaucratic customs.

Our demand for leave to depart was actively supported by the entire communist sector of the prison. In a special declaration to the Government, the Elder, in the name of all the imprisoned Communists supported our demand to depart, and placed the responsibility for our fate upon the Government. The universal and decisive support of the entire isolator (up to and including a hunger strike in solidarity) was a manifestation of international solidarity, and of a desire to make known through us to the international working class the position of the persecuted groups of the working class movement in the U. S. S. R.

A GPU Coup

When the GPU saw that matters were heading toward an extensive struggle, it executed a maneuver, deciding to remove us from Verkhne-Uralsk on a decorous pretext. A few days prior to the expiration of our prison term, on May 18, 1933 we were told to surrender our correspondence, and to get our things ready. To our inquiry as to our destination, Hluzkov, the warden, replied—Moscow. To the question as to the purpose of the journey, we received the answer: "Can't say. Apparently, in order to discuss the matter you raised in your declaration."

We were taken away. The isolator sent us off with the warmest wishes, but also with some doubts as to whether we were not being sharply removed to another prison. Our possessions were examined, our persons were searched. We were placed in two autos, comrades Deditch and Dragutich in one, myself in the other. The machines started together, but on the road, the auto with my comrades pulled ahead, and disappeared in a cloud of dust. I never saw my comrades again. They had separated us. We rode the entire day, and toward evening we arrived in the city of Chelyabinsk. I was taken to the Chelyabinsk political prison, which held at that time from 50 to 80 people (S. R. S. social democrats, Zionists, anarchists, and a few communists).

Chelyabinsk and Hunger Strike
When I announced in the prison office that in view of the trick with regard to my alleged journey to Moscow, and my being separated from my comrades, I would immediately begin a hunger strike, the head of the Chelyabinsk isolator,

from Moscow, the representatives of the collegium of the G. P. U. My old "acquaintances": citizenship Andrejev, Agranov's assistant, who is in charge of all matters relating to the persecuted communist, socialist and anarchist groups. There was also the head of the All-Union Department of Prisons under the collegium of the G. P. U., citizen Popov, whose appearance alone bespoke of his functions. The third member of the commission—the representative of the prosecutor's office—was absent, although, as I learned later, he was present on the spot in Chelyabinsk, and used to make the rounds of the isolator during the day, together with Andrejev and Popov.

The Execution of the Poles

But immediately as my case, coupled with what the commission had to tell me, was such a shocking instance of lawlessness, such a cynical breach of even formal rights and proletarian morals, the prosecutor's office decided, quite reasonably, that it should best be done "without its knowledge". All the more so since the representative of the prosecutor's office was himself a foreign communist, a former Polish worker. One should imagine that this former Polish worker is today already so "Stalinized" as to be able to now assume upon himself quite openly and brazenly what he undertook only shamefacedly in 1933. That is to say, unless he happened to be among those fifty important Polish communists who were recently shot in Russia without a trial, upon the unverified and all-embracing charge of "Pilsudskism, espionage and provocation." (In the opinion of the most competent and authoritative representatives of the labor movement, the great majority of the executed, among them a former deputy to the Polish Sejm, were above all suspicion; and that upon investigation any imperialist international committee would have provided criminal light-mindedness on the part of the Soviet ruling organs, if not something worse.)

In the eyes of the present Stalinist leadership, which is conducting a nationalist policy, every Pole and German must be held suspect, if not directly considered as a "spy". I am personally inclined to consider this psychology as the underlying reason for the monstrous crime of shooting fifty Polish communists. Being somewhat acquainted with the deportments and methods of the G. P. U. I can say with certainty that it would not be so bad if among the executed there were ten or even five real agents of Pilsudsky.

"Citizen Ciliga", said Dupuis, "the representatives of the collegium have something to communicate to you."

"Well, what is it?" I said rubbing my eyes, fumbling for my glasses, and half-raising myself on the bench.

"Citizen Ciliga", continued citizenship Andrejev, "I have the following to communicate to you: the collegium of the G. P. U. and the C. E. C. of the U. S. S. R. have rejected your demand for permission to depart from the U. S. S. R. . . . By the order of the collegium of the G. P. U. your prison term has been extended for an additional two years . . . The G. P. U. refuses to recognize your hunger strike and beginning tomorrow you will be fed artificially. . . ."

"The question of the hunger strike and of artificial feeding has already become a secondary question", I began coldly and deliberately. In answer to the unheard-of decision of the G. P. U. and of the Soviet Government, and the refusal to allow me to return home although I have already served the prison sentence which you yourselves imposed upon me in 1930, to the automatic addition of a new prison term which transpires me into your perpetual slave and captive. I will resort to the extreme measure left me—suicide. If necessary let my death be the price paid for informing the foreign proletariat into what a position you put those foreign revolutionists who refuse to become your lackeys. I will also inform Moscow of my decision."

"A man who decides to commit suicide does not give notice of it," objected citizenship Andrejev.

"Yes", I said smiling at her, "you would like to see me dead, provided you do not bear any responsibility for it. I am engaged in a political struggle against you, and you bear full political responsibility for everything you have done and will do to me and my comrades. My official declaration is precisely intended to place the responsibility upon you in the event of my protest-suicide."

"We Will Not Permit. . ."

If the death could have been hushed up, the G. P. U. would have not at all feared my demise, whether by suicide, firing squad, or as a result of an "unfortunate incident". But after our declarations in the Verkhne-Uralsk isolator, and after the declaration of the Elder of the collective of the imprisoned com-

munists, our fate could not be kept secret any longer. This imposed upon the GPU the necessity of employing more cautious tactics.

"We will not permit you to commit suicide," said citizenship Andrejev. "We will assign two GPU agents to your cell, and all your things will be immediately removed."

And she proceeded to issue the necessary orders. I was left only with a few toilet articles. But in them was secreted a new sharp blade, already smuggled out of the isolator. . . . I was triumphant. I came to "that", I would show them. . . . For this reason I told citizenship Andrejev ironically that a man who finds it necessary to do away with himself would not be restrained either by soldiers or any other obstacle.

The next morning I sent a telegram to the Moscow collegium of the GPU and the C. E. C. of the U. S. S. R. containing a declaration similar to the one I had made to Andrejev.

No attempt was made to feed me artificially, but instead I was officially told the following:

An "Official" Decree

"The Political Bureau of the C. P. of Yugoslavia has passed a resolution approving the decision of the GPU to extend your term of imprisonment. This decision of the Political Bureau of the Yugoslav Communist Party will be given to you in writing."

"This is not my Political Bureau," I interrupted the orator. "These are your mantrines and their decisions are not binding upon me. I do not recognize this Political Bureau. I do not belong to any of your communist parties, nor have I any intention of belonging to them. Therefore I do not recognize their discipline and refuse to submit to it."

Four days later, Dupuis appeared and informed me that a telegram had arrived from Moscow stating that the additional two year prison term had been changed to three years exile in Irkutsk.

"Irkutsk is a large city not like Chelyabinsk, and you will be able to arrange there the matter of your departure more quickly," the head of the Chelyabinsk political prison declared.

A New Columbus Itinerary

"You mean to say that since Columbus' route from the Mediterranean to India was via America, therefore my itinerary from the Urals to Europe is via Irkutsk and Kamchatka," I said to him in a similar tone. "But no," I said. "I want to go from the Urals due West to Europe. Taking into consideration the withdrawal of an additional prison term, I withdraw the question of the protest-suicide. But I continue with the hunger strike for permission to depart home to Europe."

This occurred on the 14th day of the hunger strike. I struck for 9 more days. Again Dupuis arrived, and told me that a new telegram was received from Moscow with instructions for me to go there. I demanded that I be given an official written notice to this effect, otherwise I would continue the hunger strike. Within half an hour the written statement I had demanded was delivered.

I called the hunger strike off; and in two weeks I was over its effects. (Dupuis really fed me quite well. He obviously thought that he was thus fulfilling his "revolutionary and international" duty; and, besides, he was trying to "bribe" me so that I would agree to depart for exile.)

Still, I was not taken to Moscow. I became nervous again. Finally I learned the mistake. The typist "had made a mistake". The communication from Moscow, it seems, read that I would be called, and not that I am being called there. A couple of days later, I was told that I must leave for Irkutsk.

En Route to Irkutsk

I declared a hunger strike. After these abominations, the question of the protest-suicide was again on the order of the day. But a few days later, shortly after I began the strike, again in the middle of the night, a group of GPU agents burst into my cell and informed me of the decision to remove me to exile by force. They picked my things, loaded them into an auto, shoved me in, and drove to the Chelyabinsk railway station. Thus, towards the end of July, accompanied by a convoy of four GPU agents I was taken to Irkutsk.

What to do? After pondering a while, I decided that the first stage of my struggle for depart must be considered as closed. The battle would have to be resumed in exile, after I had gathered and utilized all the possibilities it offered. Having made this decision, I called off the hunger strike and began to take note of everything new around me. For the first time after three years segregation from society, from life, I was on a train, "among human beings"

Neither war nor fascism can be overthrown without a revolutionary struggle against the capitalist-imperialist order that breeds them. The most powerful force for the destruction of both Hitler and Mussolini, and for the creation of the Soviet United States of Europe, would be the French Revolution. That, and not the Popular Front of class peace.

"Power Politics"

The "Nations" and "New Republics" are all engaged in a game of "collective security" games, power politics return. . . . If international law is to be effective, agreements must be uniformly respected. These liberal "commitments" are among the great contemporary "democratic" lies. Power politics, the politics of imperialism, of the struggle for markets, have never ceased to rule since the peace of Versailles. Or are we to be treated to a fresh dose of Wilsonian diplomacy. When did this "collective security" come in?

The liberal twaddle about warring "political ideals" and "international law" only serves to obscure the basic causes of the imperialist struggle.

The greatest of all crimes is that committed by the leaders of the Second and Third Internationals who have turned their organizations into official supporters of the aims and slogans of such "democratic" imperialism as the British or French. But their struggle against Fascism and War was always shadow-boxing.

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The smaller states now within the orbit of French protection will have to reconsider their position when French forces will likely find themselves immobilized by German rearmament on the Rhine. Rumania and Yugoslavia have already given clear indications of dissatisfaction;

realization that shifts British attention swiftly from the banks of the Rhine to the headwaters of the Nile.

An Anglo-French alliance would bring the Italian upstart's threat to the Empire and its communications, to a halt. But the price that Baldwin-Eden would have to pay—sanctions and military action against Germany—is so high and the consequences so serious, that British policy is momentarily in a state of confusion. The ideal and traditional British course is to hold the scales of the balance of power, to act as reconciler. This policy is harder to apply when the Channel has ceased to be the effective barrier to an attack from the continent. This is what Baldwin meant when he talked of the British frontier now being on the Rhine.

The Pro-German Orientation
The Cabinet is prepared to give the French General Staff the required assurances against a German invasion of either Belgium or France. But the section of the Cabinet which is hostile to Eden's pro-French orientation, and sympathetic to Hitler's offer of a twenty-five year truce, points out that France is tied up with jacks in the East, (USSR, Poland, Czechoslovakia). They ask why Great Britain should be involved in a war or the defense of France in the West, which would be precipitated by French commitments to her Allies in the East.

The politicians of this viewpoint reason that Hitler is no longer as isolated as he was a couple of years ago, and that Germany must be afforded a safety-valve for expansion, which is not at the expense of the British Empire or of the status quo in the West. The British desire to reduce the specific gravity of French supremacy on the continent facilitated German rearmament. That altered the whole political landscape and the impending fortification of the Rhineland further enhances Nazi power.

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MARCH OF EVENTS

By JACK WEBER

Decline of the British Empire

Of all the great powers Britain is today the most vulnerable, the one that has most to fear from the inevitable changes that an unstable capitalism will bring forth. The end of Great Britain's world domination was foreshadowed even before the war, with the rise of those colossal industrial rivals, the United States and Germany. The World War and the changes wrought since have emphasized the processes of decay rotting the foundations of Empire—and simultaneously threatening the very existence of the capitalist system as a whole. Viewed from any criterion of imperial power—the decline of its capital export, the loss of naval supremacy, the threat of the new weapons of warfare that shift England's "boundaries" from the Channel to the Rhine, the economic development of the colonies with the creation of a colonial proletariat capable of leading the movement for independence, the internal economic crisis at home—Britannia feels the sceptre slipping from her grasp.

Threatened in every direction and on every front, British imperialism is engaged in utilizing every means to stave off the evil day, to prolong its rule and with this rule the entire system of exploitation at home and colonial oppression abroad. Under these circumstances, it becomes the task and the duty of the class conscious workers to utilize every means to strengthen their forces and their organization, to unite the struggle of the British proletariat and the oppressed masses in the colonies so as to prepare to wrest power from their brutal imperialist masters. Otherwise the fragments of empire can only fall into the greedy hands of other imperialist powers, even more powerful than the present rulers and the masses now under the British whip will suffer new lashes from the new slave-drivers.

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France at the Crossroads

In Idea of an Introduction to the Second Edition of
"In Defense of Terrorism"

By LEON TROTSKY

Editor's Note: Following is an excerpt from the third section of Leon Trotsky's work, "Whither France," which is to be published in book form by Pioneer Publishers. Only the second section of "Whither France" has been published in the English language, in The New Internationalist.

This book is devoted to the elucidation of the methods of the revolutionary policies of the proletariat in our epoch. The presentation is polemical in nature, like the revolutionary policy itself. Once the masses have been won, the polemic against the ruling class turns, at a certain stage, into revolution.

Revolutionary policy has its theoretical basis in a clear understanding of the class nature of modern society, of its state, its laws, and its ideology. The bourgeoisie operates with abstractions ("nation", "fatherland", "democracy") in order to cover up thereby the exploiting character of its rule. Le Temps, one of the most vocal newspapers on the terrestrial globe, gives daily instructions to the popular masses of France in patriotism and altruism. Meanwhile, it is a secret to nobody that the altruism of Le Temps itself is on the market at fixed international rates.

The first step of revolutionary politics is the exposure of bourgeois factions which poison the consciousness of the masses. These factions require a particularly malignant character when amalgamated with the ideas of "socialism" and "revolution". Today, more than ever before, the tone in the workers' organizations of France is being set by the manufacturers of such amalgams.

Between Editions

The first edition of this book played a certain role in the formative stage of the French Communist Party. At that considerable evidence of this came to the author's notice, and, incidentally, it is not difficult to find traces of it in Humanite up to the year 1924. During the twelve years that have since elapsed, a radical reevaluation of values took place in the Communist International—after a number of feverish zigzags. Suffice to mention that this work is listed today among the proscribed books. In their ideas and methods, the present leaders of the French Communist Party (we are compelled to retain this name which is in complete variance with reality) do not differ in any principle from Kautsky, against whom our work was originally directed. They are only infinitely more ignorant and cynical.

The relapse into reformism and patriotism that Cachin and Co. are now living through might itself have served as a sufficient justification for a new edition of this book. However, more serious motives exist: they are rooted in the profound pre-revolutionary crisis which is convulsing the regime of the Third Republic.

A Significant Incident

After a lapse of 18 years, the author of this book has had the occasion to spend two years in France (1923-1925); to be sure, only as an observer in the provinces, who, moreover, found himself under constant police surveillance. During this time, in the Isere Department, where the writer had to live, a minor and quite banal routine episode occurred, which however, provides the key to French politics as a whole.

In a hospital, owned by the Comité des Forges, (steel trust—ed) a young worker, about to undergo a serious operation, took the liberty to read the revolutionary press (or, to be more precise, the press which he innocently accepted as revolutionary, namely: Humanite). The hospital put an ultimatum to the careless patient, and later, to four others who shared his sympathies: either they renounce receiving the undesirable publications or they would be immediately thrown out into the street. Of course it availed the patients nothing to argue that clerical-reactionary propaganda was being carried on quite openly in the hospital. Inasmuch as only ordinary workers were concerned, who had to risk neither mandates as deputies nor ministerial portfolios, but only their health and lives, the ultimatum had no effect. Five sick men, one of whom was scheduled for an operation, were ejected from the hospital. Grenoble at that time was a socialist municipality, headed by Doctor Martin, one of those conservative bourgeois, who generally set the tone in the Socialist Party, and whose consummate representative is Leon Blum.

The ejected workers tried to find a doctor in the Mayor. In vain. Despite all entreaties, letters, and intercessions they failed to obtain an interview. They then turned to the local left newspaper "Depeche", in which Radicals and Socialists compose an indivisible cartel. Upon learning that the matter involved the hospital of Comité des Forges,

the director of the newspaper refused point-blank to intervene: anything your heart desires, except that! For, a previous indiscretion in connection with this mighty organization, "Depeche" had already been deprived of an advertisement, and suffered a loss of 20,000 francs. In contrast to the proletarians, the director of the "left" newspaper like the mayor stood to lose something. They therefore refused to engage in an unequal struggle, leaving the workers with their diseased intestines and kidneys to their fate.

A "Democratic Republic"

Once every week or every fortnight, the socialist mayor disturbs the dim recollections of his youth by delivering a speech about the superiorities of socialism over capitalism. During elections, "Depeche" supports the mayor and his party. Everything is in order. Comité des Forges maintains an attitude of liberal tolerance towards socialism of this sort, which does not harm in the least the material interests of capitalism. By means of an advertisement of 20,000 francs per year (so cheaply are these gentlemen priced!), the feudalists of the heavy industry and banks keep a large cartel newspaper in actual subjection. And not the newspaper alone, Comité des Forges apparently has arguments, both direct and indirect, weighty enough for Messrs. Mayors, Senators, Deputies, including the Socialists. Entire official France is under the dictatorship of finance capital. In the La Rousse dictionary this system is called a "democratic republic".

It seemed to the Messrs. left deputies and journalists not only in the Isere, but in all the departments of France that there would be no end to their peaceful collaboration with capitalist reaction. They were mistaken. Long corroded by dry rot, democracy suddenly felt the barrel of a gun at its temple. Just as the states, laying bare the rain and its medicinal fact—brought about a real armament of Hitler—a course upheaval in the relations between heavy nature of the so-called "international law", just so did the armament of the gangs of Colonel de La Rocque result in convulsing the internal relations of France, compelling all parties without exception to reform their ranks, assume a different coloration, and effect regroupings.

Friedrich Engels once wrote that the state, including the democratic republic, consists of detachments of armed men in defense of property: everything else serves only to embellish or camouflage this fact. Riquet champions of "Law" like Herriot or Blum always became increased at such cynicism. But both Hitler, and de la Rocque, each in his own domain, have once again demonstrated that Engels was correct.

More Vital than Statistics

Early in 1934, Daladier was the Minister-in-Chief by will of universal, equal, direct and secret suffrage.

He went around carrying national sovereignty in his pocket alongside of his handkerchief. But the moment that the detachments of de la Rocque, Maurras and Co. showed that they dared to shoot and to slash the tendons of the police horses, sovereign Daladier surrendered his post to a political invalid who was designated by the leaders of the armed detachments. This fact is of considerably greater importance than all the electoral statistics, and it cannot be erased from the pages of the most recent history of France, for it forecasts the future.

Assuredly, the course of the political life of a country cannot be altered by every group armed with revolvers, at any time. Only those armed detachments which are the organs of specific classes can play a decisive role under certain conditions. Colonel de la Rocque and his henchmen seek to insure "law and order" against convulsions. And inasmuch as law and order in France signify the rule of finance capital over the middle and petty bourgeoisie, and the rule of the bourgeoisie over the proletariat and the social strata closest to it, the detachments of de la Rocque are simply the armed pickets of finance capital.

Two Agencies of Finance Capital

This idea is not new. One can find it run across it even in the pages of Le Populaire and Humanite, although, of course, they were not the original formulators of it. These publications, however, speak only half of the truth. The second and equally important half consists in the fact that Herriot and Daladier with their followers are also an agency of finance capital; otherwise the Radicals could not have been the ruling party in France for a period of decades.

If we are not to play the game of hide and seek, we must say that de la Rocque and Daladier both serve one and the same master. This does not mean to say that either they themselves or their methods are identical. Quite the contrary. They fiercely war against each other, like two specialized agencies each of whom has its own special secret of salvation. Daladier promises to maintain order through the exercise of the self-same tricolor democracy. De la Rocque holds that ordered parliamentarianism must be swept away and replaced by an open military police dictatorship. The political methods are antagonistic but the social aims they serve are identical.

The Decline of Capitalism

The historical basis of the antagonism between de la Rocque and Daladier—we use these names merely for the sake of simplicity in our presentation—is the decline of the capitalist system, its incurable crisis, its decay. Despite the constant triumphs of technology and the explosive successes achieved by individual branches of industry, capitalism as a whole is a

brake upon the development of the productive forces, engendering an extreme instability in social and international relations. Parliamentary democracy is indissolubly bound up with the epoch of free competition and free international trade. The bourgeoisie was able to tolerate the freedom of strikes, of assembly and of the press only so long as the productive forces were mounting upwards, so long as the sales markets were being extended, the welfare of the popular masses, even if only partially, was rising and the capitalist nations were able to live and let live.

It is otherwise now. If we exclude the Soviet Union, the imperialist epoch is characterized by the stagnation or decline of the national income, a chronic agrarian crisis and organic unemployment. These phenomena pertain internationally to the present phase of capitalism just as goit and arterio-sclerosis pertain to certain ages of man. To explain the world economic chaos by the consequences of the last war is to lay bare a hopeless superficiality in the spirit of Callaghan, Comi Sforza and the like. The war itself was nothing else than an attempt on the part of capitalist countries to unload the already impending crash upon the backs of the enemy. The attempt failed. The war only deepened the manifestations of collapse, which in its subsequent development prepares a new war.

Social Disintegration in France

Bad as French economic statistics are, though they deliberately evade the problems of class contradictions, even these statistics are unable to cover up the manifestations of a diver social disintegration. Amid the general decline of the national income, and the truly terrifying fall in the income of the peasants, amid the ruin of the little man in the cities and the growth of unemployment, the gigantic enterprises with a turn-over above 100-200 millions a year are doing a brilliant business. Finance capital is sucking the blood from the veins of the French people, in the full sense of the term. Such is the social basis for the ideology and politics of "national unity".

Mitigations and flickers of better times are possible in the process of decline; they are even inevitable. They remain, however, purely conjunctural in character. The general tendency of our epoch imperiously drives France, in the wake of a number of other countries, to the alternative: either the proletarian must overthrow the utterly decayed bourgeois order, or capitalism, in the interests of self-preservation, must replace democracy with Fascism. How long can Fascism last? The answer to this question will be provided by the fate of Mussolini and Hitler.

The Fascists fired their guns on February 6, 1934 upon the direct orders of the Bourse, the banks and the trusts. From the self-same ruling summits, Daladier received the

instruction to hand over power to, Domergue. And if the Radical Premier capitulated—with the pusillanimity that is generally characteristic of the Radicals—it was precisely because he recognized his own master in the gangs of de la Rocque, the director of "Depeche" and the Mayor of Grenoble refused to expose the abominable cruelty of the agents of Comité des Forges.

An Unsolved Question

The transition from democracy to Fascism carries with it, however, the danger of social upheavals. Thence arise the tactical vacillations and differences among the summits of the bourgeoisie. All the magnates of capital are in favor of further strengthening the armed detachments, which can serve as safety reserves in the hour of danger. But what place should be allotted to these detachments even today? Should they be permitted immediately to assume the offensive or should they still be held in reserve as a threat?—These questions remain unsolved as yet.

Finance capital no longer believes in the ability of the Radicals to lead the petty bourgeois masses behind them, and by means of the pressure exercised by these masses to restrain the proletariat within the framework of "democratic" discipline, but finance capital is likewise uncertain of the ability of the Fascist organizations, which still lack a real mass base, to seize power and establish firm order.

An Unstable Situation

The behind-the-scenes leaders have been instilled with the need for caution not by parliamentary rhetoric, but by the rage of the workers, by the attempt of the General Strike, which, to be sure, was stifled at its very inception by the bureaucracy of Jouhaux, and, later by the local uprisings (Toulon, Brest, J.). A slight curb was placed on the Fascists, and the Radicals breathed just a bit easier. Le Temps, which had already rushed to offer its hand and heart, in a number of articles, to the "young generation" discovered anew the superior merits of a liberal regime, as the one most in harmony with French genius. Thus, the unstable, transitional, bastard regime was established, which harmonizes not with the genius of France but with the decline of the Third Republic.

What stands out most sharply in this regime are its Bonapartist traits: the independence of power parties and programs, the liquidation of the parliamentary legislation by means of emergency powers, the rising of the Government in the guise of an "arbitrator" above the struggling camps, i.e. factually above the nation. The Ministries of Domergue, Flamin, Laval, all three with the invariable participation of the compromised and abject Radicals, represented minor variations of one and the same theme.

Leon Blum's Wisdom

Upon the inauguration of the Sarraut ministry, Leon Blum, whose perspicacity possesses two dimensions instead of three, proclaimed that: "The final effects of February 6th have been destroyed on the parliamentary plane" (Le Populaire, Feb. 2, 1936). This is commonly known as cleaning the shadow of a carriage with the shadow of a brush. As if it is possible, in general, to abolish "on the parliamentary plane" the pressure of the armed detachments of finance capital! As if Sarraut can escape feeling this pressure and not quake before it! In point of fact, the Sarraut-Flamin Government represents another variation of the self-same semi-parliamentary "Bonapartism", only somewhat inclined to the "left". Sarraut, himself, in replying to the charge of his having resorted to arbitrary measures, gave the Chamber the best answer possible. Said Sarraut: "If my measures are arbitrary, it is because I aim to be an arbitrator." This aphorism would not have sounded badly even on the lips of Napoleon III. Sarraut feels himself to be not the plenipotentiary of a certain party or a bloc of parties in power, as is proper in accordance with the rules of parliamentarism, but an arbitrator over classes and parties, as is in accordance with the laws of Bonapartism.

Whitaker will have another obstacle to overcome in proving that the Modern Democrats were Communists. Not in pursuit of the reds, Whitaker questioned Jensen closely about the finances of the local Committee for the Defense of Civil Liberties in Tampa of which Jensen is treasurer. A subpoena was issued for the books of the committee, but Jensen will probably refuse to turn them over to Whitaker because it will mean that those who gave money to fight Klan terrorism will become marked victims of it.

General Strike Marks New Left Trend in Spain

Azana Directs Shafts at "Communism" in Reply to Provocation from Fascists But Workers Action Makes Them Run for Cover

By ALFREDO BOJAS

The extraordinarily successful 24-hour general strike in Madrid on Friday, April 17, called in protest against Fascist murders and attacks on workers, is the most significant event since the February 18 election. It has thrown back the rising tide of rightist moves. Its full significance can only be understood when one realizes that it came, suddenly, after a period of proletarian retreat and growing assertiveness by the rightists.

Premier Azana's speeches in the Cortes have been a sensitive barometer of the move to the right. Six weeks after the masses had pushed him into power, Azana gave a speech which was hailed by the Catholics and Monarchists (reported in the NEW MILLTANT, April 11). The Communist Party hailed his speech, and even the "left" Socialist, Largo Caballero, contented himself with being cautiously non-committal. Azana became more bold, and called off the municipal elections scheduled for April 12. The proletarian parties submitted. On April 15, with many economic strikes going on in all parts of Spain, the rightist deputies called upon the government to put an end to "the state of anarchy." "The troublemakers and fomenters will be exterminated," answered cabinet minister Salvador, on behalf of the government.

Robles Threat of Civil War

The farthest right was achieved the same day by Azana himself. Under the guise of interpellating the government as to what measures were being taken to stop disorder, Gil Robles, Catholic chief of the rightist forces, delivered a threat of civil war. "The civil war, if it breaks out, will be caused by the government's negligence. We declare now that it is preferable to die fighting in the streets than to wait in our homes to be assassinated by our enemies." Spain, declared Gil Robles—who was only thwarted from creating a Fascist regime by the revolt of Asturias in October, 1934—is divided into two camps and the hostile actions against the rightists are intolerable and will inevitably end in civil war.

What was Azana's answer to this threat? Did the "Min of the Republic" pillory the rightists for refusing to abide by the democratic results of the February elections? Not at all! Azana's "answer" was a rabid attack on revolutionary Marxism.

Azana Attacks Communism

"Communism," shouted Azana, "would signify the death of Spain!" He sharply denied that his government was permitting the gradual implanting of revolutionary Marxism. The government will work incessantly to maintain order, "revising, if necessary, the whole system of defense, in order to put an end to the reign of violence."

The socialists and communists remained silent when Azana finished, but the left republicans, the center and the right, cheered him noisily. Deputy Ventosa, spokesman of the rightist Catalan League, declared that Azana "is the only man capable of offering the country security and defense of all legal rights."

Yet, on the vote of confidence the next day, the socialists and communists voted for Azana! So, too, did many rightists. This was the atmosphere on the very eve of the general strike. So unbolted were the rightists, in fact, that while the proletarian deputies were voting for Azana, young Fascists in Madrid were joined by officers of the Civil Guard in a revolver attack on workers who shouted replies against the "Vive el fascismo" of a funeral cortege of an "arm" officer. But this provocation—the workers fought back and killed four fascists—proved to be the turning point.

The General Strike

The next day came the general strike. Despite the fact that it was called by the anarchist-controlled Confederation of Labor without any attempt to secure united action from the Socialist-controlled U. G. T., the strike met with powerful response. Early in the day the "whole commercial life of the capital was completely paralyzed," according to the Associated Press. Though the workers of Madrid are largely in the Socialist unions, and though they have always ignored the usually ill-prepared and irresponsible strike calls of the anarchists, proletarian Madrid came out on the streets.

The splendid response of the masses demonstrated the bankruptcy of the policy of the Socialists and Communists, who had not even attacked Azana, let alone considered a protest strike. Late in the day, they came out in support of the strike and secured an agreement with the anarchists to limit it to twenty-four hours. (The anarchists, as usual, set no time-limit to the protest.)

Azana Compelled to Act

Before the strike was over, Azana had promised to take steps against

the fascist provocations. The Civil Guards who had participated in the firing on the workers were arrested, high officers in the Guard were removed from their posts, and mass arrests of Fascists took place in many cities, and in one or two the officials of the Catholic and Monarchist parties were also arrested and jailed. The Cortes remained in session throughout the night of the general strike, passing a law prohibiting all army officers, including retired, from participating in politics.

The recent experiences in France demonstrate, however, the worthlessness of governmental measures against Fascism. No bourgeois government will seriously attempt to destroy the Fascist legions on which it may have to depend tomorrow. Only the workers' own defense forces can smash the Fascist corps.

Far more important than the government's assurances is the inspiration that the general strike has given to the proletariat.

Over a hundred thousand workers were out on strike a few days after, according to such a hostile source as the Associated Press. The same source reports strike victories in Huelva, involving 40,000 miners and in America, where a general strike forced the discharge of the government's labor officer. The government hastily sent ten million pesetas to Asturias for unemployment relief. The arrival in Gibraltar of many big landowners indicated new seizures of land by the peasantry.

Leftward Development in S. P.

Even more significant than the reason and workers' struggles, which can have no successful issue unless led by a revolutionary party, is the latest news of leftward developments in the Socialist Party, which is by far the largest party of the masses. The Madrid organization, strongest unit of the party, has voted to seek revision of the party program at the June congress. Madrid's Socialists will present a program which adopts as its perspective the immediate struggle for proletarian dictatorship. Declaring that Spain's present crisis is not cyclical but permanent, the program declares that "the only definite solution of the national problem is revolutionary socialism," and that "in the period of the transition from capitalist society to the socialist regime, the form of government shall be a dictatorship of the proletariat with the aim of assuring the changes in social, economic and political organization and to prevent any attempts at capitalist restoration, as well as to consummate the destruction of the whole present social order."

It appears likely that this program will be adopted in June. The right and moderate wings, led by Besteiro and Indalecio Prieto, both closely identified with Azana, are fast losing ground.

If Caballero, head of the Madrid organization and chief of the U. G. T., were to take this program seriously, the first step would be repudiation of the "Popular Front" alliance with Azana. Dispatches early this week indicated that the U. G. T. would make the break by insisting on voting for Socialist candidates in the presidential election on April 26, instead of voting for a bourgeois-republican as Azana insists. According to the A. P., however, Caballero has agreed to support Don Alvaro Alhorriz, bourgeois-republican candidate. If this is true, the Socialists will have no opportunity of estimating their strength among the masses by the outcome of Smdac's election.

Announce New Lecture Series

"Trotskyism or Stalinism?"—this is the general theme of a special lecture organized by the New York District of the Workers Party, to be held on Sunday, May 17. The speaker, Max Shachtman, who is well-known to New York labor audiences, will deal in his lecture principally with the struggle between the two tendencies, one led by Trotsky and the other by Stalin, in the period between the rise of the Left Opposition and its expulsion from the Communist International at the end of 1927. This will cover the struggle for party democracy, the dispute around the British general strike and the Chinese Revolution, industrialization and collectivization in the Soviet Union, etc., etc., together with the famous "Third Period" and the course towards nationalist degeneration which followed it.

The lecture will be held in the Irving Plaza hall, 15th Street and Irving Place. Admission will be followed by questions and discussion from the floor. Further details about it will be contained in coming issues of the NEW MILLTANT.

Red Scare Is Raised in Tampa

(Continued from Page 1)

direction days which makes it a "color to incite an insurrection. On the basis of this statute, he intends to establish that the advocacy of communism is a felony.

He will then try to prove that the Modern Democrats were Communists and that the police therefore had a right to arrest them. With the arrests justified and with the police justified as a red seeking to desecrate the home, the church and white supremacy, Whitaker can rely on the normal prejudices of the jury to take care of the kidnapping indictment.

Whitaker used this approach with Charles E. Jensen, State Secretary of the Socialist Party of Florida and first witness for the prosecution. Jensen, one of the six arrested in the raid, told a damaging story which could not be altered in the slightest detail by Whitaker's tricky cross-examination.

The defense attorney then began a series of questions about the mimeograph machine Jensen had used to run off copies of the program of the Modern Democrats. It devel-

oped that Jensen had loaned the machine to your correspondent, the present writer, who is covering the trial for The Nation, the Milwaukee Leader and a group of labor papers. From then on, Sidney Hertzberg became the defendant.

Whitaker's Mysterious Evidence

Whitaker claimed to have mysterious evidence that this writer was in reality the correspondent for the Daily Worker, that he was a Communist; that he might be cracking out secret instructions on the mimeograph machine for an armed uprising. Jensen, he was sure, must be a Communist because he had loaned his mimeograph to such a person.

Despite the fact that Judge Robert T. Howell sustained the state's constant objections, Whitaker again and again came back to the mimeograph machine and what your correspondent was doing with it. "If Mr. Hertzberg is on trial here, let's arraign him, plead him not guilty and try him now," State Attorney J. Rex Furrier suggested.

Finally, Jensen was given a chance to deny categorically that this writer was a correspondent for the Daily Worker and Whitaker stopped his play-acting. His insinuations, however, probably had their effect on the jury.

Whitaker added race prejudice to red-baiting while questioning Jensen about the setup of the Modern Democrats.

"Wasn't provision made for the abolition of the New York civil liberties league with the Modern Democrats?" Whitaker demanded.

"If you mean the American Civil Liberties Union, I don't see how it could have affiliated because it is a non-partisan, non-political organization devoted to the defense of civil liberties," Jensen informed him.

"Isn't this the same group that offered a reward of \$1,000 for convictions in these cases?" Whitaker asked.

"I believe so," said Jensen.

Tricks of the Defense

"And," said Whitaker, his voice rising, "isn't this the same group that sent lawyers to the Scottsboro..."

Furrier and Comby Solicitor Manuel Clover, his first assistant, leaped out of their chairs shouting objections. Whitaker's self-satisfied smile remained even after the judge sustained the objections—he had gotten that up in.

"Then you don't know," Whitaker continued, "whether the civil liberties league is a political or communist organization?"

Again the court sustained the state's objections but Whitaker was getting his kicks in.

Furrier tried three times to introduce the program of the Modern Democrats as a state exhibit, but was stopped each time by technical objections from Whitaker.

The program consists of ten municipal reforms the most radical of which provides for "a planning board from the unemployed to plan and manage a system whereby production for use instead of for profit may be made possible." Should the plan be made available to the jur-

ETHIOPIA BETRAYED!

SPEAKER:

MAURICE SPECTOR

Former Member E.C.C.I.

Aspirant: Workers Party U.S.

New York District

Lost independent state in Africa succumbs under the fire of

Fascist armies.

Mussolini aided by diplomatic game of Litvinov, Eden and

Flamin.

League of Nations promises . . . but uses Ethiopia as a pawn

of imperialist struggles.

Bankruptcy of Second and Third Internationals again revealed.

Questions and Discussion

IRVING PLAZA

Irving Place & 15th St.

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Workers Throng the Streets on May First

Tasks of the Fourth International in Spain

A Letter to a Spanish Comrade
By Leon Trotsky

The situation in Spain has again become revolutionary. The development of the Spanish revolution is taking place at a slow tempo. By virtue of this fact the revolutionary elements there have acquired a sufficiently long period of time in which to take shape, to rally the vanguard around themselves, in order to measure up to their task at the decisive moment. We must now say openly that the Spanish "Left (Communists)" have completely missed this exceptionally favorable interval and have not proved to be one whit better than the Socialist and "Communist" traitors. Not that there was any lack of warning. All the greater therefore is the guilt of an Andres Nin, an Andrade and others. With a correct policy the "Communist Left" could stand today as a section of the Fourth International at the head of the Spanish proletariat. Instead of this, it is vegetating in the confused organization of a Manrín—without a program, without perspectives, and without any political significance. Marxian action in Spain can begin only by means of an irreconcilable condemnation of the whole policy of Andres Nin and Andrade, which not only was and remains false, but also criminal.

The Removal of Zamora

What is the meaning of the removal of President Zamora? That the political developments have once more entered into an acute stage. Zamora was, so to say, the constant center of the ruling summits. Under altered conditions he played the same role that Hindenburg enacted in Germany for a certain period of time; it was during the time when the reaction (even the Nazis), on the one side, and the Social Democracy on the other, put their hopes in him. The Bonapartism of the modern epoch is the expression of the highest accentuation of class antagonisms in the period when these antagonisms have not yet led to open struggle. Bonapartism may find its point of support in the quasi-parliamentarian government, but also for that matter in the "supra-party" president: this depends exclusively on the circumstances. Zamora was the carrier of the Bonapartist equilibrium. The sharpening of the antagonism led to a state of affairs in which both of the main camps sought, first, to make use of Zamora and then to get rid of him. The Right wing did not succeed in doing this in its time, but the "People's Front" did. This means, however, the beginning of an acute revolutionary period.

Both the profound ferment in the masses and the uninterrupted violent explosions demonstrate that the repeatedly deceived workers in town and country, as well as the poor peasants, are continually directing with all their power in the direction of the revolutionary solution. And what is the role played by the People's Front, with regard to this mighty movement? The role of a gigantic brake manufactured and put into operation by traitors and slick sharpers. And only yesterday, Juan Andrade was still a co-signer of the thoroughly despicable program of the People's Front!

After Zamora's removal, Azana, hand in hand with the new president of the Republic, must take over the role of the true Bonapartist center—that is, he must seek to elevate himself above the two camps in order the better to be able to direct the arms of the State against those revolutionary masses who assisted him to power. The

(Continued on Page 2)

"WE HAVE BEEN NAUGHT, WE SHALL BE ALL!"



Jersey Jobless Ousted Thousands Expected To March

Bourbon Politicians Inflict Final Injury On Unemployed

New Jersey capitalist politicians ordered the jobless demonstrators out of the legislature, their final slap in the face to the unemployed of the state. After tossing the interests of the unemployed between Democrats and Republicans while relief payments stopped dead and suffering was widespread, the politicians decided to adjourn and do nothing.

The Workers Alliance of New Jersey, rallied its forces and marched them into the Assembly hall of the State Capitol, an action which must have caused no little trepidation among the never-hungry ruling classes. The "Army of Unemployment," as they became popularly known, is a portent of the future. This the capitalist politicians must have realized as they hurried back to Trenton from the banquet tables in their luxurious homes and yachts.

Bourbons to the marrow, the politicians returned, muttering the notorious insults of Marie Antoinette. One of them, deeply hurt that the poor, starving workers should be demanding action, cursed the people who would "pamper" the unemployed. "Why don't you feed them chocolate eclairs," he said.

Reluctantly they listened to the spokesmen for the unemployed, concerned only with finding a convenient pretext to oust them from the assembly. The Hoffmanns who could find a hundred methods for winning publicity in the Hauptmann case, could not find a single method to feed the unemployed. "Shall we rob Peter (read: rich) to pay Paul (read: poor) asks the Governor? Never, the assemblymen chorused: 'Let us rob Paul to pay Paul!' And this was the solution. Before the assembly ended its deliberations, it empowered a committee under Governor Hoffman to find "ways and means." This means the entire problem has been placed in the hands of the most ardent "sales tax" advocate in New Jersey.

But before the assemblymen could dodge the spotlight of unfavorable publicity, they had to dispose of the visiting unemployed, it was clear that a continuation of the mock assembly could do them no good. The pretext was found in an alleged letter of some veteran, threatening to kick the reactionary assemblyman, Joseph O. Paul, out of New Jersey.

Only the good naturedness of the unemployed saved both New Deal democrats and Tory Republicans from another Hoover Bonus Army scandal.

The Workers' Alliance members returned home empty handed but their heroic struggle has aroused the working class of the country. Their action will be emulated time and again as the relief system of other states follows the inevitable road of New Jersey.

New York Parade Will Mark High Point In Many Years

Celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of May First, hundreds of thousands of workmen will march in the citadels of capitalism as this issue goes to press.

In New York, where a more inclusive united front of political and labor tendencies than has been seen for years, a monster parade will take place. New York will be decked in red, its streets will resound with the marching tread of labor's legions.

Beginning at various points in heart of the city, the parade will march through lower Fifth Ave., previously denied by the police and converge on Union Square.

In Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, San Francisco and all the great industrial centers of the country, workers will march or demonstrate in meetings against capitalist oppression.

Shorter hours, more adequate relief, social insurance, freedom for class war prisoners and struggle for a workers' world will appear on thousands of banners and be shouted from thousands of proletarian throats.

In Europe, where Fascist reaction has not put the quietus on open demonstrations, hundreds of thousands will march behind red banners.

Paris and Madrid will express a great sentiment in their proletarian protests. This is embodied in the increasing understanding of the lessons of Germany and Austria. Unfortunately this will to struggle will be corrupted by Stalinists and social democrats in social patriotic and class collaborationist channels.

These forces of treachery are preparing to repeat the great crime of August 4th, 1914.

But in reality their power, despite the huge votes rolled up in parliamentary elections, is on the wane. Between the pincers of fascism and proletarian revolution, the false leaders will be crushed.

This May Day must resolve that treachery does not lead the working class to the disaster of imperialist war or fascism again.

Only by means of trusted and tested revolutionary Marxism can victory be assured. Revolutionary Marxism, which proclaims unrelenting war against Capitalism and its labor lieutenants, flies the great banner of Marx and Lenin. Revolutionary Marxism—that is the Fourth International.

Like Lenin's valiant handful braving the reaction during the war, the Fourth Internationalists challenge again the same enemies. Like Lenin's party they are invincible.

Peoples Front Salvages Bankrupt Radicals in First French Election

Real Issues Will Be Decided in Streets Not By Ballot Box

The first ballot in the French general elections was held last Sunday, April 26. The 618 Chamber seats were contested by almost 5,000 candidates, representing more than a score of political parties. The French Fascists (Croix de Feu) did not participate directly in the elections, but supported the extreme reactionary candidates.

A clear majority was obtained by candidates in only 183 constituencies, less than one-third of the total, making necessary 435 run-off elections which will be held next Sunday, May 3. This unprecedented confusion is symptomatic of the crisis that grips French "democracy."

It will be possible to determine the actual relationship of forces in the new Chamber only after the results of the second ballot are known. But the essential trends and facts pertaining to the parliamentary arena are already quite clear.

Left Vote Mounts

The elections show that the French masses are moving sharply to the left under the pressure of the economic and social crisis, which is becoming more and more aggravated. The popular vote gives the preponderance to the so-called left parties, and the People's Front candidates will undoubtedly carry the majority of the seats in the run-offs.

But there are also equally clear indications that a section of the French petty bourgeoisie has already begun to shift in the direction of reaction and Fascism. This is indicated by the fact that only a minority of the deputies elected on the first ballot were those representing the parties in the People's Front; and also by the fact that the greatest relative gains in the first ballot were scored by the reactionary Right Republicans.

In this we have a clear reflection of the process now going on in France which is dividing the nation into two camps. This process must continue at an accelerated

pace, and it can proceed only at the expense of the party of the Radical Socialists. This party is the traditional party of the Third Republic; it is the traditional parliamentary representative of the French petty-bourgeoisie; it has played the "historic role" of being the largest single party in the Chamber.

Doom of the Radical Socialists

Time and again we have pointed out in the columns of the NEW MILITANT that the crisis in France signified above all the doom of the Radical Socialist Party. Its collapse is inevitable. Despite the cover afforded the bankrupt Radicals by the People's Front, this party has suffered very serious and very significant losses. The turn of the middle classes away from the Radicals is very sharply illustrated by the case of M. Edouard Herriot. M. Herriot is the parliamentary leader of the Radicals, one of the vice-presidents of the Chamber, who had never before failed to get elected on the first ballot, and who was generally conceded to have an easy win at Lyons. M. Herriot not only failed to get elected, but even to head the list, running second to a reactionary [Herriot, however, will be elected on the second ballot].

A question arises as to what would have happened to the Radical Socialist Party as a whole had it not been propped up from the "left" by the People's Front? Even this assistance has not stopped but only retarded the rapid process of disintegration. The policies of the People's Front not only prop up the bankrupt Radicals but also undermine the position of the working class, because this support causes the disillusioned middle-class following of the Radicals to lose confidence both in the latter and in the labor partners as well.

The Fascists alone stand to gain from the debacle of the Radicals, so long as the working class parties pursue a policy of collaboration with Herriot-Daladier instead of waging an irreconcilable struggle against them.

People's Front Saves Radicals

The elections provide very clear evidence of just how the People's Front has benefited the Radicals.

And in this sense, the Daily Worker is quite correct in stating that "the 'left' critics of the People's Front prophesied that the Radical Socialists would gain at the expense of the working class parties" (April 23, 1936).

Such has been our prognosis, and it has been verified by the elections. But, the Daily Worker indignantly denies this. "Nothing of the kind happened. . . . Sunday's ballot showed that those Radical Socialist candidates who faithfully adhered to the People's Front also gained while those who flirted with reactionaries lost ground."

Even the Stalinist editor—after a heated denial—has to admit that those Radical Socialists who, fully utilized the assistance afforded them by the People's Front (those who "faithfully adhered to it") were the ones who "also gained." At whose expense? The "doubtful friends" like Herriot, who did not wholeheartedly pose as People's Front men, "lost ground" . . . which they will recoup on the second ballot, once again at the expense of the workers.

In the last Chamber, the Radicals held 151 seats. It is doubtful whether they will get more than 120 in the new Chamber. The Socialists are having exalted visions of supplanting their Radical partners in the People's Front as the leading and largest party in the Chamber. Leon Blum, as is evident from his editorials in Populaire, already sees himself Premier. (The Stalinists prefer Daladier.)

Herriot-Daladier Will Crack Whip
What is the extent of the "victory" of the People's Front? Without waiting for the results of the run-off election, we can state with assurance that it matters very little whether or not the Socialists outnumber the Radicals. It is Herriot-Daladier who will crack the whip in the Chamber and not Blum-Cachin.

According to the most sanguine estimates of Populaire and l'Humanite, Blum-Cachin dream of a total of some 200-220 seats for the S.P. and the C.P. combined, with the Radicals numbering from 100-120. In essence, therefore, even should the most sanguine hopes of the engineers of the People's Front (Continued on Page 4)

Law'n'Order Ruse Flops

Akron Vigilante Frame-up On Trade Unionists Falls Through

AKRON, April 28.—The "Law and Order League," established during the Goodyear strike to blast a way into the plant, has turned out to be one of the brightest jools in the crown of Akron society.

Now established on a permanent basis, the league last week entered a social whirl by planting brass knuckles, pistols, and jack-handles in honest Goodyear trade unionists' pockets, and then informing the police.

The very crudeness of the provocation defeated it.

The league made the front pages again when Bill Denton, one of God's, shall we say, more earnest shepherds and spare-time red-baiters, invoked its aid in attempting to close the Soviet film, "Peasants."

Other interesting social phenomena is a bill for \$21,000.00 presented to the county commissioners by the Lake Erie Chemical Co. for long range gas guns, tear gas, and six gas masks.

Though every city official is playing dumb, everything indicates that Colonel Joe Johnson, who has trained hundreds of strikebreakers in Akron shops, ordered the gas for the city—incidentally buying it from himself as a salesman of the chemical firm.

Meanwhile the unions have answered by putting out a progressive, tabloid-size "United Rubber Worker," by increasing the membership in the locals, by establishing study classes, and by holding a huge victory ball. In the Goodyear plant a printed shop paper is being started.

Tension in the Goodyear factory is electric. Fist fights are common. Last Friday a five-hour sit-down paralyzed activity. These events will undoubtedly hasten and confirm the action of the rubber firms in announcing several weeks ago the beginning of decentralization of the rubber plants.

Decidedly, the rubber barons have nothing to be cheery about.

Cops Maul Guildsman

Guild Protests to Hoan After Many are Slugged by Police

MILWAUKEE, Wis., Apr. 20.—Protests were made by the Milwaukee Newspaper Guild to Mayor Hoan regarding police brutality Friday night, during a strike demonstration at the Hearst-owned Wisconsin News plant.

The police charged the picket lines with clubs and blackjacks swinging. One strike sympathizer was cut over the right eye and was removed to a hospital for treatment. Five pickets, including a guildsman, were arrested. The police attacked the strikers' sound truck, breaking windows in it and tearing out wiring. One picket was arrested a block from the scene of the melee. The five demanded a jury trial when they were arraigned Saturday in the district court. Their trials will take place probably this week.

Mayor Hoan promised to take up the protest with Chief of Police J. G. Laubheimer. A conference between the mayor, the chief, and a committee from the Guild will be held next Monday.

The Wisconsin News management has applied to the federal court for an injunction to restrain the regional labor board from holding a hearing on the board's complaint that the News has violated the Wagner labor relations act. The injunction plea will be heard Saturday by Judge F. A. Geiger.

Several carloads of sympathizers are expected here from Chicago Friday night for another demonstration. Five Muskegon (Mich.) guildsmen flew over late Saturday to visit strike headquarters. Last week Edna Ferber, one of the foremost American novelists and formerly a Milwaukee reporter at \$15 a week, gave \$100 for the strike fund. The Milwaukee Typographical Union No. 23 sent \$100 Monday, accompanied by a resolution of solidarity.

May Day Greetings from Comrade Tom Mooney

Dear Friends, Comrades and Fellow-Unionists:

On May 1, 1936, the workers of the world will commemorate their day!

On that day, we hope that you will not forget those who struggled for the solidarity of labor throughout the world. On this day of all days, those class-war prisoners who fell victims in that struggle should be memorialized. They should be exalted to their proper place in the estimation of those for whom they fought, died and suffered imprisonment, and I especially, at this time, appeal to you most earnestly and fervently for your attention.

May I ask you not to forget all class-war prisoners on that day, and in your remembrance of them, do not fail to single out the monumental injustice and monstrous wrong that has been done to my co-sufferer, Warren K. Billings, and myself.

The more attention that is attracted to the Mooney-Billings case, and the greater the publicity the better are our chances in the United States Supreme Court. Leave no stone unturned to publicize to the fullest this case. It is only through such publicity that we have any hope of freedom.

With warmest personal regards and every good wish for the complete victory of the working-class, I am, with fraternal trade-union regards,

Very sincerely,
TOM MOONEY, 31021.

New Trends in the Evolution Of the Unemployed Movement

By A. J. MUSTE

The recent unification of all the leading unemployed organizations into the Workers Alliance of America marks a definite period in the evolution of the movement. It is important that the militant workers in the field should understand the road that has been traveled, the trend which now prevails, and the policy which they must themselves adopt for the coming period.

To date the unemployed organizations have accomplished a number of important results. Their pressure has helped to keep relief standards from being scrapped completely. They have established and asserted the right of the unemployed to organize. They have corrected innumerable grievances of individuals and families. They have contributed some notable pages to the history of labor struggles in the United States. They have worked out the tactics, first applied on a large scale, in the Toledo Auto-Lite strike, of active participation in strikes of employed workers to an extent known in no other country. Through their work in connection with concrete needs of the unemployed and their educational activities, they have to a remarkable degree prevented Fascist or near-Fascist outfits from making inroads into the unemployed masses.

From "Self-Help" to Class Struggle

In the early months of the crisis when under the influence of various kinds of liberal and academic organizations were of the "barter" and "self-help" type, no results were obtained. A system of exchange among those who had nothing, still left them with nothing in the end. Conditions became worse and worse. It was when the unemployed began to "raise hell," built organizations on a basis (conscious or unconscious) of class struggle that some results were obtained. Not the least important result was that the unemployed learned the power of organization, realized their own strength, developed a fighting psychology. When the unemployed marched on Washington or other centers in 1932 to 1935 they were usually met by police on the outskirts of the city and prevented from entering or else so treated within the city limits that serious disturbances ensued. The some six hundred delegates at the recent unity convention of the unemployed in Washington in which the Workers Alliance of America absorbed the former National Unemployment Councils, National Unemployed League and a number of lesser organizations, convened in the spacious and imposing auditorium of the U. S. Department of Labor and their sessions were much more sedate than those of last fall's A. F. of L. convention. Much about the evolution and the present position of the unemployed movement is revealed in this contrast.

The Most Urgent Problem

The fusing of many organizations of relief recipients and project workers into a relatively stable

Problems Arising from The Washington Unity Convention

national body at this date—seven years after the beginning of the Great Depression, and three years after the advent of the New Deal administration—confirms Harry Hopkins' recent utterance that "unemployment is still the most urgent problem before the nation" and suggests that the President's statement in his Baltimore speech to the effect that "no man who is sensitive to human values dares to accept the continued existence of a vast permanent army of unemployed" is the expression of a pious wish.

Yet the unemployed and their organizations are not the immediate and dramatic "menace" which they constituted a couple of years ago. Objective factors in the general economic and political situation play a part here. The upturn in business, such as it is, has eased the tension relief payments and project wages are pitifully inadequate. Harassed by the immediate necessities of existence, administrators are constantly resorting to schemes to cut down payments to the workers. The threat of removal from the rolls hangs over the heads of tens of thousands. There is a dearth of grievances on which to build and hold together the decentralized unions.

Changed Situation

Nevertheless, the situation is less desperate than in those days when prosperity was supposed to be just around the corner, unemployment a passing phenomenon, and the only source of relief either the overburdened private charities, or bankrupt city, county and state treasuries. Then too the temper of the masses was more inflammable in those months when for the first time the ground was slipping out from under their feet, "upstanding Americans" were forced to undergo the humiliation of applying for relief, were evicted from homes they had built, etc., then it is now when they have become in greater or lesser degree adjusted to a new status and a lowered standard of living. Another factor in producing a more stable situation is the fact that the Roosevelt-Hopkins policy of recognizing the "right" of the unemployed to organize but insisting that they behave in a "reasonable" manner, as against the "bory attitude of flatly denying the right to organize, is permeating all the way down into the heads of at least a large percentage of the local administrators and foremen.

Such conditions tend to develop an organization devoted mainly to "collective bargaining" between workers and management (in this case local, state and federal authorities) and lobbying for legislation in the interest of the group, rather than to agitation and "revolutionary" objectives. The establishment of the enlarged Workers Alliance of America definitely marked the ascendancy of this trend in the

unemployed movement. The W.A.A. and its units will perform the function of "trade unions for the unemployed."

The chief leaders of the W.A.A., Socialist and Stalinist, consciously encourage conservative trends rather than resist the tendency to conservatism in the movement. There were interesting illustrations of this during the convention. They displayed the greatest anxiety that delegations to Congressmen and the W.P.A. offices should behave like gentlemen, though they were actually going without meals and beds, and the authorities politically insisted nothing could be done about it. Foremost among the speakers who addressed the convention were liberal representatives and senators such as Lundeen, Marcanonio, Amle and Frazier, some of whom are sponsoring social insurance and relief bills, and a personal representative of Harry Hopkins who could do nothing for their hungry stomachs and was politely applauded at the conclusion of his remarks. The Lesser-Bonham leadership should hang its head in shame if it is capable of that emotion, for permitting this insulting and degrading performance. Until recently no convention of unemployed would have submitted to it. It should never be permitted to happen again.

Secretary Frank Morrison of the A. F. of L. represented President Green, but there was no speaker from John L. Lewis' Committee for Industrial Organization. It is true that Norman Thomas and Mother Jones also spoke but, doubtless in line with more or less direct hints from the officers, they refrained from putting forward the Socialist or the Communist parties respectively. All the recognized leaders spoke for a Farmer-Labor party to include also liberals and progressives, and the incoming National Executive Board is instructed to "explore the possibilities" of forming such a party on a national scale in 1936.

Power in United Body

The lowering of the temper of the unemployed organizations in recent months has been accompanied, significantly enough, by a considerable slump in membership. The W.A.A. grew stronger because of the accession of previously existing units, rather than the formation of new ones, and thus gained relatively to the Councils and the Leagues, but its strongest state organization, for example, the Illinois Workers' Alliance, experienced the same decline in membership and activity as was manifested in most other organizations.

Setting-up of a single national organization of unemployed in which Socialists, Trotskyists, Stalinists, etc., participate is in an important respect a progressive achievement. It will give considerable impetus to the organizing movement in the immediate future, though conflict among diverse political tendencies will not by any means be entirely eliminated. Until some substantial

the parliamentary cliques.

7. To be present in every struggle so as to invest it with clear expression.

8. To drive constantly towards having the fighting masses form and constantly expand their committees of action (juntas, soviets), elected ad hoc.

9. To counterpose the program of the conquest of power, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the social revolution to all hybrid programs (a la Caballero, or a la Maurin).

This is the real road of the proletarian revolution. There is no other.

L. TROTSKY.

April 12, 1936.

"The turn of the Batalla toward the People's Front does not inspire us with confidence. One cannot say Monday that the League of Nations is a band of brigands, on Tuesday urge voters to vote for the program of the League of Nations, on Wednesday explain that yesterday it was only a question of electoral action and that today one has to resume one's own program. The serious worker must ask: and what are these people going to say Friday and Saturday? Maurin appears to be the very incarnation of a petty bourgeois revolutionist, superficial, agile and versatile. He studies nothing, he understands little and he spreads confusion all around him.

"Marx wrote in 1870 on the falseness of the term 'social democracy': socialism cannot be subordinated to democracy. Socialism (or communism) is enough for us. 'Democracy' has nothing to do with it. Since then, the October revolution has vigorously demonstrated that the socialist revolution cannot be carried out within the framework of 'democracy.' The 'democratic' revolution and the socialist revolution are on opposite sides of the barricades. The Third International theoretically confirmed this experience. The 'democratic' revolution in Spain has al-

change occurs to the general economic and political situation, possibly after the election, the policy of the W.A.A. is likely to reflect the general line and temper of the unity convention. This will be the aim of the Stalinists under their present undisguised and unrestricted opportunism and social-patriotism.

Only Struggle Effective

What this line means for the unemployed is already plain to everybody. A terrific drive to cut down appropriations in order to "balance the budget" is under way. Thousands are being dropped from projects. Except where vigorous fighting organizations exist, all kinds of devices for worsening conditions are resorted to. No amount of flitting with the Green-Wool outfit in the A. F. of L. or with liberal congressmen, no amount of gentlemanliness in dealing with the clever politicians of the Roosevelt machine, no amount of polite lobbying by unemployed who have no money to bring into the lobbies, no amount of "resolving" about fine-sounding but fake Stalinist farmer-labor or people's parties, will change this situation.

Whatever the unemployed got in the past, they got because they had strong organizations which went on the war-path. Building, or reviving, such organizations and carrying them into action is the job of revolutionists and militants today. A constant struggle with the state, with governmental agencies, is involved in the very nature of the unemployed situation and of any unemployed movement worthy of the name.

Link with Union Militants Needed

It follows, also, that the unemployed organizations cannot gain by being drawn down to the low level of militancy in many of the unions. On the contrary, the working class movement as a whole can gain only if the unemployed help to heighten the militancy of the unions. Consequently, the tie-up which the unemployed must seek with the industrialists as against the craft-unions in the A. F. of L. who have never evinced the slightest interest in the unemployed masses; and basically the tie-up must be not with bureaucrats at the top but with the militant progressive forces in the unions—a tie forged and constantly made stronger in the daily struggles of employed and unemployed alike.

Since it is impossible in an unemployed organization to establish a very strict centralized control from the center, nothing prevents the fighting spirits in city, county, state organizations from getting busy at once with building along these lines; with invading such reactionary strongholds as Tampa, Florida; with support of militant strikes as the Project Workers' Union in Akron stood ready to give the Goodyear workers recently; with large-scale local and state demonstrations. Thus will the W.A.A. be made into an important progressive force in the class-struggle in this country.

The Roosevelt - Lewis Coalition And the Farmer - Labor Party

By ARNE SWABECK

With the organization of Labor's Non-Partisan League, the Labor party question has come into new prominence. It is a peculiar kind of prominence and it is a new version of this question. At the same time it is the most genuine indication yet presented of what a future labor party will actually be.

The sponsors of this organization, among whom are John L. Lewis of the United Mine Workers, George Berry of the printing pressmen union and Sidney Hillman of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, have announced that their present objective is the re-election of Roosevelt in 1936. That task accomplished, it is intimated, the League may become the precursor of an American labor party or third party of labor, farmer, liberal and progressive elements. This is the way it is now offered to the working class. Starting out with the re-election of Roosevelt, such a party, when emerging full fledged, would have for its base the New Deal program.

This is not surprising. An examination of the present labor party trends, the position of the trade union leadership—which, it is to be remembered, is still the authentic spokesman of the movement it represents—and the actual role that a labor party can play in the stage of capitalist decay, should convince intelligent workers that what is intimated through the creation of Labor's Non-Partisan League is a fairly true picture of coming events.

Stalinists and Lewis

Let us compare this with the labor party idea sponsored by the Stalinists in their present hurricane campaign. There is no need to ignore their violent disavowal of the Lewis, Berry, Hillman coalition or its present aims, for even as a pretense that much would be necessary. With this we need not be seriously concerned. In politics, intentions or desires are of little account, even declarations have validity only when accompanied by corresponding deeds. But, above all, it is the objective logic of the position that is the decisive criterion. Leaving all outward appearances aside the fundamental issue therefore remains: what will be the objective result of these two positions on the labor party question? And in it we shall be sure to find a resemblance as striking as two eyeballs.

In outward appearance there are differences. In origin and gestation the differences may seem to the less discerning as if in open conflict. But, opportunist trends easily meet regardless of origin. Labor's Non-Partisan League gestated from the New Deal program and its spokesmen are still very cautious about future perspectives. In words they

Lewis Takes the Wind Out of Stalinist 1936 Sails

indicate only vaguely the labor party or third party direction. They have no illusions about a serious labor party movement in 1936. But they see clearly the leftward trends in the trade union movement which have been manifested especially in recent strikes, and they understand that these trends will also sooner or later endeavor to find political expression.

A Shrewd Strategy

In regard to these developments the Lewis-Hillman group, which is credited with the new strategy, has again proven its ability to gauge the moods of the masses more accurately than the craft conscious bureaucrats. Progressives in certain questions of trade union organization, this group is Rooseveltian in political ideology. This means that it is a conscious supporter of the capitalist system. And for this reason it has set for itself the immediate task of canalizing the trends in the movement for independent political action into the safe channels of support of the pseudo-reform measures of the New Deal. To secure in actuality these measures—which are even too radical for finance capital and for the most part ruled out by the Supreme Court—with Roosevelt as long as this is possible and later through a new political instrument; this is the way the question is presented to appear in palatable form to the workers.

The contradiction of this strategy lies not in the linking of support to Roosevelt in 1936 with a labor party to appear later. The contradiction, insofar as the workers are concerned, lies in the blurring of the class issues, in the harnessing of the slowly developing political consciousness to a program and a movement based purely on obtaining concessions from capitalism at a time when real concessions can be wrung from it only to the extent that the working class advances and organizes along revolutionary lines. The history of the Roosevelt measures bears this out most clearly. Therefore, so long as the developing political consciousness of the workers can be thus harnessed capitalism remains safe to continue its exploitation.

Within the "Peoples Movement"

This is also the contradiction of the Stalinist campaign for a labor party. But this glib propaganda on the question, insofar as they influence class conscious workers, is far more dangerous and far more criminal. Attempting to delude their followers, who sincerely want to "fight against political reaction

and Fascism and against the threatening war," they present the labor party as a means to this end. At the same time the labor party, in their version, is to be "neither socialist nor communist," and still capable of performing these gigantic tasks. It is to be a "broad people's movement." What a welter of confusion and treachery. Any small town banker, or smart bourgeois lawyer, or battered down right-winged "liberal" politician may rightfully demand his place in the "broad people's movement." On what grounds could they be excluded? And why should a people's movement displace the New Deal program?

For quite some time the Stalinists have addressed their appeals to the Lewis' group urging it to support the Labor party idea. It now appears as if these appeals have not been in vain. Support for a labor party is at least intimated. Such a party would also bear prominently the imprint of the official trade union leadership and of the whole coterie of elements who have no difficulty in pronouncing the Roosevelt program and the labor party with the same accent. It is from these elements and not from the workers that the Stalinists may claim their just reward for services rendered in the cause of social reformism.

A Significant Omen

Labor's Non-Partisan League already claims for itself a widely extended support. Norman Thomas sees in this development a hopeful sign for a future farmer-labor party. David Dubinsky of the International Ladies Garment Workers threw in his support immediately, and to leave no room for misunderstanding he resigned from the Socialist party. His loyalty, to the extent that he had any, had been with the Old Guard. On what good grounds can the Old Guard decline to follow his example?

On the whole it would be difficult to deny that all the signs of labor party developments point unmistakably in one and the same direction. It could not be otherwise once a reformist party is projected. Differences in outward appearances should not deceive anybody, for the objective logic of the positions advanced along the lines of social reformism must necessarily lead to one and the same genuine result. Today the most genuine indication of what the actual result will be, is furnished by the Lewis, Berry, Hillman coalition—for Roosevelt toward a labor party or third party based on the New Deal program.

This can hardly be the thing that class conscious workers are looking forward to. It can hardly be an object of support to socialist workers. Their job still remains the one of building a movement for socialism.

Problems for the Fourth Internationalists in Spain

(Continued from Page 1)

workers' organizations, however, remain completely enmeshed in the net of the People's Front. The convulsions of the revolutionary masses (without a program, without a leadership worthy of confidence) thus threaten to throw the gates wide open to the counter-revolutionary dictatorship!

Nin and Andrade

That the workers are driving ahead in the revolutionary direction is shown by the development of all their organizations, most particularly by that of the Socialist Party and the Socialist Youth. Two years ago we raised the question of the entry of the Spanish Bolshevik-Leninists into the Socialist Party. This proposal was rejected by the Andres Nins and Andrades with the disdainfulness of conservative philistines: they wanted "independence" at all costs, because it left them in peace and put them under no obligations. And yet affiliation to the Socialist Party in Spain would have yielded immeasurably better results, under the given circumstances than was the case, for example, in France. (Given the premise, of course, that in Spain the great mistakes committed by the leading French comrades would have been averted.) Meanwhile, however, Andres Nins and Nin united with the confused Maurin, in order jointly to trot behind the People's Front. The Socialist workers however, in their striving for revolutionary clarity, fell victim to the Stalinist deceivers. The fusion of the two youth organizations signifies that the best revolutionary energies will be abused and dissipated by the Comintern stipendiaries. And the "great" revolutionists, Andres Nin and Andrade remain on the sidelines in order to

carry on together with Maurin a completely impotent propaganda for the "democratic-socialist" revolution, that is, for a social democratic betrayal.

Nobody can know what form the next period in Spain will take. In any case, the flood tide which has borne the clique of the People's Front to power is too mighty to ebb in a short period of time and to leave the battlefield free to the reaction. The truly revolutionary elements still have a certain period of time, not too long a time to be sure, in which to reflect to assemble and to prepare for the future. This refers in the first place to the Spanish supporters of the Fourth International. Their tasks are as clear as day.

Tasks of Fourth Internationalists

1. To condemn pitilessly and to pillory before the masses the policy of all the leaders participating in the People's Front.
2. To grasp in full the wretchedness of the leadership of the "Workers Party of Marxist Unity" and especially of the former "Left Communists"—Andres Nin, Andrade, etc., and to portray them clearly in the sight of all the advanced workers.
3. To rally around the banner of the Fourth International on the basis of the "Open Letter."
4. To join the Socialist Party and the United Youth in order to work there as a faction in the spirit of Bolshevism.
5. To establish fractions and nuclei in the trades unions and other mass organizations.
6. To direct the main attention to the spontaneous and semi-spontaneous mass movements, to study their general traits, i.e., to take heed of the temperature of the masses and not the temperature of

Townsend Plan Hits The Downward Trek

Sixty-six years went by before Dr. Francis E. Townsend of Long Beach, California, noticed the injustice of this world. For sixty-six years he was content to struggle onward over the backs of the working class to a comfortable political post in the City Health Department.

Then at a ripe old age the middle class crusader lost his job in a political overturn. And as he counted his meagre savings and faced a jobless and poverty stricken senility he was overcome with a humanitarian impulse.

Looking out of the window of his little house he observed three old women rummaging through the garbage looking for something to eat. This observation late in 1933 seems to have been not only the beginning of the Old Age Revolving Pension Fund idea, but also the first time that Dr. Townsend became aware of the fact that all was not roses and soft jobs in Long Beach.

Birth of Movement

Like many other workers throughout the country the three old women lived on the garbage of capitalist civilization long before Townsend lost his job with the City Health Department and are probably still scavenging under the new Health Department.

But in the meanwhile a new movement has arisen to save Townsend and tens of thousands of other middle class old people from a fate the working class faces every day of every year—poverty.

Dr. Townsend sat down at his desk and figured out an economic scheme highly naive and unsound ready been carried out. The People's Front is renewing it. The personification of the "democratic" revolution in Spain is Azana, or without Caballero. The socialist revolution is yet to be made in imitable struggle against the "democratic" revolution and its People's Front. What does this synthesis, "democratic-socialist" revolution mean? Nothing at all. It is only an eclectic hodge-podge.

in theory but absolutely unsurpassed as an expression of all the petty and vicious fears and hopes of aging lower middle class shopkeepers, professionals, retired farmers, and ex-political jobholders.

The scheme was to pay all 100 percent Americans who had managed to keep out of jail for sixty years a sum of \$200 per month for not doing any work. The money was to be raised by a 15 percent sales tax on the working class, regardless of citizenship or criminal record.

Dr. Townsend's original plan didn't mention the working class specifically as the source of the twenty billion per year necessary for the operation of the plan; but it is evident that any sales tax falls most heavily on the workers, who form the great majority of the buying public.

Dr. Townsend enlisted the aid of his business friend, Earl Clements, whose former experience as a California real estate broker proved valuable in selling the shares of the new development to the public.

It was decided that a 15 percent sales tax was too bald, and in its place was put a 2 percent transaction tax; a piece of legerdemain made all the easier by the fact that the authors were restrained by no considerations of economic possibility. A transaction tax doesn't sound as bad as a sales tax, although in operation it would fall almost as heavily on the working class.

Mushroom Growth

The partners opened up shop in Long Beach on New Years Day of 1934, and began sending out letters and folders describing their economic discovery. At the end of six months they were receiving two thousand answers per day, and had moved into a Los Angeles office with 95 stenographers. The middle class responded magnificently to this scheme for sharing with the big capitalists in the exploitation of the workers.

In January 1936, after barely one year, the movement could claim followers in the millions and a

branch lobby office in Washington, D.C.

In the spring of 1935 the Townsend Plan was introduced into the House of Representatives by J. S. McGroarty, poet laureate of the state by special act of the California legislature. It received some fifty votes from Congressmen anxious to bolster their precarious reputations at home.

During 1935 the movement continued to grow until the founders claimed more than twenty million signatures to petitions and memoranda to Congress; a monster demonstration of social unrest. It became a menace to the federal government for it threatened to reveal to the middle class and deluded working class supporters of the Plan the complete dependence of the "people's representatives" on big capital.

The Investigation

Instead of answering the plan, instead of concerning themselves with the economic terror it reflected, instead of proposing serious alternatives, the august bootlickers in Congress decided upon a campaign of personal slander and insinuation against the leaders.

A congressional investigation was launched in the hope of destroying the Old Age Pension movement by discrediting Townsend. The same congressmen who can contemplate with indifference the expenditure of thirty million dollars on a wild and useless Trans-Florida ship canal for the purpose of raising a few thousand Democratic votes in Florida suddenly became indignant and self-righteous at the thought of an organization which collected a bare fifty cents per member to a total of not more than a million dollars.

Committee's Revelations

Despite a great hullabaloo raised by the investigating committee about Townsend's methods of organization, his accounting for funds, his management of the paper, etc., it appears that Townsend is no more of a crook than a congressman, and draws about the same salary.

The investigation is not yet complete but there are already rumors of political disagreements among the committee members. No doubt some of the congressmen foresee the failure of the investigation, and

are anxious to reinstate themselves with the Townsends.

It remained for the Stalinists to jump into this mess of middle class messianism and vote-anxious congressmen to lend the movement the invaluable advice and aid of the beloved leader of the world proletariat, Stalin. In a pamphlet on the Townsend plan Alex Hillman, the second string authority on counter-revolutionary Trotskyism, hails the Old Age Revolving Pension Plan as a movement of the "masses of the toilers," in a "powerful protest . . . against the policy of monopolies." (!)

A Revolutionary Attitude

The workers can have no use for this vicious middle class scheme for raising pensions at the expense of the workers. They want old age pensions for all productive workers regardless of citizenship, and they want them raised by income taxes on wealthy individuals and corporations.

More than this, the workers should know from experience that poverty in old age is only one facet of a system that condemns the working class to poverty, insecurity and unemployment every day of the year.

Naturally the Townsend movement has certain fascist potentialities. The O.A.R.P. already has the reform socialist demagoguery, the rank nationalism, and the messianic leadership of the fascist movement. But in these times of comparative capitalist security and business recovery the Townsend movement is probably doomed to end in another EPIC fiasco. It serves a purpose in exposing the hopeless and reactionary nature of middle class reformism, the cynical indifference and servility of the capitalist government, and the stupid and equally cynical attempts of Stalinism to capitalize on all this petty bourgeois swill.

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BROWDER: THE MAN & HIS BOOK

1. The Stalinist System of Beloved Leaders

By MAX SHACHTMAN

Not every book has the importance of a political program; indeed very few have. The present volume may, however, be counted among the limited number. Nor is this all. By its contents as well as by the circumstances surrounding its conception, it is possible to get a good mental picture of the movement for which it serves as a program and of the man at the head of the movement.

What has struck reviewers who are not direct partisans of the author and consequently do not need to render the volume the dithyrambic homage which is otherwise compulsory, is the startling contrast between "What Is Communism?", published early in 1936, and "Communism in the United States" by the same Earl Browder, published less than a year ago. Briefly, where the 1935 exposition of the C. P. standpoint said Black, the 1936 exposition says White; where the former said No the latter says Yes; where the former had a plus sign the latter now puts a minus sign—and vice versa.

The "Beloved Leader" This inconsistency, by itself, would be enough to cause a stir. But it is complicated by the phenomenon of consistency. The official C. P. reviewers are just as unrestrained in their encomiastic praise of the second volume as they were of the first. However opposite may be the views expressed by the two volumes in the eyes of the average reading mortal, he is nevertheless astoundedly assured that in both cases the author has displayed a wisdom, a simplicity, an insight, a scope, a majesty that are associated in each communist party with only one member: the beloved leader in his particular country.

The modern "beloved leader" of the communist parties (each of them is plagued with one) is a new phenomenon directly associated with and expressive of the politics which gave it birth. We do not believe that the significance of the present volume's contents can be fully grasped without an understanding of the author, not so much as a particular individual but as a political phenomenon.

Browder was recently elaborately introduced to the bourgeois world through the columns of the debonair monthly "The American Magazine" (Feb. 1936). The tone employed by Hubert Kelley, the author of the article, who writes like more than a casual acquaintance of the secretary of the Communist party, indicates that "Our No. 1 Communist" (as the presentation is entitled) is a semi-official introduction of Browder to the respectable public. The fact that Browder has nowhere commented on the article, much less challenged or disowned it, fortifies this conclusion.

"Mind Like an Adding Machine" "I think Earl Browder is the leader of the Communist party," writes Mr. Kelley, "for the same reason that certain other men are leaders in the capitalist world which he hates—because they are, as a rule, more intelligent, harder-working, and longer-suffering than anybody else—because they are loyal to one idea in life."

This might explain Browder's leadership of the C. P., were it not for the fact that Mr. Kelley unwittingly deprives this explanation of any foundation in the paragraph directly preceding it: "Nobody back home [i.e., in the U. S.] can account for his rise. Some said he had a routine mind like an adding machine. I have often heard persons who know him wonder how he got the job and kept it." (My emphasis.)

As an introduction to a consideration of the book proper, let us attempt to analyze the phenomenon which causes even "persons who know him" to wonder.

In a properly organized working class party, the principle of democratic centralism is deemed essential not primarily out of moral or ethical considerations but above all because it is socially, politically correct. Party members rise to the position of leadership because of superior ability in their work, their ideas, their devotion to the cause, as displayed over a period of time, and not in this or that isolated instance. Often enough, leadership is acquired not only by virtue of prominent participation in the general class struggle, but in the course of internal disputes in the party itself. Ideas, platforms, programs are counterposed, and when the best of them prevails (either after internal discussion or after verification in the class struggle), it is logical that their spokesmen should prevail; with them. So-and-so has demonstrated by his proposals and his activity in this situation in 1929, that situation in 1920, the other situation in 1921, etc., that the party would be well-advised in elevating him to the post of leadership where his political talents may be most beneficial to the movement.

"What Is Communism?" by Earl Browder, Vanguard Press, New York. 60 cents.

The good leader does not operate by himself; he surrounds himself with other qualified men in whose company, as the old Romans had it, he is first among equals. The good leader does not convert this company into an aloof bureaucracy separated from the ranks and striving above all for self-preservation and self-perpetuation. Quite the contrary. He does not fear to give a thorough and periodic account of his stewardship; he welcomes criticism. If his course is correct, he has sufficient confidence in the ranks to know that they will endorse it. If his course is wrong, the same confidence assures him that the ranks will help him by correcting it. By means of this mutual consultation and influencing, the leader keeps his indispensable contact with the ranks of the movement—a contact without which he is sure to go wrong; and the ranks are not only in a position to check and control, but they are constantly being trained to a better understanding of problems, and prepared for leadership themselves. And the job of the revolutionary party is to lead.

Bureaucratic Leadership In general, this represents the normal and healthy way in which the party ranks and leadership must function. A bureaucratic regime represents the abnormal and unhealthy way. It is interested primarily in keeping itself intact, and consequently develops distinct caste interests of its own. Having lost contact with the ranks, it loses that indispensable knowledge of the moods, needs, interests of the masses. Without that, its charts are no good and more often than not it leads the ranks onto a reef. The history of the labor movement is rife with examples of this fatal connection between organization and politics. Unable to give an accounting of itself that will be acceptable to the ranks, the bureaucracy draws further and further away from them. It resents their interference and fears it. Once it has gained organizational control of the movement, by virtue of one or another combination of circumstances, it must inevitably deprive the ranks of the possibility and opportunity to express themselves politically in a free and thorough manner, for they would eventually and unfailingly draw such organizational conclusions from their political expression.

On the Soviet Section of The Fourth International

By L. T.

In a public report on Dec. 30, 1935, Khrushchev, the leader of the Moscow organization, the most important and the largest in the party, boasted that the check-up of the party documents resulted in success. The enemies of the party were exposed: "Trotskyists, Zinovievists, spies, kulaks, White Guard officers." The order in which the categories of the expelled are listed is very remarkable, indeed! In Moscow, the kulaks and White Guard officers occupy the last place: they were taken care of long ago by the previous purges in the capital. There is no need to dwell upon "spies" as a special category. Thus, the chief targets of the purge in Moscow were the Trotskyists and the Zinovievists. But, no more and no less than 9,975 members of the party were expelled in the city alone, apart from the district itself!

In Leningrad, 7,274 people were expelled. Zhdanov, the Leningrad leader of the party, announced that "The counter-revolutionary Zinovievists occupy a notable place (1) among the expelled." In Leningrad, as is well known, the Left Opposition has traditionally assumed a Zinovievist coloration, which must have become accentuated after Zinoviev was clapped in jail. If among a number of more than 7,000 the Zinovievists occupy a "notable place," then it is quite clear that we are not dealing with a few scores or hundreds. Precisely for this reason the reporter was careful to evade mentioning the figure.

10,000 Expelled in Capital Cities In addition to the "Trotskyists" and the "Zinovievists," Zhdanov made an obscure reference to "opportunists of all sorts." In all probability this label covers those party members who have shown resistance to the bureaucratic excesses of the Stakhanov movement. There need be no doubts that the opposition groupings in the working class have been revived precisely by the new pressure upon the workers, accompanied with new and monstrous privileges for the bureaucracy and the "best people." It is noteworthy, in any case, that neither Khrushchev nor Zhdanov had a single word to say in reference to either the Mensheviks or the Social Revolutionaries.

We wrote, on a previous occasion, that during the last months of 1935, not less than 10,000, and most probably close to 20,000 Bol-

as would mean the end of the bureaucracy. Bureaucraticism therefore strangles the party organizationally and politically. Communism means the establishment of a new relationship between man and man. Reactionary bureaucraticism, its antipode, ends by establishing between the summits and the ranks the relationship of feudal lord and serf.

But what if differences arise in the ranks of the bureaucracy itself, as they always do and inevitably must? As a rule, the bureaucrats cannot appeal to the ranks to intervene in the settlement of the differences. That would mean to loosen the bonds of the masses, to awaken them, to present them with political problems to solve, to set them in motion. Once that is done, the bureaucracy has no way of telling where the re-awakened masses will stop. Good gracious! They might decide that the real solution to the bureaucratic dispute lies in the elimination of the bureaucracy itself! Increasingly reluctant to render its marvellous disputes to the masses, the bureaucracy always tends to set up a Supreme Arbitrator in its own midst, one upon whom it relies for the protection of its caste interests from attacks by obstreperous members of the caste itself as well by the masses whom it dominates.

"But the King Is Naked" This is, roughly, the general outline of the mechanics of the evolution of a Bonapartist leadership, clearly discernible in the development of the Soviet Union, especially of its Communist party, in the last decade. The more insufferable the bureaucratic regime becomes, the narrower the organized base of its existence, the more imperiously it requires periodic "endorsements" from the masses. The closer it comes to utter bankruptcy and exposure, the more feverishly does it seek to bolster the legend of its successes, its infallibility and its popularity.

Lenin, serene in the knowledge that his policies were correct, or if wrong, could be corrected in a normal manner, had no fear whatsoever to expose himself and his course to the widest public discussion. Stalin, the incarnation of the bureaucracy, is anything but serene, and for good reason. The nude king of the fairy tale who compelled

his subjects to comment loudly upon the beauty of his garments which they could not see, was disconcerted by the little child who cried, "But the King is naked!" In the Soviet Union, even the smallest child is taught to say that his nude sovereign is not only not naked but is garbed in the most ravishing mode.

Omniscient and Omnipresent To preserve itself, the bureaucracy puts all its hopes in the Supreme Arbitrator, Stalin. To preserve him, the bureaucracy carries on a systematic, well-organized, and thoroughly half-raising campaign of panegyrics to The Leader. Steadily drilled into the minds of the masses is the notion that they must believe what they are told, not what they see. If the masses can be made to believe that The Leader is as wise, as infallible and as good as Omniscient and Omnipresent God himself, then the decrees which he issues, primarily in the interests of the bureaucracy, will find more favor and less opposition.

That, we believe, is the main reason for the incredible system of delirious flattery of Stalin which ought to bring a blush of shame to everyone save the muckrakers of the regime, and even to some of them. Let us look at a few examples from a recent compilation.

Unmuzzed Panegyrics for Stalin Renamed or newly-named offices of the U. S. S. R. now include Stalinabad, Stalinograd, Stalin, Stalinabad, Stalinist, Stalin-Avot, Stalinist and Stalinogorsk, to say nothing of the highest peak of Mount Pamir, Peak Stalin (the second highest being named Peak Lenin). Factories and streets bearing the august name are legion.

In the field of belles lettres, Stalin has assumed a position of the very highest renown. A contributor to "The Literary Gazette" tells you that "It is the role of linguistics and criticism to study the style of Stalin." The versifier Demian Biedny declares at a meeting: "Learn to write like Stalin writes." An effusive, but entirely typical lady of letters, describes Stalin in a Russian journal as nothing less than the direct contributor of Goethe. A writer in "The Literary Post" casually informs the reader that Stalin "has always been distinguished by his profound comprehension of literature." A manifesto of the Association of "proletarian" writers says without a smile: "Each section, each paragraph of the speech of Stalin is the most fertile theme for artistic works."

Stalin: Peer of Kantians

No less a genius does The Leader display in the field of philosophy. An unblushing professor tells the Communist Academy in Moscow: "The position of the theses of Kantism cannot be completely understood in contemporary science except in the light of comrade Stalin's last letter." (The reference is to Stalin's last attack on the memory of Rosa Luxemburg; the connection it has with the Kantian theses is, of course, perfectly obvious.) A writer in "Revolution and Culture" sets down the fact that Stalin is to be counted among the "profound, connoisseurs and critics of Hegel" (as Stalin's collected works on philosophy amply reveal). Still another lover of bureaucratic posteriors adds that Stalin belongs among "the most competent authorities on contemporary philosophical problems." A fourth stipendiary notes in passing in "The Cultural Front" that "Essentially, certain prognostications of Aristotle have been incarnated and deciphered in all their amplitude only by Stalin."

The late Kirov described Stalin at the 17th Congress as not more and not less than "the greatest leader of all times and of all peoples." The editor of "Izvestia," at another congress, relieved himself of this: "On the threshold of the new era stand two peerless titans of thought, Lenin and Stalin. . . . Can anything be written nowadays on anything at all without knowing Stalin? Absolutely not! Nothing can be understood without Stalin, nor anything interesting written."

Among the titles by which this shy Georgian flower graciously permits himself to be called are: The colossus of steel, the great pilot (or the great engineer, architect, master, theoretician, collective farmer, etc.), the great disciple of the great masters, the field marshal of the revolutionary army, the chief of the world proletariat, the heroic organizer of the Red Army, the inspirer of the October Revolution, the best Leninist, the best among the best, the gifted leader, the beloved leader, the dearly beloved leader, the most dearly beloved leader; and more of the same if you can stand it.

Ordaining Lesser "Beloved Leaders"

As in the U. S. S. R., so in the rest of the world. In every communist party, Stalin appoints an agent upon whom is automatically conferred the title of "beloved leader," just as the commoner appointed

Turks in times gone by automatically became a Pasha or a Bey. The designation of "beloved leaders" in every country is not merely done in servile imitation of the Russian state of things. It is politically necessary for the Stalin regime. Under it, the Comintern has been reduced to the position of a department of the Soviet Foreign Office. Stalin has no time or need of revolutionary working class politics. The idea of the normal development of a leadership indigenous to its communist and working class movements, is entirely superfluous—even dangerous—to his calculations. In every party, he merely needs a Governor-General who can trustworthily translate into the language of his country the requirements of the Soviet bureaucracy. The fact that this agent is exclusively dependent upon the goodwill of those who appointed him has a double advantage: 1) the ranks of the party, which have been trained that way, will take what this mechanical transmitter says without questioning it; 2) he can be removed just as easily as he was appointed. Each agent is like a light along the communications system of the Comintern. Stalin throws the master switch, all of them turn back, and the trains will move accordingly in each country; a twist of the master switch and all lights turn yellow or green or blue.

In China, one day, the masses suddenly became informed that the Stalinist leader they love is Li Li-shan; but it can happen (it did!) that the masses should wake up some morning and find that they do not love him the least bit, they love Wang Min instead. In France, the proletariat must accept Thorez and nobody else as its "beloved leader"—for France only, to be sure; on a world scale, only Stalin is the object of its affection. Similarly, in every other country, from Australia to Zanbazar.

Following Machiavelli's Advice

In his chapter "Of Those Who Have Attained the Position of Prince by Villainy," Niccolò Machiavelli gives the advice that "in making a state the conqueror must arrange to commit all his cruelties at once, so as not to have to recur to them every day, and so as to be able, by not making fresh changes, to reassure people and win them over by benefiting them."

In point of fact, that is what Stalin did in the United States. Taking over the American C. P. from those suspected of "rotten liberalism" towards Bukharin—the Lovestonites—he committed "all his cruelties at once": Browder was appointed General Secretary and Beloved Leader in one. In turn, he has created Beloved Leaders on a lower scale in the hierarchy. Lem Harris is thus the beloved leader of the farmers; Herbert Benjamin the Beloved Leader of the Unemployed; James Ford the Beloved Leader of the Harlem masses; Israel Alter the Beloved Leader of the New York workers. But over and above them all is the Beloved Leader Browder, only one step removed (but what a step!) from THE Beloved Leader of the World Proletariat.

In making his choice, Stalin was not deceived. Be the figure as colorless and mediocre as possible, it does not matter much. Obscurity, too, is no handicap—a reputation will be speedily and elaborately manufactured and disseminated for him. All that is really required of the Beloved Leader is that he have a vacancy in those spots where a normal human being has his spinal column and his cerebellum, and that the hinges of his knees be well-oiled. Time was when Browder would not have qualified for the post; those old in the movement recall days when he had ideas of his own, even if they were almost invariably wrong. But he has since sternly repressed this defect. He has learned the all-sufficient virtue of Obedience. This virtue, in the Stalinist order of things, has its own reward in the form of Beloved Leadership.

Last year, Browder put between covers a collection of articles and speeches which made him sound like a lion—a somewhat deranged lion, but one with a deep and intolerant roar. Nothing was too radical for him in those days, for he was obedient to the Stalin of the moment. Hoover? Roosevelt? Green? Lewis? Thomas? Cahan? Trotsky? Olson? Coughlin? All of them were combined in a colossal conspiracy to defeat Browder's plans for an immediate and stormy revolution in the United States.

A "Red-Blooded American"

Then came the news of the turn proclaimed by the 7th Congress. Result? Where once he roared, he now bleats pathetically. The turn is towards conservatism, respectability, patriotism, nationalism, united frontism. In his new book, as in all his other writings and actions, Browder makes the turn with the late convert's zeal. In the Beloved Leader of the American proletariat the new turn of the C. I. is full-bloodedly incarnated. Budenz, the turncoat who took refuge in the Stalinist camp, emphasizes to the readers of the Daily Worker that his leader has a "Kansas twang" (the frontier touch). A Boston leaflet announcing the C. P. Lenin memorial meeting anxiously describes Browder as the "Kansas-born American leader of the Communist party." His bourgeois biographer assures his readers that "Our No. 1 Communist" has ances-

"A Sensational Interview"

Azana Sends His Best Love to Stalin

Light was thrown on the reasons behind the Stalinists' pro-Azana course in Spain, by the appearance in the Daily Worker of April 23 of an eight-column streamer, "Spanish Premier. Holds Soviet Union Guarantor of Peace," and underneath it a cable from Moscow which gives in full an interview between Azana and the Soviet writer Ehrenbourg, terming it a "sensational interview."

Contrast the generous space given to this interview, with the sparsity of news from Spain in the Daily Worker since the February election. Almost nothing is reported. What little is printed is dishonestly distorted. Azana's speech of April 4, hailed by the reactionaries, was not mentioned. His speech of April 13 was mentioned—but his attack in it on Communism was deleted! In its April 18 story, the Daily Worker revealed the bankruptcy of the line of the C. P. S. P. which in the middle of the general strike "declared they may participate later. Their present decision was to support the Azana government insofar as it takes effective action against the reactionaries." Yet the Daily Worker had the gall to put as a headline on this story that "People's Block (i. e., including Azana) Forces Arrest of Fascists in Civil Guard." The same story reports the C. P. S. P. vote of confidence in Azana but suppresses all facts about his anti-Communist attack in the Cortes. In short, the Daily Worker behaves like the Stalinist "Amado Olvera" which outdoes the government papers in its slavish support of Azana. Why? Azana's interview, relayed from Moscow, supplies the answer: Azana is a "friend" of the Soviet Union!

We quote the interview as a whole: "Ehrenbourg: What measures has the Spanish Government taken for the establishment of normal diplomatic relations with the U. S. S. R.?" "Azana: During the campaign, the People's Front advanced the demand for the establishment of diplomatic relations with the U. S. S. R. During the next two weeks, an Ambassador of the Spanish Republic will be appointed to Moscow. I know that the 'rights' will be pro-

duced who "dame to the Colonies not after the landing of the Mayflower, and members of the family have fought in every war waged by this country up to the last one" (The D. A. R. touch). In his book (the new one!) Browder assures Mr. Hearst that "we cannot think of any other spot on the globe where we would rather be than exactly this one" (p. 13) and on the next page he generously pleads on behalf of the foreign-born workers: "They deserve, at a minimum [!] a little courtesy [!] from those who would speak of Americanism." To Kelley's question about the problem of saluting the flag faced by Browder's children in the public schools, the latter replies: "It's their flag. Why shouldn't they salute it?" (American Magazine, Feb. 1936, p. 111.)

Why not, indeed? For the point is that the Stalinist parties, their Beloved Leaders included, have changed flags. Another word for such action is: betrayal. How completely the principles to which the C. P. once bore allegiance have been abandoned, is revealed by a thorough reading of the new Browder book.

Why not, indeed? For the point is that the Stalinist parties, their Beloved Leaders included, have changed flags. Another word for such action is: betrayal. How completely the principles to which the C. P. once bore allegiance have been abandoned, is revealed by a thorough reading of the new Browder book.

test but I am not in the least interested in their position.

"Ehrenbourg: Are you a member of the presidium of the League for the Defense of Peace?"

"Azana: Yes, I am, together with Alvarez Dea Vayo and the poet, Antonio Machado.

"Ehrenbourg: How do you estimate the rule of the U. S. S. R. in the matter of the defense of peace?"

"Azana: The U. S. S. R. is the guarantor of peace. Your country possesses military power and is therefore able to defend our common interests. Fascism is the germ of war.

"Ehrenbourg: Are you acquainted with Soviet art?"

"Azana: I particularly value the new Soviet music which I have heard here and in Paris. I know the Soviet writers and your literature has enabled me to understand the soul of the Soviet revolution. I need not mention the great impression which Soviet films have made upon me. I regret today to say that I am acquainted with Stankovskiy and Meisner's famous Soviet theatre directors only from books. I hope soon to be in Moscow. We must do everything in order to acquaint the Latin people with Soviet culture and art.

"Ehrenbourg: Low do you estimate the situation in Spain?"

"Azana: Yesterday's events show that the 'rights' have not reconciled themselves. Certain elements in the Civil Guards showed insubordination. Yesterday, the government took a number of urgent measures: the removal or replacement of Fascists who are among the commanding staff.

"The 'rights' are frightened and will not dare to raise their heads. I believe that in the very near future we will have an agrarian reform. We are preparing a bill which will allow us more stringent control over Spanish banks.

"The People's Front is stable and the Communists are trusted allies. The enemies of the regime are only among the 'rights.' I do not deny that we are confronted with many obstacles but I am convinced that the People's Front will triumph completely and that Fascism is know that the 'rights' will be pro-

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France at the Crossroads

In View of an Introduction to the Second Edition of
"In Defense of Terrorism"

By LEON TROTSKY

Editor's Note: In response to requests from many of our readers we are continuing publication of "France at the Crossroads" by Leon Trotsky. This introduction to the new French edition of "In Defense of Terrorism" is the third section of comrade Trotsky's series "Whither France" which is to be published in book form by Pioneer Publishers.

The sharpening of the class struggle, and especially the open emergence of the armed gangs of reaction, caused great ferment among the workers' organizations. The Socialist Party which had been peacefully performing the role of the spare wheel in the chariot of the Third Republic, found itself compelled to half-renege its cartel tradition, and even to break with its own right wing (the Neos). Concurrently, the Communists completed their evolution in just the opposite direction, but on a scale infinitely more extensive. Over a period of several years these gentlemen had raved deliriously about barricades, conquering the streets, and so on (their delirium, to be sure, remained primarily literary in nature). Now after February 6, 1934, realizing that the situation had taken a serious turn, the specialists in barricades scurried to the right. The normal reflex action of the scared phrasemongers coincided most propitiously with the new international orientation of Soviet diplomacy.

Status Quo—the Policy

Oppressed by the danger threatening from Hitler Germany, the policy of the Kremlin turned toward France. Status quo—in international relations! Status quo in the internal relations of the French regime! Hopes for the social revolution? Chimera! The leading circles in the Kremlin refer as a rule only with contempt to French communism. One must hang on to what exists, lest things get worse. Parliamentary democracy in France is inconceivable without the Radicals; they must be supported by the Socialists. It is necessary to order the Communists not to hinder the bloc between Blum and Herriot, and if possible, the Communists, themselves, must join the bloc. No convulsions, no threats! Such is the course pursued by the Kremlin.

When Stalin renounces the world revolution, the bourgeois parties of France refuse to believe him. Needless caution! In politics, blind credulity is, of course, not a great virtue. But blind distrust is no better. One must know how to compare words with deeds and be able to recognize a general tendency of development over a period of years. The policy of Stalin, determined by the interests of the privileged Soviet bureaucracy, has become conservative through and through. The French bourgeoisie has ample reasons to place faith in Stalin. All the less reason for trust on the part of the French proletariat.

The Society for Bankrupts

During the Trade Union Unity congress at Toulouse, the "communist" Racamond gave a truly important formula of the policy of the People's Front: "How to overcome the timidity of the Radical Party?" How to overcome the bourgeoisie's fear of the proletariat? Very simply: the terrible revolutionists must fling away the knife clenched between their teeth, they must put pomade on their hair, and flich the smile of the most fascinating courtesan. The result will be Vaillant-Couturier—latest model. Under the onset of the pomaded "communists," who with all their strength pushed the leftward moving Socialists to the right, Blum had to change his course once again, fortunately, in the accustomed direction. Thus arose the People's Front—the society for insuring Radical bankrupts at the expense of the capital of the working class organizations.

Radicalism is inseparable from Freemasonry. When we say this, we have said everything. During the debate in the Chamber of Deputies on the Fascist leagues, Mr. Xavier Vallat recalled that Trotsky had once "prohibited" French communists from participating in Masonic lodges. Mr. Jammy Schmidt, who we believe is a high authority in this field, immediately explained this edict by the incompatibility between despotic Bolshevism and the "free spirit." We shall not dispute this point with the Radical deputy. But we still consider that a labor representative, who seeks inspiration or solace in the vapid Masonic cult of class-collaboration, is unde-

serving of the slightest trust. It was not accidental that the cartel was supplemented by the extensive participation of the Socialists in the mummery of the lodges. Now the time has come for the repentant Communists, also, to don the aprons! Incidentally, the newly converted pupils will be able to serve the old masters of the cartel more comfortably in aprons.

Safety Valve for Capitalism

But, we are told not without indignation, the People's Front is not a cartel at all, but a mass movement. There is, of course, no lack of pompous definitions, but they do not change the nature of things. The job of the cartel always consisted in putting a brake upon the mass movement, directing it into the channels of class collaboration. This is precisely the job of the People's Front as well. The difference between them—and not an unimportant one—is that the traditional cartel was applied during the comparatively peaceful and stable epochs of the parliamentary regime. Now, however, when the masses are impatient and explosive, a more imposing brake is needed, with the participation of the "communists." Joint meetings, parade processions, oaths, mixing the banners of the Commune and of Versailles, noise, bedlam, demagoguery—all these serve a single aim: to curb and demoralize the mass movement.

While justifying himself in the Chamber before the Rights, Sarraut declared that his innocent concessions to the People's Front were nothing else than the safety valve of the regime. Such frankness may seem imprudent. But it was rewarded by violent applause from the benches of the extreme left. Ergo, there was no reason for Sarraut to be bashful. In any case, he succeeded, perhaps, not quite consciously, in providing a classic definition of the People's Front: a safety valve for the mass movement. M. Sarraut is generally lucky with his aphorisms!

Foreign Policy of the People's Front

Foreign policy is the continuation of home policy. Having entirely renounced the viewpoint of the proletariat, Blum, Cachin and Co. adopt, under the screen of "collective security" and "international law," the viewpoint of national imperialism. They are preparing precisely the same policy of bootlicking which they had conducted in the years 1914 to 1918, adding only the phrase "For the Defense of the U.S.S.R." Yet during the years 1918-1923, when Soviet diplomacy was also obliged to veer considerably and to conclude a good many agreements, not a single one of the sections of the Communist International so much as even dared to think of a bloc with its own bourgeoisie! Is not this alone ample proof of the sincerity of Stalin's renunciation of the world revolution?

The self-same motives which impelled the present leaders of the Comintern to suckle at the paps of "democracy" in its period of agony, led them to discover the glorious image of the League of Nations, when the death rattle was already emanating from it. Thus was created a common platform of foreign policy between the Radicals and the Soviet Union. The home program of the People's Front is concocted of generalities which allow of as liberal an interpretation as does the Geneva covenant. The general meaning of the program is to leave everything as of old. Meanwhile, the masses refuse to accept the old any longer; therein lies the gist of the political crisis.

Proletarian Disarmament

Disarming the proletariat politically, the Blums, Paul Faures, Cachins and Thorezes are most concerned lest the workers arm themselves physically. The agitation of these gentlemen does not differ in any way from the preacher's sermons on the superiorities of the moral principles. Engels who taught that the problem of state power is the problem of armed detachments, and Marx who looked upon insurrection as an art seem to be akin to medieval barbarians in the eyes of the present deputies, senators and mayors of the People's Front. For the one hundred and first time, *Populaire* prints a cartoon picturing a naked worker with the caption: "You will learn that our bare fists are more solid than all your black-jacks." What a splendid contempt for military technique! Even the Abyssinian negus holds more progressive

views on this subject. The overturns in Italy, Germany and Austria apparently do not exist for these people. Will they cease singing paeans to "bare fists" when de la loque claps handcuffs upon them? Sometimes one feels sorry that such an experience cannot be afforded privately to the Messrs. Leaders, without involving the masses!

From the standpoint of the bourgeois regime as a whole, the People's Front represents an episode in the competition between Radicalism and Fascism for the attention and good graces of big capital. By their theatrical fraternization with Socialists and Communists, the Radicals want to prove to the master that the situation of the regime is not as bad as the lights assert; that the threat of the revolution is not at all so great; that even Vaillant-Couturier has swapped his knife for a dog collar; that through the medium of the domesticated "revolutionists" it is possible to discipline the working masses, and, consequently, to save the parliamentary system from shipwreck.

Not all the Radicals believe in this maneuver; the most solid and influential among them, headed by Herriot prefer to take a watchful position. But in the last analysis they have nothing else to propose themselves. The crisis of parliamentarism is first of all the crisis of the confidence of the voters in Radicalism. Until some method for rejuvenating capitalism is discovered there is not and cannot be any recipe for the salvation of the Radical party. The latter has only the choice between two variants of political doom. Even the relative success it may score during the coming elections can neither avert nor even long postpone its shipwreck.

Is This a Bloc?

The leaders of the Socialist Party the most careful politicians in France, do not burden themselves with the study of the sociology of the People's Front. No one can learn anything from the endless monologues of Leon Blum. As for the Communists, the latter, extremely proud of their initiative in the cause of collaboration with the bourgeoisie, picture the People's Front as an alliance between the proletariat and the middle classes. What a parody on Marxism! The Radical party is not at all the party of the petty bourgeoisie. Nor is it a "bloc between the middle and the petty bourgeoisie," in accordance with the idiotic definition of the Moscow *Pravda*. The middle bourgeoisie exploits the petty bourgeoisie not only economically but also politically, and it itself is the agency of finance capital. To give the hierarchic political relations, based upon exploitation, the neutral name of a "bloc" is to make mock of reality. A horseman is not a bloc between a man and a horse. If the party of Herriot-Daladier extends its roots deeply into the petty bourgeoisie, and in part even into the working masses, it does so only in order to lull and dupe them in the interests of the capitalist order. The Radicals are the democratic party of French imperialism—any other definition is a lie.

The crisis of the capitalist system disarms the Radicals, depriving them of their traditional implements for lulling the petty bourgeoisie. "The middle classes" are beginning to sense if not to understand that it is impossible to save the situation through paltry reforms, that it is necessary to scrap audaciously the existing system. But Radicalism and audacity are as incompatible as fire and water. Fascism is fed above all by the growing lack of confidence of the petty bourgeoisie in Radicalism. One can say without fear of exaggeration that the political fate of France in the period immediately ahead will largely take shape depending upon the manner in which Radicalism will be liquidated, and who will fall heir to its legacy, i.e., the influence upon the petty bourgeoisie: Fascism or the party of the proletariat.

An Axiom of Marxism

The elementary axiom of Marxist strategy reads that the alliance between the proletariat and the little men of the city and country can be realized only in the irreconcilable struggle against the traditional parliamentary representation of the petty bourgeoisie. In order to attract the peasant to the side of the worker, it is necessary to tear the peasant away from the Radical politician, who subjects the peasant to finance capital. In contradistinction to this, the People's Front, the conspiracy between the labor bureaucracy and the worst political exploiters of the middle classes, is capable only of killing the faith of the masses in the revolutionary road and of driving them into the arms of the Fascist counter-revolution.

Unbelievable as it may seem, some cynics attempt to justify the policy of the People's Front by quoting Lenin, who, if you please, proved that there is no getting along without "compromises" and, in particular, without making agreements with other parties. It has become an established rule among the leaders of the present Comintern to make mock of Lenin; they trample underfoot all the teachings of the builder of the Bolshevik party, and then they take a trip to Moscow to kneel before his Mausoleum.

The Tradition of Lenin

Lenin began his activities in Czarist Russia, where not only the proletariat, the peasantry, and the intelligentsia but also wide circles of the bourgeoisie stood in opposition to the old regime. If the policy of the People's Front has any justification at all, one should imagine that it could be justified first of all in a country that has yet to achieve its bourgeois revolution. The Messrs. Falsifiers, however, would not do badly at all if they were to point out at what stage and under what conditions the Bolshevik party ever built even a semblance of the People's Front in Russia? Let them strain their imagination and rummage among the historical documents!

The Bolsheviks did conclude practical agreements with the revolutionary petty bourgeois organizations, for example, for joint li-

legal transport of revolutionary literature; sometimes for joint arrangements of a street demonstration; sometimes to repulse the Black Hundred gangs. During elections to the state Duma they did, under certain conditions, enter into electoral blocs with the Mensheviks or the Social Revolutionaries, on the second ballot. That is all. No common "programs," no common and permanent institutions, no renunciation of the criticism of temporary allies. Such episodic agreements and compromises, confined strictly to practical aims—Lenin never spoke of any other kind—have absolutely nothing in common with the People's Front which represents a conglomeration of heterogeneous organizations, a long term alliance between different classes, that are bound for an entire period—and what a period!—by a common program and a common policy, the policy of parades, declamations, and of throwing up smokescreens. The People's Front will fall to pieces at the first serious test, and deep fissures will open up in all of its component sections. The policy of the People's Front is the policy of betrayal.

The rule of Bolshevism on the question of blocs reads: march separately, strike together! The rule of the leaders of the present Comintern is: march together in order to be smashed separately. Let these gentlemen hold on to Stalin and Dimitroff, but leave Lenin in peace!

Is France Saved from Fascism?

It is impossible to read without indignation the declarations of the bragging leaders who allege that the People's Front has "saved" France from Fascism. In point of fact, they mean only to say that the mutual encouragement "saved" the scared heroes from their exaggerated fears. For how long? Between Hitler's first uprising and his coming to power, a decade elapsed, which was marked by frequent ebbs and flows. At that time, the German Blums and Cachins also used to proclaim more than once their "victory" over national socialism. We refused to believe them, and we were not mistaken. This experience, however, has taught the French consuls of Wels and Thaelmann nothing. In Germany, to be sure, the Communists did not participate in the People's Front, which united the social democracy with the bourgeois left, and the Catholic Center ("the alliance between the proletariat and the middle classes"). During that period the Comintern rejected even fighting agreements between working class organizations against Fascism. The results are quite well known. The warmest sympathy to Thaelmann as the captive of executioners cannot deter us from saying that his policy, i.e., the policy of Stalin, did more for Hitler's victory than the policy of Hitler himself. Having turned itself inside out, the Comintern now applies in France the quite familiar policy of the German Social Democracy. Is it really so difficult to foresee the results?

The coming parliamentary elections, no matter what their outcome, will not in themselves bring any serious changes into the situation: the voters, in the final analysis, are confronted with the choice between an arbiter of the type of Laval and an arbiter of the type, Herriot-Daladier. But inasmuch as Herriot has peacefully collaborated with Laval, and Daladier has supported them both, the difference between them is entirely insignificant, if measured by the scale of the tasks set by history.

(To be continued)

Peoples Front Salvages Radicals in Elections

(Continued from Page 1)
he realized, the relationship of forces in the new Chamber will differ little from that in the last. In the last Chamber the "left" bloc numbered 314 out of the total 611 (of these the Radicals had 151; S.P., 93; C.P., 10; the dissident communists, 10; and Paul Boncour's Socialist and Republican Union, 39).

In the new Chamber, a "left" majority—320-340 out of 618—can be had only with the participation of the Radicals, including both the "faithful" and the dubious friends of the People's Front.

In other words, if the Radicals choose (i.e., if they are so ordered by French finance capital), they may agree to head a People's Front government, or even participate in it with Leon Blum as Premier; or they may prefer to enter into a bloc with the reactionaries of the Center or the Right as they have done innumerable times in the past.

The Merry-Go-Round Again
Thus, the "victory" merely re-

produces under more tense conditions the main aspects of the Chamber that was elected in 1932. The old Chamber was also the result of a "leftward sweep," it was likewise headed by the "left" government of Daladier-Frot, the government which capitulated in 1934 to the Fascists. We have the same setting, and even the same leading actors from Daladier down, supported by an extra cast of Stalinists and Socialists.

It is the good old merry-go-round. It is therefore not surprising to find that the editor of the New York Sun holds the same views on the subject of the French elections as does the Manchester Guardian and Ludwig Lore of the New York Post, who, in turn, is in agreement with Harry Gannes and the Daily Worker.

On April 29, the New York Sun carried an editorial entitled "A Blow at Fascism," which pointed out that Fascism took "a beating" at the ballot boxes. The English liberal Manchester Guardian sees

the Fascists turning into "respectable conservatives." Ludwig Lore prophetically foretold in his column a few days before the elections that the "French Fascists Seem About to Join the 340ed Horse"; and Gannes and the Daily Worker shout with him that "Fifty Million Frenchmen Can't Be Wrong" (April 29), and that "Fascism was effectively smashed by the results of the elections on Sunday in France." (H. Gannes in D.W., April 28).

Fascist bullets and knives cannot be exorcized by ballots, not even by such magicians as Lore or Gannes.

While the misleaders of the French working class are celebrating the "defeat" of Fascism, the agencies of finance capital are swinging into action.

Finance-Capital Into Action

Even though the leftward movement of the masses is being dissipated by the bankrupt and reactionary labor bureaucracies of the C.P. and the S.P., it constitutes a dire threat of the rulers of France. They mean to stem the movement and sow demoralization even before the run-offs. The prices on the stock market are tumbling, and preparations are being completed to suspend the threat of devaluation of the franc (which can be done by the bankers whenever they choose) over the victory-drunk

Under the cover of these moves, the Fascist hordes, now numbering close to 700,000 are being prepared for more intensive operations on the extra-parliamentary field. With gun and knife the armed thugs will try to stem the tide and to spread the demoralization, for which the policies of the People's Front lay the foundation. In short, instead of being crushed, Fascism will pro-

Dubinsky Finds a Haven in Roosevelt Camp

David Dubinsky, head of the International Ladies Garment Workers, has declared his support of Roosevelt. Another long-time member of the Socialist Party, Emil Rieve, president of the American Federation of Hosiery Workers, pushed through his union convention a resolution endorsing Roosevelt. The General Executive Board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers voted likewise, Joseph Schlossberg being the only one reported to have voted against the proposal. Among those voting with Sidney Hillman were Abraham Miller, Louis Hollander and Samuel Levin, Old Guard Socialists, while Leo Krzycki, national chairman of the Socialist Party, is asserted by the New Leader to have merely abstained on the vote.

These traitors give as their excuse for supporting Roosevelt the preposterous claim that Roosevelt will save the labor movement from reaction. They speak of Roosevelt in much the same terms with which the German Socialists supported Hindenburg in 1932. Fortunately, there is this difference in the analogy: the German bureaucracy dragged the whole Socialist movement along with them, while in America the main forces of the Socialist Party continue to fight for an independent proletarian course.

Thus the treachery of the Dubinskys and the Rieves stands out still more nakedly as the treachery of union bureaucrats who have reached a point in their degeneration where they drop even the pretense of being Socialists.

Logic of Right Wing Policy

Their treachery is the inevitable outcome of the Right wing Socialist policy of the last two decades in the "Socialist-controlled" unions. Built by class-conscious workers, these unions were from the first officered by Socialist Party members. Even when a bureaucracy developed in these unions and crystallized during the war years, it had to continue to render lip-service to the Socialism adhered to by the most active union members.

But after the 1919 split in the Socialist Party, there ceased to be even the semblance of a Socialist policy pursued under party direction in the unions. Under the specious formula of "cooperation with the unions, not trying to dominate them," the Hillquit leadership collaborated with the union bureaucracy in its class-collaboration policy, its venality, its persecution of the militant union members. When rank and file Socialists protested against this course, they were told by Hillquit that it would be a crime against the unions if Socialist union members joined together to formulate a policy for a union.

Living and Acting Like Bosses

Thus freed by Hillquit from any possible restraining influence of the Socialist rank and file, the Dubinskys were free to develop all the repulsive characteristics of a reformist trade union bureaucracy in an era of relative capitalist stability. Never called upon to give an accounting of themselves to the Socialist rank and file, much less called upon to collaborate with the Socialist workers in formulation of policy, the Dubinskys lived like bosses, acted like bosses, and thought like bosses; the psychology of the employers becomes far more akin to such bureaucrats than the psychology of the workers whom they dominate so ruthlessly.

So long as the Communist Party was a revolutionary organization, whose organized fractions in the trade unions confronted the Socialist bureaucrats with the needs of the workers, the Dubinskys found it easier to maintain their control by retaining their Socialist membership, thus being able to assert that their differences with the Communist Party was one within the proletariat. But with the degeneration of the Communist Party, and its resultant impotence in the unions, this restraining influence disappeared. Meanwhile, the generation of Socialist workers who built the needle trades unions has been dying off. The younger generation which has taken their place were not met by organized Socialist activity which drew them into the party; and those who went to the Socialist Party on their own initiative were repelled by the fact that they and the Dubinskys were members of the same party. It is a sobering fact to realize what a small percentage of the present union membership even vote Socialist or Communist, as compared to the solid Socialist ranks of the generation which built these unions.

Thus the stage has long been set for the treachery of the Dubinskys. They have been treacherous in their

whole course in the unions. There only remained that they should set the formal seal on this treachery by coming out in support of capitalist politicians.

So long as the Old Guard remained in control of the Socialist Party, the Dubinskys found the mantle of Socialism useful enough so that they refrained from making open commitments with capitalist politicians (in New York, however, they tacitly supported Governor Lehman). But with the collapse of the Old Guard, the Dubinskys dared not remain "Socialists" any longer.

One has only to read the full—and laudatory—reports in the New Leader, April 25, of Dubinsky's speeches before the cloakmakers and the United Hebrew Trades, to see clearly his real animus. His attack on the Communists and on the united front for May Day is just window-dressing. The source of his rage is the fact that the Militant Socialists have adopted a policy of organized Socialist activity in the trade unions and are building Socialist Leagues to formulate and carry out policy in the unions. This, according to Dubinsky, is a "Communist assault on the unions." "Dubinsky deplored what he characterized as the attempt by the Socialist Party, under the leadership of the left wing group, to dictate policies to the labor unions, and abandonment of the policy of cooperation with the trade unions." Dubinsky wept for the good old days of Hillquit:

"The party of Morris Hillquit had won the reputation for seeking to work harmoniously with the labor movement, and now the Socialist Party, under the leadership of Norman Thomas, endeavors to split and disrupt the labor movement."

Dubinsky's Hatred of 'Militants'

Here is the root of Dubinsky's hate and fear of the Militant Socialists; and well may be fear. For despite their present weaknesses, the Socialist Leagues in the unions constitute the most serious threat to the Dubinskys in a decade. In these leagues, inevitably, the Socialist workers will hammer out a class-struggle union policy and come to grips with the bureaucrats.

We are sure that these Socialist workers, who know Dubinsky and his like at close range, are happiest of all that these traitors are no longer members of the Socialist Party. A deadening weight has been lifted from the shoulders of the Socialist workers; they are freer to recruit the masses in the unions to Socialism.

It is unfortunate that the Dubinskys were permitted to take the initiative and choose their own opportunity to leave the Socialist Party. They should have been driven out long ago by the party on its own initiative. The workers dominated and oppressed by the bureaucrats would have had all the more respect for the Socialist Party had it done so. Nevertheless, the fact that the Dubinskys are no longer covered by the mantle of Socialism is a good, healthy sign of the leftward development of the Socialist Party. Given a continuation of this development, and one Dubinsky will be replaced by a thousand honest workers.

We refrain from commenting at length on the truly disgusting behavior of the Old Guard Socialists. Dubinsky abandons Socialism and jumps on the Roosevelt bandwagon. Not a word of reproach from the Old Guard Socialists! Instead, they give columns and columns to his ballyhoo for Roosevelt and attacks on the Militant Socialists. The Old Guard taunts Krzycki for abstaining on the Roosevelt vote in the Amalgamated; and if it is true, Krzycki deserves the severest treatment. But not a word in the New Leader about the three official and six non-party Old Guardists who voted for Roosevelt! The most likely explanation is that the Old Guard is leaving the door open for them to follow Dubinsky, Rieve, Miller, et al, into the Roosevelt camp.

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Questions and Discussion

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Radicals Hold Whip Hand In French People's Front

The Meaning of the French Elections

By JOHN WEST

COLD and sober analysis is necessary in order to estimate at their true value the results of the French elections. Demagogues, liberals, and reformists are at liberty to spin out dreams and illusions; it is the business of Marxists to base their theoretical and practical conclusions on an understanding of reality. If we were to accept the Stalinist account of the French elections, we would now believe that the danger of Fascism in France has passed, that the crisis in France is in a position to be solved rapidly and tranquilly under the benign aegis of the People's Front majority. Unfortunately, we remember other Stalinist accounts of other events: We remember how, in the autumn of 1932, the decline in the Nazi vote in Germany proved to the satisfaction of the Comintern analysts that the power of Hitler was broken and would soon disappear; and how, in March, 1933, it was so stirring prophesied by these same brave augurs that Hitler could not remain in power longer than a bare six months.

A glance at the bourgeois press during the past few days might alone be enough to cause a doubt or two to begin with. The Wall Street Journal records itself as well satisfied with the outcome. The Times notes that little difficulty is to be expected from sudden changes in French foreign policy, since all of the French political parties have based their programs on solid proposals for strong national defense. The New York Evening Post, in a long editorial, notes that the elections were a great blow both at fascism "and at communism." Ludwig Lore, in his Post column, in the midst of his song of victory, pauses parenthetically to observe that the program of the People's Front is no more radical than Roosevelt's New Deal. In France itself, the "repudiated" premier, Sarraut, was so overwhelmed—as not to find it necessary even to resign.

What has changed in France? What is the significance of these elections?

Without doubt, the elections record the movement further to the left of large sections of the French proletariat and the lower peasantry. This is marked sufficiently by the spectacular increase in the Communist vote, and the substantial increase in the Socialist vote, making the representation of the latter party the largest in the new Chamber. This, in turn, is a symbol of the deeper process which has been unfolding in France during the past three years: the gradual cleavage of the French population into the two mighty divisions of the basically opposing class forces.

Rut, first and last in commenting upon these elections, it must be observed that the increase in the votes of the working-class parties occurred at the expense not of the Right but of the Center—of the Radical Socialist and the lesser petty-bourgeois parties. The parties of the Right, far from losing strength, actually gained more than twenty seats in the new Chamber. Thus, even on the electoral field, we find on examination that the "mighty blow to reaction" turns out to be the hallucination of bureaucratic minds: the Right emerges from the elections not weaker but stronger.

The increase in the votes of the working-class parties, as well as the increase on the Right was, then, accomplished at the expense of the parties of the Center, above all of the Radical Socialists. The Radical Socialist Party, for many years the largest parliamentary party in France, will enter the new Chamber with approximately twenty fewer representatives than the Socialist Party. Thus these elections demonstrate incontrovertibly the truth of the Marxist prediction that under the impact of the process of basic class differentiation the petty-bourgeois parties of the Center must necessarily disintegrate, their following sifting out into one class division or the other. The relations in the Chamber do not, however, indicate by any means the full extent of the disintegration of the Radical Socialists. Further evidence is provided by the fact that many of the most popular traditional leaders of the Radical Socialists—including Herriot himself—failed to secure election in the first day of voting, and were returned on the second ballot only with the support of the Communists and Socialists; and in a number of cases lost out altogether.

The disintegration of the Radical Socialists is both symbol and proof of the fact that the crisis in France is too deep to permit of solution along the customary lines of modern French politics. For decades the French bourgeoisie has maintained its social and economic dictatorship through the utilization of the Radical Socialists as its chief governmental agents. The Radical Socialist leaders, in turn, maintained the support of their mass petty-bourgeois following for French imperialism. But today the results of the profound and continuing economic depression and the approach of the new war demand a sterner answer. The alternative is posed to France: Fascism or Socialism; and the alternative is inescapable. Thus the voice of the Radical Socialist preachers of "the middle way" is lost in the rising social tumult. And their following slips out of their hands, to the right and to the left.

It is in the light of this process of differentiation that the strategy of the People's Front policy must be judged. And, so judged, it is seen to be precisely the betrayal of the revolutionary struggle which the realities of French society places on the order of the day. Nothing could make this clearer than the recent elections. The Radical Socialist Party, its policies and its leadership, stand discredited before the French masses. Its policies have led to nothing but disaster; its leaders have been openly shown to be shot through with every form of corruption and venality. And, at just the time when this is becoming apparent to the consciousness of the masses, the working-class

(Continued on page 4)

Their Aid is Vital to S. P. and C. P. Plans

Social Patriotic Policies Hold Sway in New Left Coalition

The final results of the run-offs in the French elections gave 380 seats out of a total of 618 to the parties participating in the so-called People's Front. In the old Chamber these same parties held 304 seats out of 611.

The Communist Party scored the largest and seemingly most sensational gains, adding 62 seats, and increasing its total in the Chamber to 72. The Socialist Party gained 53 seats, increasing its representation to 146, and replacing the Radical Socialists, who dropped from 151 to 116, as the largest single party in the Chamber. Of the remaining "left" parties, Paul Boncour's Socialist and Republican Union received 26 seats (losing 13); the Independent Socialists received 9 seats (a loss of 2); and the dissident communists kept the 10 seats they had in the previous Chamber.

What the Gains Mean

It should be noted that the seven-fold increase in the Communist representation does not correctly reflect the gains of this party on the electoral arena. Its popular vote was about double that of the 1932 elections. The reason for the small C. P. delegation in the old Chamber was largely due to the refusal of the Stalinists to make any sort of electoral agreements with either the Socialists or the Radicals in 1932. As a result, the vote in many cases was split three ways, to the advantage of the Right and the Center parties.

Nor is the rise of the Socialist Party to supersede the Radicals properly speaking a surprise. The French general elections have been going "left" since 1924; and in

Continued on Page 4

Rubber Co's Grant Wage Increases

AKRON, Ohio, May 5. —Goodyear, Firestone, and Goodrich, the three titans of the world's rubber industry, early this week announced wage increases of from five to ten percent for all production workers. It need not be imagined that these increases came from the compassionate hearts of the rubber barons whose capacity for good works and kind deeds is well known. They came because the big boys are quaking in their rubber boots before the demon of rampant unionism which the Goodyear strike has unleashed.

The full extent of this victory can be savored only by those persons acquainted with one of the most ruthlessly competitive of American industries. Traditionally at daggers drawn, the rubber barons sat down around a table and agreed universally to the present increases.

Lingering Doubts Dispelled

If any lingering doubts existed in the skulls of the local barons, they had only to stand in their office windows last Sunday and watch phalanx after phalanx of Akron union labor parade through the downtown section. When the parade ended, 20,000 union workers had passed in review.

Heading the procession was the victorious Goodyear local of the United Rubber Workers. Marching in close order, with their yellow caps brilliant in the May sunshine, they stretched out for three full city blocks. Cries of derision broke constantly from the ranks, "Here's Littlefield's 600 union members!"

Each of the large rubber locals headed a division of the parade. At the front of the Goodrich local marched 300 members of the rifle club and drill team. Cheering little cries of "When you gonna use them guns, boys" came from the sidewalks. As the crack fire division marched by, the good-natured crowd yelled, "Sit down! Sit down!" This local also had a cart towing a trailer piled with old tires

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Solidarity with Cuban Comrades!

Widespread Support Needed Against Reaction

On the first day of the General Strike of 1935 in Cuba, our comrade, Crescencio Freyre, leader of the Bakers' Union of Cuba, was seized by Batista's gunmen. They took him through all Havana and attempted to force him to pick out his comrades from among the strikers. He refused; and the gunmen took him to an open field and machine-gunned him to death, and left him there to rot.

Since then other comrades have been murdered; and others have died in Batista's dungeons. The restrained news report from Cuba, published in this issue, takes for granted a knowledge of the depth of the Cuban terror. Unfortunately, few American workers have any idea of the concrete conditions under which the Cuban working class struggles today. The NEW MILITANT has published what news has seeped out. The vigorous protest to President Roosevelt, circulated by the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, gave a succinct picture of the Cuban terror—the smashed unions, the outlawed political parties, the labor and progressive leaders assassinated or imprisoned, the dread rule of the "law of flight." Since we published the full text of that protest in our issue of January 11, the terror has gone on systematically.

The political prisoners and their families who are under the charge of the petty-bourgeois liberals and the I.L.D. receive financial aid from their international connections. So far, however, there has been almost no international aid for the prisoners adhering to the Havana Federation of Labor, the Socorro Obrero, and the Bolshevik-Leninist party. Every class-conscious worker is duty-bound to give financial aid to these victims and their families. Here it is not merely a case of international solidarity. It is a case of supporting the struggles of workers who bear far more than we do the common yoke of American imperialism.

We ask all our readers to send funds for Cuban political prisoners, in care of the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, 22 East 17 Street, New York City.

ANNOUNCEMENT

Max Shachtman's lecture has been postponed from Sun., May 17th, to Wed. May 20th at 8 P.M. The subject will be, "Earl Browder, the Man and His Books", the place, Irving Plaza Hall, Irving Place and 15th St.

Terror Reigns In F.D.'s Cuba

Progressives Triumph at Auto Workers Convention

Dillon-Green Machine Receive Smashing Defeat; Plan of Action Drafted

By JACK WILSON

SOUTH BEND, Ind., May 2.—A resurgence of the labor movement in the auto industry that has wide possibilities can be expected following the progressive actions taken here this week at the second convention of the United Automobile Workers of America.

Similar in many respects to the rubber workers' convention of last fall, the sessions brought forth many manifestations of what the thousands of auto workers are thinking, what unrest is sweeping through the factories and what course might be traveled in the coming period.

A decisive victory against the stupid and criminal policies of William Green, A. F. of L. president, who defended craft unionism at the convention, marked the opening session.

So well remembered were the two years of splitting, betrayal, autocratic control, and the other policies which nearly destroyed the labor movement in the auto industry for which Green and the majority of the executive board of the A. F. of L. were responsible, that the 215 delegates were unanimously opposed to Green's appointed president, Francis J. Dillon.

Green and Dillon Trounced

A lame defense by both Dillon and Green of their policies met with no sympathy or response. Every delegate was prepared to battle at any cost a continuation of the antiquated craft union policies. In face of such bitter opposition, Dillon and Green withdrew while the delegates cheered and cheered. The two men left repudiated, disgraced, failures in their effort to organize the auto industry because of their false policies.

It was highly significant that Green and Dillon made such a serious retreat, one that further impairs the already badly damaged reputation of the craft union dominated executive board of the A. F. of L. It indicates that their position has become so weak among workers in basic industry that they fear to make a fight for it!

Triumphant progressives and other delegates shouted and cheered in a wild scene of enthusiasm as

Homer Martin, vice-president, took the platform to act as temporary chairman. The union had won its autonomy!

Tasks Before the Convention

Two major tasks confronted the convention after the retreat of Green and Dillon; adoption of a progressive program which would afford a basis for building a powerful union and the selection of good leaders to carry out that program.

A program had been drawn up by a caucus of 140 delegates held a month previous to the convention. A steering committee of 12 was chosen at that time to lead the fight for its approval.

The program of this essentially progressive bloc who were advised by the Committee for Industrial Organization included: (1) the ending of the probationary period of the union with Dillon as president; (2) establishment of an industrial union within the confines of the A. F. of L. with the jurisdictional question to be carried to the A. F. of L. convention; (3) amalgamation of the independent unions such as the M.E.S.A. and the former Coughlinite-influenced union with the United Automobile Workers; (4) approval of a democratic constitution allowing all political liberties to membership; (5) and the German Labor Party resolution which the Stalinists naturally had folded upon the delegates; (6) an immediate organization drive.

The program carried in its entirety. Without an understanding of how each issue was carried, however, the program lacks much content in so far as accurate analysis is concerned.

The seating of the 37 militant Toledo delegates was the first question considered. Since the Dillon opposition was the main problem and he had left the convention, these delegates had little difficulty in obtaining recognition. Dillon had claimed Toledo had no charter and was an outlaw union since it refused last fall to bust the powerful union of 16 plants into separate locals. It had paid up its delinquent per-capita tax.

Although nearly all the delegates acted in a progressive manner by

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Hundreds Jailed and Tortured

Batista Attempts to Cover Up by Investigation

(Special to New Militant)

HAVANA, April 30.—The action of the Cuban Supreme Court and of the Congress, calling for an investigation of recent murders of bourgeois opponents of the Batista dictatorship, signals an effort by Batista to broaden the base of his support.

Any investigation made will be a farce, for the murders were committed by Batista's own gunmen. Batista hopes, however, to make peace with his bourgeois opponents. Having outlawed all the labor organizations and imprisoned nearly five thousand workers, sharecroppers and intellectuals, Batista wants to unite all the "respectable elements" of the population to maintain the status quo.

Conciliation and White Terror

Batista's conciliatory gestures toward the opposition bourgeoisie go hand in hand with systematic continuance of the white terror. No day passes without someone being murdered. New hundreds are imprisoned for no other offense than attending labor meetings. Scores are tortured. Only strong young men can survive imprisonment in Cabana Fortress; older men die soon.

What is needed here, above all, is a powerful defense movement. The kind of defense work known in America is a physical impossibility under the Batista dictatorship. For example, we used to employ lawyers for courtroom fights before the general strike of 1935; now there is not a lawyer left in the whole of Cuba who will accept the defense of a worker or radical for fear of government reprisal.

The real work of a defense movement, then, cannot be in the courtroom, but must begin with mass pressure on the authorities. This means meetings, lightning demonstrations, leaflets, underground literature, systematic diffusion of news to other countries, especially to the United States, a militant policy of mobilizing the ranks of the shattered unions and outlawed labor parties—all of which has been conspicuously absent for the past seven months or more.

Amnesty Committee Ineffective

The National Committee for Amnesty for Social and Political Prisoners has failed to act as the center for such a defense movement. In the past eight months, it has met but once, and then it came together at the call of the Bishop of Havana. Who called the Bishop of Havana? Who hnt the Stalinists? In all its months of existence, the Amnesty Committee has not issued a single leaflet. It has not called a single demonstration or even adopted a militant resolution. Its appeal has been mainly to the charitable mind of the bourgeoisie, the Catholic Church, the Masons and the Odd Fellows.

In other words, it has tried to immunize itself by spreading a cloak of respectability and legality about its actions. But the Bishop of Havana has long ago dropped away, as have the few Masons, Odd Fellows and other "good bourgeois." Despite all its respectability, it has felt Batista's fist. His soldiers broke up a meeting of the central committee held in a private home; twenty-two

twenty-seven members were arrested, hauled to army posts and beaten with swords. Most of them were then sentenced (on a morale charge!) to prison sentences of six months and more.

Organizations Represented

(Continued on Page 4)

THE NEW CONSTITUTION OF THE U.S.S.R.

By Leon Trotsky

Behind the Kremlin walls work is going on to replace the Soviet constitution by a new one, which, according to the declarations of Stalin, Molotov and others, will be the "most democratic in the world." To be sure, doubts might be aroused by the procedure in which the constitution is being elaborated. Up to recently, there has been no mention of this great reform either in the press or at meetings. No one is acquainted with the draft of the constitution as yet. In the meantime, Stalin told the American interviewer Roy Howard, on March 1, 1936 that, "We shall probably adopt our new constitution at the end of this year." Thus Stalin is informed exactly as to the date when this constitution will be adopted, about which the people still has practically no information. It is impossible not to conclude that the "most democratic constitution in the world" is being elaborated and introduced in a manner that is not entirely democratic.

Stalin confirmed to Howard, and through him also to the peoples of the U.S.S.R., that "according to the new constitution, the suffrage will be universal, equal, direct and secret."

The inequalities in suffrage rights in favor of the workers as against the peasants are to be abolished. Henceforth, obviously, not factories but citizens will vote: each one for himself. Once there are "no classes", then all members of society are equal. Individuals can

be disenfranchised only by the courts. All these principles are entirely derived from that very same program of bourgeois democracy which the Soviets in their time came to replace. The party always held that the Soviet system was a higher form of democracy. The Soviet system was to wither away together with the dictatorship of the proletariat, of which it was the expression. The question of the new constitution boils down therefore to another and more fundamental question: Will the dictatorship continue to become "stronger" from now on, as is demanded by all the official speeches and articles, or will it begin to soften, weaken and "wither away"? The meaning of the new constitution can be correctly appraised only in the light of this perspective. Let us immediately add here that the perspective itself does not at all depend upon the measure of Stalinist liberalism but upon the actual structure of the transitional Soviet society.

In explaining the reform, Pravda refers obscurely and not at all proudly to the party program written by Lenin in 1919, which does really state that "... disenfranchisement and any restrictions upon whatsoever upon liberty are necessary solely as temporary measures of struggle against the attempts of the exploiters to maintain or to re-

store their privileges. In proportion as the objective possibility for the exploitation of man by man disappears, all necessity for these temporary measures will likewise disappear, and the party will strive to narrow them down, and to completely abolish them" (our emphasis). These lines can no doubt serve to justify the refusal to "disenfranchise" in a society in which the possibility for exploitation has disappeared. But along with this the program demands the simultaneous abolition of "any restrictions whatsoever upon liberty." For the entry into socialist society is characterized not by the peasants being made equal with the workers, and not by returning the franchise to 3-5 percent of the citizens of bourgeois origin, but by the establishment of true liberty for 100 per cent of the population. With the abolition of classes, according to Lenin, and according to Marx, not only the dictatorship but also the state itself withers away. Stalin, however, has said nothing as yet about removing "restrictions upon liberty" either to Howard or to the peoples of the U.S.S.R.

Molotov hastened to Stalin's assistance, said to say, not very propositionally. In replying to a question of the Editor-in-Chief of *Le Temps*, Molotov said, "Now not infrequently (?) there is already no need for those administrative measures which were employed formerly," but "the Soviet power must of

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France at the Crossroads

In Lieu of an Introduction to the Second Edition of
"In Defense of Terrorism"

By LEON TROTSKY

(Concluded in this issue)

To pretend that Herriot-Daladier are capable of "proclaiming war against the 200 families" that rule France is to dupe the people shamelessly. The 200 families do not hang suspended in mid-air but are the crown of the system of finance-capital. To cope with the 200 families it is necessary to overthrow the economic and political regime, in the maintenance of which Herriot and Daladier are just as interested as Flandin and de la Rocque. The issue here is not a struggle of the "nation" against a handful of magnates as L'Humanite pictures it but the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie. It is a question of the class struggle which can be resolved only by revolution. The strikebreaking conspiracy of the People's Front has become the chief obstacle on this road.

It is impossible to say in advance how much longer the semi-parliamentary, semi-Bolshevik ministries will continue to succeed one another in France and in general through what concrete stages the country will pass in the next period. This depends upon the world and national economic conjuncture, upon the degree of strategy of Italian and German fascism, upon the course of events in Spain, and last—but not least in importance—upon the awareness and the activity of the advanced elements of the French proletariat. The denouement can be brought closer by the convulsions of the franc. A closer collaboration between France and England can postpone it. In any case the death-throes of "democracy" may drag out for a much longer period than the duration in Germany of the pre-fascist period of Brüner-Papen-Schleicher; but this does not stop it from being the death-throes. Democracy will be swept away. The only question is: by whom?

The struggle against the "200 families", against fascism and war, for peace, bread and liberty, and other beautiful things is either a

lie, or the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism. The toilers of France are faced with the problem of the revolutionary conquest of power not as a distant goal but as the task of the unfolding period. Meanwhile, the socialist and communist leaders not only renounce the revolutionary mobilization of the proletariat, but resist it with all their strength. Fraternizing with the bourgeoisie, they hound and expel the Bolsheviks. So greatly do they hate the revolution and dread it! Under these conditions, the worst role is played by those pseudo-revolutionaries of the type of Marcel Pivert who promise to overthrow the bourgeoisie, but only with the permission of Leon Blum! The entire course of the French labor movement for the last twelve years has placed the task of creating a new revolutionary party on the order of the day.

The question whether events will allow "sufficient" time for its formation is to engage in the most fruitless of all occupations. History has absolutely inexhaustible resources in the domain of different variants, historical forms, stages, accelerations, and retardations. Under the influence of economic difficulties fascism may venture prematurely and suffer a defeat. This would imply a long respite. Contrariwise, it may occupy a temporarily position too long and thereby increase the chances in favor of the revolutionary organizations. The People's Front may go to smash against its own contradictions before fascism is able to engage in a general battle: this would signify a period of regroupments and splits in the parties of the working class, and a rapid fusion of the revolutionary vanguard. Spontaneous mass movements as in Toulon and Brest may attain a wide sweep and create a reliable fulcrum for the revolutionary lever. Finally, even the victory of fascism in France, which is theoretically not excluded, does not mean that it will reign for 1,000 years as Hitler prophesies, or

that it is even assured to endure as long as Mussolini has been able to maintain himself. Beginning with Italy or Germany, the twilight of fascism would quickly spread into France as well. To build a revolutionary party in this, the least favorable variant, is to bring nearer the hour of vengeance. The wise-ones who shy away from the unpostponable task with the words, "the conditions are not mature," merely reveal that they themselves have not matured for the conditions.

Building the Cadres

The Marxists of France, as well as those of the entire world, must, in a certain sense, begin at the beginning, but on an infinitely higher historical level than their predecessors. Progress is at first rendered extremely difficult by the fall of the Communist International, more infamous than the fall of the social democracy in 1914. The new cadres are being recruited slowly, in a cruel struggle against the united front against the reactionary and patriotic bloc bureaucracy in the working class. On the other hand, these very difficulties, which did not descend upon the proletariat accidentally, constitute an important condition for the correct selection and the firm tempering of the first detachments of the new party and the new International.

Only a very tiny section of the cadres of the Comintern began its revolutionary education from the outset of the war, prior to the October Revolution. Almost all these elements, without a single exception, are now outside the Communist International. The next oldest stratum joined the already victorious October Revolution. This was much easier. But only an insignificant portion has remained even of this second draft. The overwhelming majority of the present cadres of the Comintern adhered not to the Bolshevik program, not to the revolutionary banner, but to the Soviet bureaucracy. These are not

fighters but docile functionaries, adjutants, errand boys. It is by reason of this that the Third International is putrefying so infamously amid the historical situation so rich in great revolutionary possibilities.

The Inevitable Regroupment

The Fourth International rises on the shoulders of its three predecessors. It is subjected to blows from the front, the sides and the rear. Careerists, cowards, philistines have nothing to seek in our ranks. The percentage of sectarians and adventurists, inevitable at the beginning, is winnowed away as the movement grows. Let pedants and scoundrels shrug their shoulders about "small" organizations that issue "small" papers and fling a challenge to the entire world. Serious revolutionists will pass contemptuously by the pedants and scoundrels. The October Revolution also once began with its swaddling clothes.

The mighty Russian parties of Social Revolutionaries and Mensheviks who made up the "People's Front" with the Cadets, crumbled into dust, in the course of a few months, under the blows of a "handful of fanatics" of Bolshevism. Subsequently the German social democracy, the German Communist party and the Austrian social democracy died an ignominious death under the blows of fascism. The epoch which is drawing close for the European peoples will sweep out of the working class without leaving a trace all that is equivocal and rotten. All the Jonhans, Citrines, Blums, Cachins, Vandereldes, and Cahallers are only phantoms. The sections of the 2nd and 3rd Internationals will ingloriously leave the stage one after another. A new regroupment in the workers' ranks is inevitable. Young revolutionary cadres will win flesh and blood. Victory is conceivable only on the basis of the methods of Bolshevism, to the defense of which this volume is dedicated.

March 26, 1936.

In the Dark of Night the C.I. Prepares The New Betrayal for China

Members of CP Are Kept in Ignorance

By LI FU-JEN
(Translated from "Struggle," Organ of Communist League of China)

SHANGHAI.—Conversations between some of our comrades and five Stalinists here recently showed that at least some of the rank-and-file of the Chinese Communist Party are not finding it easy to swallow the "new line" for China—the re-establishment of the "bloc of four classes" which led to the catastrophic defeat of the Chinese revolution in 1925-27.

They cannot stomach the idea of being harnessed once again to Chiang Kai-shek's chariot. The bureaucrats at the top, it seems, are trying to comfort the dissenters by the well-known method of deception. But to do this they have had to conceal from the membership of the party large portions of the Seventh Comintern congress documents!

Our comrades quoted to the young Stalinists Wan Min's offer to give Chiang Kai-shek an opportunity to "atone for his crimes" against the Chinese people. ("Bolshevik," Moscow, November, 1935.)

Only a "Maneuver"

"Ah," they retorted, "that's only a maneuver." That is what the bureaucrats are telling them, that the new offer of a "united front" is being made "only to expose Chiang as a traitor who is not prepared to fight for China's independence."

We asked them if they had seen the documents of the Seventh Congress. They had not! The leadership, we learned, hands down to the rank and file only carefully selected excerpts. So we quoted to them from Minulsky's speech, which has been used by Wan Min abroad in several of his recent articles elaborating the "new line," notably the following:

"The setting up of such a program for a broad anti-imperialist fighting front of the Chinese people is not a maneuver on the part of the Communist Party. It would be a crime to maneuver with such a serious matter as the defense of the people against imperialist robbery. One may maneuver with and against the enemy but not at the expense of the people whose national liberty and freedom the Communists defend selflessly."

To which Wan Min added: "Moreover, if you say that our policy is a maneuver, then why do you not try to expose our maneuver by your honest participation in the anti-imperialist united front?"

Staggered by True Facts

Our young Stalinist auditors gasped at these quotations. They were at first so incredulous that they thought we had cooked them up—(cooking up quotations being part of every Stalinist's education!)—but we showed them exact sources, chapter and verse. They were visibly staggered. No, they did not think we were counter-revolutionaries, but they did not yet fully grasp our views or agree with them. They asked for more discussion and of course we readily assented.

We showed them our paper, "Struggle." This impressed them greatly. It seems that the Stalinists are publishing absolutely nothing here now, except occasional leaflets containing simple slogans. And here, our small group, without the financial aid of Moscow, was bringing out an excellent, printed, four-page bi-weekly. Our first meeting ended with all five digging into their pockets and collectively contributing five dollars for the paper.

Thus it has fallen to the Chinese Bolshevik-Leninists to inform the ranks of the C.P. of the Seventh Congress speeches and reports in all their full glory! The Stalinist bureaucrats here interpret the new policy as a "maneuver" in order to get their followers to swallow it, while the Comintern pundits in Moscow (Wan Min, Minulsky) designate such a conception as a "crime."

Wan Min's Crooked Calculations

Wan Min's exegesis in justification of the "new line" proceed, with characteristic contempt for revolutionary cadres, on the two assumptions which have become the common yardstick for all the Stalinist fanatics. First, he assumes that the older generation of Chinese revolutionists is for the most part dead, while those who remain have fallen into passivity and no longer participate in the revolutionary struggle. He expects no challenge from that quarter. Second, he knows that the younger generation of revolutionists did not participate in the events of 1925-27, any more than Wan Min himself did. (Wan Min was a young student at Sun Yat-sen University in Moscow from 1926 to 1929. He went there originally as a Kuomintang member, not a Communist.) He banks on the fact that the present-day Communists have no personal recollections of that period and Stalinist

An Unnoticed May Day Funeral

A funeral, unnoticed and unremarked, marched with the May Day parade. It was the funeral of the myth of "Soviet China."

The "Friends of the Chinese People" who have been the foremost "defenders" of Soviet China on the American Stalinist-liberal front, marched on May Day without a single placard for the Chinese Soviets, not a single placard that even mentioned the workers and peasants of China, nor a single placard against the Kuomintang!

"Support the liberation movement of the Chinese people," "Support the patriotic movement of the Chinese students," "Support the People's Republic of Outer Mongolia," "Withdraw the American forces from China," these were the slogans under which the "Friends" marched. The "Soviets," which are now to give way to a new "bloc of four classes" were silently interred. With what contempt Chinese workers would regard these "friends" if they knew anything about them!

Literature has not enlightened them, to be sure, as to the true character of the policies pursued and the reasons why a great revolutionary movement ended in one of the most vicious and destructive counter-revolutions in modern history.

Wan Min therefore feels quite safe in perpetrating the most blatant falsehoods, in poisoning the political atmosphere and thereby preparing the destruction of the third Chinese revolution. Between Wan Min and the accomplishment of his rotten aim stand the Bolshevik-Leninists, organized in the Communist League of China. We shall teach the workers to turn their backs on this lying traitor and the corrupt masters whom he serves.

Covering Their Criminal Past

The Stalinists can only cover their shameless present by covering their criminal past. Thus, in referring to the criminally false line pursued in 1925-27, Wan Min ascribes full responsibility to the "opportunists in the leadership" of the Chinese Communist Party, "headed by Chen Tu-hsiu." Wan Min is careful to point out that in 1927 "it was not the anti-imperialist united front tactics themselves that were at fault... the opportunists who were incorrect."

But Wan Min prefers not to turn back to Stalin's famous Theses on the "Problems of the Chinese Revolution" in which he declared, among many other similar remarks: "The student youth (revolutionary youth), the working youth, the peasant youth—all these are a force which can advance the revolution with seven league boots, if it should be subordinated to the ideological and political influence of the Kuomintang."

Does it appear from this that it was Chen Tu-hsiu who "renounced the revolutionary struggle of the working class"? On the contrary, it is not abundantly clear that Chen Tu-hsiu was faithfully carrying out the class collaborationist policy formulated by Stalin and the Comintern?

For Wan Min and his similars to state this fact and all the other

Bolshevik Leninists Point The Way

verifiable facts concerning the subordination of the interests of the proletariat to those of the bourgeoisie under the direct aegis of the Comintern would indict the real authors of the catastrophe and strike a blow at the Stalinist cult of infallibility. Hence the blame was placed on the C.P. leadership, especially Chen Tu-hsiu, who today stands in the ranks of the Fourth Internationalists, and is a prisoner of the Kuomintang.

Comrade Chen Tu-hsiu has for years been hounded and defamed by all the hacks of Stalinism because he refused to become a silent scapegoat, because he insisted on analyzing openly the reasons for the great catastrophe and drawing lessons from it for the future. He was and is traduced and vilified and slandered, not because he committed mistakes fatal for the revolution, but because he would not agree to deceive the workers and act as a cover for Stalin and Co.

The facts of history cannot forever be concealed. In the interests of the Chinese toilers we shall drag them out into the light of day and warn all honest revolutionaries to be on their guard against the Stalinist falsifiers. We shall neglect no means to expose their lies and their slanders.

The Real Culprit: Then and Now

For Bolshevik-Leninists have nothing in common with the methods of Stalinism. It is our policy to tell the whole truth, concealing nothing. Only this way can past experiences become useful lessons for a victorious future. For the Stalinists, truth is dangerous. They were prepared to forgive Chen Tu-hsiu "his" opportunist errors and even invited him to Moscow "to talk things over." They defended Chen Tu-hsiu against the Opposition during the revolution precisely because Chen was carrying out Stalin's instructions. His real crime in the eyes of the Stalinists consisted in his refusal afterward to cover up the role of the Comintern in the catastrophe of 1927, his refusal to head the knife and take the rap.

The "new" opportunist line of Stalinism in China will lead to new disasters. It runs counter in every line and syllable to the interests of the Chinese revolution. The Moscow bureaucrats think they will "defend the Soviet Union" by having the Chinese Communists renounce the revolutionary struggle and join Chiang Kai-shek in a youth), the working youth, the peasant youth—all these are a force which can advance the revolution with seven league boots, if it should be subordinated to the ideological and political influence of the Kuomintang."

Against this perfidious attempt at betrayal every Chinese revolutionist must be on guard. Down with Stalinism! Build the new revolutionary party of the Fourth International, the only guarantee of triumph for a revolutionary China!

From Pacifism to Social - Patriotism BRITISH WORKERS AND WAR Stalinism: Yesterday and Today

By T. C. (London)

When the workers of Britain abandoned their rifles in the year 1918, a tremendous peace psychology seized hold of the British working class movement. Old jingoisms like Blatchford and Hyndman were pushed to the back of the stage and the pacifist elements came to the front. Year after year, at Labor Party Conferences and Trade Union Congresses, resolutions against war were endorsed to the accompaniment of long, windy speeches usually delivered by MacDonald, Snowden, or Lansbury. The League of Nations was extolled as an instrument of peace and security. The wicked Russian Bolsheviks were rebuked for their abuse of the League and their refusal to join the imperialist robbers.

On their left flank, the Laborites were attacked by the Communist Party and other left wing groups who declared that the policy of the Labor Party was a betrayal of the working class, while on the right, the young Tory die-hards sneered at the Socialist pacifists and alleged that they were seeking cushy jobs at Geneva.

Pledge to Support Gov't

As the years rolled on and from time to time the war danger threatened to explode the reformist paradise, the speeches grew longer, louder, and more fiery, but so long as it was only Russia, China, or South America that was threatened then the usual protests to the League were made and that was all. Hints of a general strike were sometimes made but by 1934 this proposition was definitely scrapped and the Trade Unions and the Labor Party were pledged to "unflinchingly support our government in all risks and consequences of fulfilling its duty to take part in collective action against a peace-breaker."

This line was followed up a year later, when the Italian-Ethiopian war crisis was debated, by a steam-rollered resolution at both the Trade Union Congress and Labor Party Conference calling for sanctions against Italy to be operated through the League of Nations. These decisions went far to assure the return of the National Government at the General Election and they also produced a tumult inside and outside the ranks of the Labor Party.

There are three main groups at work inside the Labor Party upon the question of sanctions, and many of their members are also against the League as being a sham and a fake. The Christian Socialists, personified by Lansbury are against sanctions but not against the

League while the Trade Union bloc, which is the backbone of the Labor Party, is wholehearted in its support of the League and Sanctions and only criticises the policy of the National Government because it does not go far enough to satisfy Sir Walter Citrine, Bevin, and company. Outside the Labor Party all the Socialist groups are against the League and sanctions with the exception of the Communist Party.

Stalinist Policy

The latter body is now pushing for affiliation to the Labor Party under cover of a policy that approximates to that of the Labor and Trade Union bureaucracy so far as the League and sanctions are concerned. This remarkable position is worth studying. Whatever fault could be found in the propaganda of the British Communist Party between the years 1920 and 1935 none could be found in their rigid denunciation of the League of Nations as a "League of Bandits."

The propaganda organization of the League, known as the League of Nations Union was declared to be "an excellent agit. prop. department for the Imperialists." (Communist Review, July, 1927.) Even the revised programme of the Communist International, produced in 1925 and still circulating in Britain as the Communist Programme refers to the League as "a counter-revolutionary Holy Alliance of imperialist powers." Stalin, himself, in "Leninism" describes the League as "an organization designed to mask war preparations" and as late as August, 1934, the Young Communist League at a Youth Conference held at Sheffield issued a Manifesto in which they state that "the League of Nations is not an instrument for stopping war but is a means of preparation for war." But the last blow for the Lenin line was struck by no less a person than R. Palme Dutt, leading theorist of the British Communist Party. In his editorial notes in the "Labor Monthly" for January, 1935, Dutt criticises the Southport Conference decisions of the Labor Party. In the light of what has happened since, these comments are worth quoting in full.

Dutt Answers Dutt

"The greatest danger lies in the pacifist and imperialist confusionist maneuvers and its channels of influence in the working-class movement to disrupt the united working-class front and replace it by support of rival imperialist policies. It is here that lies the whole significance of the role of the Labor Party Executive, not only in its international fight against the united front, but in its whole Southport line of sup-

port of imperialist war in certain contingencies, in the case of war against an aggressor," in the case of war for the 'collective system' of imperialism, in the case of war to preserve the nation and its democratic institutions. It is here that lies the significance of the attempt to exploit the fact of Soviet participation in the League of Nations in order to revive the weakening illusions in the League of Nations as a guarantee of peace, or to preach the obligation of the working class to subordinate itself to the leadership of the League of Nations. It is here that lies the significance of the preaching of a hypothetical war of democratic defense against Fascism. It is here that lies the significance of the spreading trust in a future Labor Government as an instrument of peace. What is our answer to these 'left', 'pacifist', 'democratic', 'anti-fascist', arguments in support of future imperialist war. Our answer remains the Leninist line, the line of international Socialism from Marx and Engels, from Stuttgart and Biele up to to-day. (We need more than ever to warn the workers never to become entangled in the line of imperialist policies, but to judge every question of war solely from the standpoint of the working-class revolution. The workers under capitalism have no Fatherland. Must we not defend our country against Fascism? Is not pacifism in such conditions equivalent to surrender to Fascism? The revolutionary answer is clear. We hold nothing

in common with the pacifist line. We do not for a moment exclude military defence against Fascism—on one condition—and one condition only, namely, that we have a country to defend. We shall defend Workers Britain, as an integral part of the World Worker's Republic of the future World Soviet Union, against Fascism with every means in our power. But until then we shall fight our own exploiting class; we shall not let ourselves be dragged into warring for one set of masters against another. This is the Leninist line."

Last of Leninist Line

That was the last of the Leninist line so far as the British Communist Party is concerned. Within a few months, Dutt and his party were in full cry for the League of Nations, for sanctions against Fascist Italy, for a Labor government as an instrument of peace, for one set of masters in France against another set of masters in Germany, for the democratic capitalists against the Fascist capitalists. The British Communists have found new allies in the Christian organizations, the Liberals and even the Tories, with whom they have now a united front functioning through alleged Peace Councils. "The Communist member of parliament, Gallacher, in his maiden speech, called for 'a People's Government composed of the best elements in all parties,' and in the struggle within the Labor Party and Trade Unions, honest left-wing workers have to fight against the reformist bureaucracy but also against the new line of the Stalinists who are even more enthusiastic for the League and sanctions than the old liners themselves. All this confusion favors the war-makers but despite desperate efforts on the part of the social-patriots, the British working class is still against war.

- BOOKS -

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LABOR BOOK SHOP
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Milwaukee Labor Council Urges Unions Aid News Strike

MILWAUKEE, Wis., Apr. 27—

Calling upon the whole labor movement to support the strike of Hearst's Wisconsin News editorial workers, on the ground that the right to organize and bargain collectively is its main issue, the Milwaukee Federated Trades Council today issued a formal statement for the information and guidance of union members and friends.

The statement is signed by members of a committee appointed by the Council to investigate and report on the strike of the Milwaukee Newspaper Guild against the Wisconsin News. The committee members are J. F. Fredrick, general organizer of the Council; Herman Sekle, general secretary of the Council; and Otto Jirkovic, member of the executive board.

The report states flatly that the Wisconsin News has assumed an "open-shop" anti-union attitude toward its editorial employees. The local management of the paper, evidently acting under the instructions of the head management of the Hearst Publications, has taken the position that editorial workers shall not organize and that the management will not recognize or officially deal with any organizations of such workers, the statement continues.

Refutes Hearst Charges

Convinced by its investigation that "the management has consistently endeavored to belound this main issue" and "mislead the public" the committee takes up point by point the management's statements and its own conclusions, as follows:

"First: White wages, hours and working conditions are involved, differences on these points are not so great that they would stand in the way of a settlement, especially in view of the fact that the Guild has assumed a very reasonable attitude of compromise on these points.

"Second: As to the statement of the management that it has not interfered with its employees' joining the Guild, the fact is that while they may not in so many words have stated that its employees should not join the Guild, it has let it be generally known that it does not favor the organization of the editorial workers.

"Third: As to the statement that it has met with representatives of the Guild to discuss demands and grievances, the fact remains that it has refused to carry such meetings to a logical conclusion by refusing to consider entering into any sort of agreement. Such an attitude is a denial of the principle of collective bargaining.

"Fourth: While it is true that the Wisconsin News has a union shop agreement with local unions covering employees in its mechanical departments, such agreements constitute a distinct discrimination against other categories."

In supporting the strike, the statement concludes, it is complying with the request of William Green, president of A. F. of L. Affiliated local unions are urged to give moral and financial support, and to participate in picketing before the Wisconsin News building.

The New Constitution of the U.S.S.R.

BY LEON TROTSKY

(Continued from Page 1)

course be strong and consistent in the struggle against terrorists and wreckers of public property. . . . "Wage: a Soviet power"—without Soviets; a proletarian dictatorship—without the proletariat, and, in addition to that, a dictatorship not against the bourgeoisie, but against . . . terrorists and thieves. At all events, the party program never foresaw such a type of state. . . .

Molotov's promise to do "not infrequently" without those extreme measures which might prove unnecessary is not worth much, and is self-evident; but it loses all its value alongside of the reference to the enemies of law and order, who are precisely the ones that make it impossible to renounce emergency measures. Whence, however, arise these enemies of law and order, these terrorists and thieves, and, moreover in such threatening numbers as would justify the preservation of a dictatorship in a classless society? Here we must come to the assistance of Molotov. At the dawn of the Soviet power the terrorist acts were perpetrated by the S. R.'s and the Whites in the atmosphere of the still unfinished civil war. When the former ruling classes lost all their hopes, terrorism disappeared as well. Kulak terror, traces of which are observable even now, was always local in character, and supplemented the partisan war against the Soviet regime. This is not what Molotov has in mind. The new terror does not lean upon either the old ruling classes or the kulak. The terrorists of recent years are recruited exclusively from among the Soviet youth, from the ranks of the Y.C.L. and of the party. While utterly impotent to solve those tasks which it sets itself, individual terror is, however, of the greatest symptomatic importance because it characterizes the sharpness of the antagonism between the bureaucracy and the wide masses of the people, especially, the younger generation. Terrorism is the tragic supplement of Bonapartism. Each individual bureaucrat is afraid of the terror; but the bureaucracy as a whole successfully exploits it for the justification of its political monopoly. Stalin and Molotov did not discover any gunpowder in this field either.

Worst of all, however, is the fact, that it is absolutely impossible to gather either from the interviews or from the commentaries, the social nature of the state for which the new constitution is being prepared. The Soviet system used to be officially considered as the expression of the dictatorship of the proletariat. But if the classes have been destroyed, then by reason of this very fact the social basis of the dictatorship has likewise been destroyed. Who, then, is its carrier now? Obviously the population as a whole. But when the entire people, emancipated from class contradictions, becomes the carrier of the dictatorship, this implies nothing else than the dissolution of the dictatorship in the socialist society, and consequently the liquidation of the state. The logic of Marxism is invulnerable. The liquidation of the state in its turn begins with the liquidation of the bureaucracy. Does the new constitution, perhaps, imply at least the liquidation of the G.P.U.? Should any one venture to express this idea in the U.S.S.R., the G.P.U. would immediately and convincingly counter-argued. The classes have been destroyed, the Soviets are being abolished, the class theory of society is reduced to dust, but the bureaucracy remains. Q.E.D.

The Whip Against the Bureaucracy

We shall return later to the question as to the extent to which the universal equal and direct suffrage corresponds to the alleged social equality of all citizens that has been attained. But if we accept this premise on faith, we become all the more perplexed by the following question: Why, if that be the case, must the elections be secret here-fore? Just whom does the populace in the socialist country fear? Against whose attempts in particular is it necessary to provide a defense? The child's fear of darkness has a purely biological foundation; but when grown up people dare not express their opinions openly, their fear is political in character. And for the Marxist, politics is always a function of the class struggle. In capitalist society the secret ballot is intended to provide a defense for the exploited against the terror of the exploiters. That the bourgeoisie did finally agree to such a reform—of course, under the pressure of the masses—was only because the bourgeoisie itself was interested in protecting its state at least partially against the demoralization of its own making. But in the U.S.S.R. there obviously cannot be any pressure of the exploiters upon the toilers. Against whom, then, is it necessary to protect the Soviet citizens by means of the secret ballot?

Under the old Soviet constitution, the viva voce vote was introduced as a weapon in the hands of the revolutionary class against bourgeois and petty bourgeois enemies. The same purpose was served by the restrictions in the franchise itself. Now, at the end of the second decade after the Revolution, no longer the class enemies but the toilers themselves are so frightened that they cannot vote except under the shield of secrecy. This touches precisely the masses of the people, the overwhelming majority, for it is impossible to allow that the secret ballot is being specially introduced for the convenience of the counter-revolutionary minority!

But who is terrorizing the peo-

ple? The answer is clear—the bureaucracy. The latter is preparing to protect the toilers against itself by means of the secret ballot. Stalin made this admission openly. To the question, Why the secret ballot? his reply was verbatim as follows: "Because we want to give the Soviet people complete freedom to vote for those they want to elect." Thus we learn from Stalin that the "Soviet people" cannot vote today for those they want to elect. "We" are only getting ready to provide them with such an opportunity. Who are these "we" who can give or refuse the freedom to vote? The stratum in whose name Stalin speaks and acts: the bureaucracy. Stalin need only have added that his important admission applies as much to the party as to the State, and that, in particular, he himself, occupies the post of General Secretary by means of a system which does not permit party members to elect those they desire. The phrase "we want to give the Soviet people" is in itself infinitely more important than all the constitutions Stalin has yet to write, for this brief phrase is a ready constitution, and, moreover, very real, and not a myth.

As the European bourgeoisie in its time, so the Soviet Bureaucracy is compelled today to resort to the secret ballot in order at least partially to purge its state apparatus which it exploits "as the rightful owner", from the corruption of its own making. Stalin was compelled to give an inkling of this motive for the reform. Said he to Howard, "There are not a few institutions in our country which work badly. . . . Secret suffrage in the U.S.S.R. will be a whip in the hands of the population against the organs of government which work badly." A second noteworthy admission! After the bureaucracy has created, with its own hands the socialist society. It feels the need . . . of a whip—not only because the organs of government "work badly" but above all because they are corroded through and through with the vices of uncontrolled cliques.

As far back as 1925, Rakovsky wrote the following with regard to a number of horrible cases of bur-

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Democracy Without Politics

Turning to the people for the salutary whip, the bureaucracy, however, lays down one ultimatum: that there be no politics. This holy function must remain as hitherto the monopoly of the "leader." To the ticklish question of the American interlocutor relative to other parties, Stalin replied: "Since there are no classes, since the dividing lines between classes are being obliterated, there are no classes"—the dividing lines between classes (which do not exist!) are being obliterated!—L. T.] there remains only a slight, but not a fundamental difference between various strata in socialist society, and there can be no fertile soil for the creation of contending parties. Where there are not several classes there cannot be several parties, for a party is a part of a class." Every word a mistake, sometimes even two!

According to Stalin, it seems that the dividing lines between classes are rigidly described, and that in every given period only one party corresponds to each class. The Marxist doctrine of the class nature of parties is transformed into a ludicrous bureaucratic caricature: political dynamics is entirely excluded from the historical process—in the interests of administrative order. In point of fact not a single instance can be found throughout the entire extent of political history of only one party corresponding to one class! Classes are not homogeneous, they are torn by internal antagonisms, and they arrive even at the solution of common tasks only through an internal struggle of tendencies, groupings and parties. Within certain limits it may be allowed that "the party is a part of a class." But inasmuch as a class has many "parts"—some facing forward, others backwards—one and the same class can put forth several parties. For the self-same reason, a single party can lean upon the parts of several classes.

Remarkably enough, this scandalous mistake of Stalin is absolutely disinterested in character. For, you see, in relation to the U.S.S.R. he proceeds from the assertion that no classes at all exist there. Of what class is the C.P.S.U., a part—after the abolition of all classes? Carelessly straying into the field of theory, Stalin proves more than he intended. From his reasoning it follows not that there cannot be different parties in the U.S.S.R. but that there cannot be even a single party. Where there are no classes there can be no room for politics in general. Stalin, however, makes a gracious exception from this law in the case of the party of which he is General Secretary.

The history of the working class reveals best of all the bankruptcy of the Stalinist theory of parties. Despite the fact that the working class is in its social structure indubitably the least heterogeneous of all classes in capitalist society, the existence of such a "stratum" as the labor aristocracy and a labor bureaucracy bound up with it leads to the creation of reformist parties, which inevitably turn into one of the instruments of bourgeois rule. It matters nothing from the standpoint of Stalinist sociology whether the difference between the labor aristocracy and the proletariat pass is "fundamental" or only "slight"; but it was precisely by reason of this difference that the necessity to create the Third International arose in its time. On the other hand, it is indubitable that the structure of Soviet society is infinitely more heterogeneous and complex than that of the proletariat in capitalist countries. For this very reason, it can provide a sufficiently fertile soil for several parties.

Stalin is interested, as a matter of fact, not in the sociology of Marx but in the monopoly of the bureaucracy. These are two entirely different things. Every labor bureaucracy, even one that does not wield state power, inclines to the view that there is no "fertile soil" in the working class for the opposition. The leaders of the British Labour Party drive the revolutionists out of the trade unions on the grounds that there is no room for the struggle between parties within the framework of a "united" working class. Messrs. Vandervelde, Leon Blum, Jouhaux, etc., act in a similar manner. Their conduct is dictated not by the

the situation has become infinitely worse. Stalin's autocratic rule has erected nepotism, self-will, profligacy, pillage and bribery into a system of administration. The decay of the apparatus, cropping out at every step, has begun to threaten the very existence of the state as the source of power, income and privileges of the ruling stratum. A reform became necessary. Taking fright at their own handiwork the summits of the Kremlin turn to the population with a plea to help it cleanse and straighten out the apparatus of administration.

metaphysics of unity but by the egoistic interests of the privileged cliques. Soviet bureaucracy is infinitely more powerful, wealthy and self-reliant than the labor bureaucracy in bourgeois countries. Highly skilled workers in the Soviet Union enjoy privileges unknown to the highest categories of labor in Europe and America. This two-fold stratum—the bureaucracy which leans upon the labor aristocracy—is the ruler of the country. The present ruling party of the U.S.S.R. is nothing else than the political machine of a privileged stratum. The Stalinist bureaucracy has something to lose and nothing more to conquer. It is not inclined to share what it holds. For the future as well, it intends to reserve the "fertile soil" for itself.

To be sure, the Bolshevik party also occupied a monopoly position in the state during the first period of the Soviet era. However, to identify these two phenomena is to mistake appearances for reality. During the years of civil war, under extremely difficult historical conditions, the party of the Bolsheviks found itself compelled temporarily to prohibit other parties, not because the latter lacked a "fertile soil"—in that case it would not have been necessary even to prohibit them—but on the contrary, precisely because fertile soil existed: this is what made them dangerous. The party explained openly to the masses what it was doing, for it was clear to everybody that at stake was the defense of the isolated revolution against mortal dangers. Today, the more the bureaucracy embellishes the social reality, the more shamelessly it exploits it for its own benefit. If it be true that the kingdom of

The Historical Meaning of the New Constitution

In the person of its most authoritative leader, the bureaucracy again demonstrates how little it understands those historical tendencies which determine its movement. When Stalin remarks that the difference between various strata in Soviet society is "slight but not fundamental," he obviously has in mind the fact that exclusive of the individual peasant proprietors, who are sufficiently numerous even today to populate Czechoslovakia, all other "strata" depend upon the stratified or collectivized means of production. This is beyond dispute. But a "fundamental" difference still remains between the collective, i.e. group property in agriculture and the nationalized property in industry: it can still make itself felt in the future. We shall not, however, enter into a discussion of this important question. Of considerably more immediate importance is the difference between the "strata" which is determined by their relation not to the means of production but to the articles of consumption. The sphere of distribution is, of course, only a "superstructure" in relation to the sphere of production. However, it is precisely the sphere of distribution that is of decisive importance in the everyday life of the people. From the standpoint of the ownership of the means of production, the difference between a Marshall and a street cleaner, between the head of a trust and an unskilled laborer, between the son of a people's Commissar and a homeless wretch is not "fundamental". But some occupy lordly apartments, enjoy several dachas (summer homes) in various parts of the country, have the best automobiles at their disposal, and have long forgotten how to shine their own boots; while others not infrequently live in wooden barracks, without any partitions for privacy, lead a half-starved existence, and do not clean their own boots only because they are barefoot. To a high dignity this difference seems to be only "slight", i.e., one that does not merit attention. To the unskilled laborer it appears, not without reason, to be "fundamental".

In a country in which the lava of revolution has not yet cooled, the privileged are often very much afraid of their own privileges, especially against the background of general want. The topmost Soviet strata stand in dread of the masses, with a fear that is purely bourgeois. Stalin supplies the growing privileges of the ruling stratum with a "theoretical" justification by means of the Comintern, and he defends the Soviet aristocracy against dissatisfaction by means of concentration camps. Stalin is the undisputed leader of the bureaucracy and of the labor aristocracy. He keeps in constant touch only with these "strata". A sincere "worship" of the leader emanates only from these circles. Such is the essence of the present political system of the U.S.S.R.

But to maintain this mechanism, Stalin is compelled from time to time to side with the "people" as against the bureaucracy, naturally, with the latter's silent consent. He is even compelled to seek for a whip from below against the abuses from above. As we have already said, this is one of the motives for the constitutional reform. There is another and no less important motive.

Seeking to dispel normal doubts on the part of his interlocutor, Stalin offered a new thought: "Candidates will be put forward not only by the Communist Party but by all sorts of public, non-party organizations. And we have hundreds of these." . . . "Each of these strata (of Soviet society) may have its special interests and express them through our numerous existing organizations." Evidently, it is for this reason that the new Soviet constitution will be the "most democratic constitution in the world."

This piece of sophistry is no better than the rest. The most important "strata" in Soviet society are: the summits of the bureaucracy and its middle and nethermost layers, the labor aristocracy, the kolchoz aristocracy, the common run of workers, the middle layers of the kolchozes, the peasant proprietors, the labor strata of workers and peasants, and beyond them the lumpenproletariat, the homeless, the prostitutes and so on. As to the Soviet public organizations—trade union, cooperative, cultural, sport, etc.—they do not at all represent the interests of different "strata" because they all have one and the same hierarchic structure: Even in those cases, when the organizations are based upon the privileged circles, as for instance the trade unions and cooperatives, the active role in them is played exclusively by the representatives of the privileged summits, while the "party," i.e., the political organization of the ruling stratum, has the last word. The participation of non-political organizations in the electoral struggle will consequently lead to nothing else than the rivalry between the different cliques of the bureaucracy within the limits set by the Kremlin. The ruling summit calculates to learn in this manner some secrets hidden from it and to refurbish its regime, without at the same time permitting a political struggle to take place which must inevitably be directed against itself.

Drawing profounder conclusions from Stalin, Molotov told the editor of Le Temps that the question of parties in the U.S.S.R. is "not a vital question in the U.S.S.R., inasmuch as we are closely approaching the complete liquidation of . . . classes." What precision in ideas and terminology! In the year 1931, they liquidated the "last capitalist class, that of the kulaks," and in the year 1936 they are "closely approaching" the liquidation of classes. For better or for worse, the question of parties is not a "vital" one to Molotov. Entirely different, however, are the views held upon this matter by those workers who know that the bureaucracy while suppressing the exploiting classes with one hand, prepares for their rebirth with the other. For these advanced workers the question of their own party, independent of the bureaucracy, is the most vital of all questions. Stalin and Molotov understand this very well indeed; not for nothing have they expelled during the last few months from the so-called Communist Party of the Soviet Union several tens of thousands of Bolshevik-Leninists, i.e., in reality, an entire revolutionary party.

When the editor of Le Temps politely put the question about factions and their possible transformation into independent parties, Molotov replied with the quick wit for which he is so noted: "In the party . . . attempts were made to create special factions . . . but in now several years since the situation in this respect has fundamentally changed and the Communist Party is truly united." Best of all, he might have added, this is proved by the interminable purges and concentration camps. However, the illegal existence of an opposition party is not non-existence, but only a difficult form of existence. Arrests may prove very effective against the parties of a class that is departing from the historical stage: the revolutionary dictatorship of the years 1917-1923 has proved this fully. But the arrests aimed against the revolutionary vanguard will not save the outlived bureaucracy, which according to its own admission requires a "whip".

It is a lie and a triple lie to allege that socialism has been realized in the U.S.S.R. The flowering of bureaucracy is a barbaric proof that socialism is still far removed. So long as the productivity of labor in the U.S.S.R. is several times below that of the advanced capitalist countries; so long as the people has not emerged from want; so long as a cruel struggle continues to be waged for articles of consumption; so long as the individualistic bureaucracy can thrum with impunity upon social antagonisms—just so long will the danger of bourgeois restoration retain its full force. At the present time, with the growth of inequality on the basis of economic successes, the danger has even been increased. In this and in this alone lies the justification for the need of state power. But the bureaucratically degenerated state has itself become the chief danger to the socialist future. The inequality can be reduced to its economically inevitable limits at the given stage, and a road can be cut to social equality only by the active political control of the toilers, be-

lieving with their vanguard. The regeneration of the party of the Bolsheviks in counterpoise to the party of the Bonapartists is the key to all other difficulties and tasks.

On the road towards a goal, one must be able to utilize the real possibilities which arise on every stage. Any illusions about the Stalinist constitution would of course be unreasonable. But it is equally impermissible to wave it aside as an insignificant trifle. The bureaucracy assumes the risk of a reform not at its own whim but out of necessity. History tells of many cases of a bureaucratic dictatorship resorting for its salvation to "liberal" reforms, and still further weakening itself. By laying bare Bonapartism, the new constitution creates a semi-legal cover for the struggle against it. The rivalry between the bureaucratic cliques can become the vent-hole for a much wider political struggle. The whip against the "government institutions that work badly" can be turned into a whip against Bonapartism. Everything depends upon the degree of activity of the advanced elements of the working class.

The Bolshevik-Leninists must henceforth follow attentively all the twists and windings of the constitutional reform, painstakingly taking into consideration the experience of the first coming elections. We must learn how to utilize the rivalry between the various "public organizations" in the interests of socialism. We must learn how to engage in battles on the soil of the plebiscites as well. The bureaucracy is afraid of the workers, we must unfold our work among them more audaciously and on a more extensive scale. Bonapartism is afraid of the youth, we must rally it to the banner of Marx and Lenin. From the adventures of individual terrorism, the method of those who are desperate we must lead the vanguard of the young generation onto the broad road of the world revolution. It is necessary to train new Bolshevik cadres which will come to replace the decaying bureaucratic regime.

APRIL 16, 1936.

Learned philistines like the Webbs failed to see any great difference between Bolshevism and Czarism prior to 1923, but, in return, they have completely recognized the "democracy" of Stalin's regime. Small wonder: these people have all their lives been the ideologists of a labor bureaucracy. In point of fact, Soviet Bonapartism bears the same relation to Soviet democracy that bourgeois Bonapartism or even Fascism bears to bourgeois democracy. Both arise equally from the frightful defeat of the world proletariat. Both will crash with its first victory.

Bonapartism as history testifies is able to abide very well with universal and even secret suffrage. The democratic ritual of Bonapartism is the plebiscite. From time to time the question is put to the citizens: For or against the Leader? The leader, on his part, takes precautions so that the voter is able to feel the barrel of a gun at his temple. Since the days of Napoleon III, who now appears as a provincial dilettante, this technique has attained an unprecedented development, as witness, say, the latest spectacle by Goebbels. The new constitution is thus intended to liquidate juridically the outworn Soviet regime, replacing it by Bonapartism on the plebiscitary basis.

Tasks of the Vanguard

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APRIL 16, 1936.

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French Radicals Hold Whip Hand

The Meaning of the Elections in France

(Continued from Page 1)

parties form a bloc with the Radical Socialists—which puts forward as its program exactly the program of the Radical Socialists; which accepts as its outstanding leaders, both in and out of Parliament, these same repudiated Radical Socialist chiefs; and which in the elections throws the working-class vote over to the Radical Socialist candidates.

When every demand of history and every teaching of Marxism called for an open and intransigent revolutionary proletarian policy, for the hastening of the dissolution of the Radical Socialist party by resolutely drawing the lower strata of its following behind the proletarian ranks under the banner of a revolutionary program, the Stalinists and Socialists of France have, through the People's Front, been engaged in exhausting the energies of the proletariat for the sake of—slowing down the dissolution of the Radical Socialists, bolstering up their credit and prestige with the masses, salvaging their bankrupt program, and aiding them in their loyal task of preventing the preparations for revolutionary struggle.

The disillusionment of the petty-bourgeois masses with Radical Socialism will not be permanently altered by changing the name of Radical Socialism to the People's Front. Why should they pick up again what they have discarded merely for the sake of a pretty new label? Already, the elections show, they are in large numbers turning not to the left but to the right, where at least there are confident leaders to speak out boldly for a new road and a new solution. The continuation of the People's Front policy means that this trend of the petty bourgeoisie will necessarily continue and increase. When the blows of history strip off the new clothes of the People's Front to show more obviously the Radical Socialist skeleton beneath, it will lose what attractive power it now has for the petty bourgeoisie, and they will drift faster toward the fascist camp. The proletariat can win and hold the petty bourgeois masses only by drawing them in under its own revolutionary banner, never by creeping in under the tattered petty-bourgeois tent.

What has been changed in France by these elections, hailed by the swarm of liberals, reformists, and social-patriots as the dawn of France's salvation? Essentially, nothing. Even in the Chamber of Deputies, in spite of the electoral shift, the basic relations are unaltered. The Communist and Socialist parties together have only about 35% of the votes in the Chamber. Thus they can control legislation and governmental policy only with the assistance of the Radical Socialists, who have about 20%. But this means that all measures actually taken will have to be Radical Socialist measures, and that any type or variation of a People's Front government could be in practice only another Radical Socialist government. The Radical Socialists keep the same relative position which they held in the last Chamber.

In many important respects, the nominal majority of the People's Front taken together with the minority position of the working-class parties is an added danger rather than an improvement. For example, it enables the French bourgeoisie to carry through any social and economic measures which they see fit, from wage reductions to devaluation to war, and at the same time to slough off all responsibility for such measures on to the People's Front. In this way, the bourgeoisie can convincingly maintain before the French masses that the continuing and increasing ills from which they suffer are actually due to the People's Front and its inspirers, the working-class parties. Thus the basis is laid for unanswerable propaganda to weaken the mass standing and authority of Socialism and Communism, and to draw the petty bourgeoisie and even many layers of the working class to the only other road—to Fascism. It will be observed that it is the policy of the People's Front which has placed the working class parties in this equivocal and possibly fatal position. To date, in drawing up the balance sheet of the People's Front, the Socialist and Communist parties have paid out: revolutionary theory, revolutionary policies, revolutionary strategy; and have received: a paper majority for the People's Front—which is either no majority at all, or a majority for the Radical Socialists, since the majority can be maintained only at the whim and pleasure of the Radical Socialists. But such a majority, far from representing an asset, is only an additional liability, burdening the working class parties with all the heavy debts and crimes of Radical Socialism.

The election results do not alter by a hair's breadth the underlying causes of the French crisis. Unemployment, low wages, high costs, the increasing misery of the lower strata of the peasantry, high taxes, the threat of devaluation, the approach of war: these remain now as they were a month ago. And every year of modern history, especially every year since the last War, proves that the reformist schemes of the People's Front cannot change materially for the better a single one of them. Every lesson of our times teaches that they demand as the single possible answer: the workers' revolution and socialism.

And the French Fascists? Defeated by the parliamentary warriors of the People's Front? Buried beneath the clouds of ballots? The very conception is sufficiently ludicrous. The Fascists participated only to a small degree in the elections. For the most part, they swung their votes to the traditional Right parties, many of the leaders of which are more openly moving toward a Fascist position in recent months. Meanwhile, the ranks of the Fascists are intact. Their knives and revolvers and machine guns and armored cars and tanks and airplanes are safe and growing in number. Their influence in the army is mounting. They prepare systematically, in their own fashion, for the struggle ahead. And French finance-capital directs their progress, holding them temporarily in check from too precipitous action before it is needed. Finance-capital makes it its business to learn from history: and the lessons of Italy, Germany and Austria were not taught it in vain. It knows that crucial political issues are not settled by ballots.

The proletariat of France will do well to follow such an example. Its basic struggle must be transferred from parliament to the streets and the countryside. The subordination of the proletariat to the program and tactics of the petty bourgeoisie through the People's Front must be resolutely broken. The People's Front itself must be smashed through, and in its place, to secure concerted and coordinated action, must be built the fighting united front of the workers, which will draw behind it the lower ranks of the petty bourgeoisie. The revolutionary slogans must be brought before the masses, and made concrete

(Continued from Page 1)

1932, the Socialists polled a popular vote almost equal to that of the Radicals. The electoral agreement between the Socialists and the Radicals on the second ballot worked to the advantage of the latter, and this cut down the Socialist representation in the Chamber, in 1932.

In commenting upon the results of the election, the Daily Worker remarks that the victory was "even greater than was expected." The Stalinists seem generally at a loss for superlatives to acclaim their "triumph." Thus, Gannes says shyly that the "tremendous, even smashing gains" scored in France are "comparable only to the Spanish election victory."

Comparison with Spanish Vote

From the standpoint of what the Stalinists acclaim as the "great gains for the French masses," to compare the Spanish election with the French is to hold a candle up to the sun. While it is true that proportionately the People's Front gained approximately the same majority in each country (56% of the total seats in Spain; 60% in France), the Spanish S.P. and C.U. combined obtained only a little over one-third of the seats carried by the People's Front as against almost two-thirds for the French S.P. and C.P. The combined popular vote of these two parties totaled 4,500,000 out of 10,000,000 votes cast. Then, too, the Spanish C.P. received less than 6% of the seats in the huge assembly almost 20% for the C.P. in France.

It is not difficult to prove that the results of the election came almost as a shock to the tab-thumpers for the People's Front.

Results Come as Shock

Leon Blum, in an interview issued to the French press, on the eve of the first ballot, "modestly" foretold a gain of 20 seats for his own party, while giving the Communists 25, and the Radicals 15. He is convinced that the Radical group, the great middle class party, will remain the largest in the Chamber." (The Manchester Guardian Weekly, April 24.)

In the Daily Worker analysis of the results of the first ballot we find: first, a boast of the "great victory"; secondly, a forecast of "from at least 40 and possibly 60 dependents" for the C.P.; and, finally, the following astounding prognosis:

"It is estimated that the French Socialist Party will obtain 80 seats in the next Chamber and the Radical Socialists will hold about 70." (D.W., April 28.)

We can either accept this news dispatch (allegedly from Paris) at its face value and conclude that the Daily Worker was merely insuring itself against all eventualities by howling victory on the first ballot and predicting a disastrous defeat for the People's Front in the runoff; or we may assume that the unwieldy hack who concocted the "Paris dispatch" had intended to give the Radicals, that "great middle class party" not 70 but 170 seats. The latter figure is the one prophesied for the Radicals by Blum, and also ventured as an estimate in the pages of *L'Humanite*.

Even after the run offs, the Daily Worker tended to be restrained almost to the verge of suspicion. Thus, under its screening headline of May 4 which proclaimed "victory," the Stalinists carried the most conservative U.P. dispatch which gave the Communists "between 45 and 55 seats in the next parliament," and did not breathe a word about the possibility of the Radicals losing their dominant position to the Socialists.

Distressed at New Set-Up

The Stalinists get the jitters at the very thought of themselves or the Socialists, i.e. the "working class parties" having to oppose the Fascists face to face even on the parliamentary arena. According to the theory and practice of the People's Front, France can be saved from Fascism only provided that the "great party of the middle class" be interposed in power between the lawless Fascists and the law-abiding workers. The program of the People's Front is acceptable to Herriot-Daladier because it is the program of Herriot-Daladier. The banner of the People's Front is the tricolor: its hymn, the Marseillaise. That is why P. J. Philin can report with satisfaction the following:

"In estimating the degree of readiness of the new majority, it should be noted that at nearly all the electoral meetings, even the Communist ones, the Tricolor flag of the French Republic was used to form the centerpiece over the platform. . . The Marseillaise was sung as lustily as the 'Internationale', and these small mat-

ters are significant" (N.Y. Times, May 5).

The victory proved "unexpected" and even embarrassing to the Stalinists because they were anxious that the Radicals should be stronger in the new Chamber than the Socialists. But, as it turned out, "everybody" won except the true banner-bearers of the People's Front, the Radical Socialists.

The Daily Worker pretends it is pleased at the outcome, and explains the defeat of the Radicals as the defeat of the enemies of the People's Front. "The defeated Radical Socialists were the doubtful friends of democracy within the People's Front."

"The forces within the People's Front who dared flirt with the reactionaries, who voted for some of the pro-Fascist measures of ex-Radical Premier Pierre Laval, were decisively rebuked and rejected." (D.W., May 5).

Defeated Despite People's Front

The Stalinists conveniently forget to mention that those Radicals who went down to defeat, did so because of the support of the People's Front, i.e. of the Socialists and the Communists. Far from "rebuking or rejecting" any Radical, even one openly hostile to the People's Front, the Stalinists sought to placate and elect every single one of them. As reported by M. E. Ravage in the Nation (April 29) the Stalinists rejected the proposal made by a Socialist member of the People's Front Committee that every candidate supported by the bloc be asked to pledge his approval of the program and his support of the government formed to execute it. "Surprisingly enough the Communists, eager not to alienate the Radicals by seeming to dictate to them, rejected the proposal."

The Daily Worker carefully avoids any editorial mention of Herriot's case. Yet it is a secret to no one that Herriot is not at all friendly to the People's Front, and if anyone can be charged with supporting the "pro-Fascist measures" of Laval it is certainly Herriot who participated in Laval's cabinet.

Blum Prophecies Collapse

Daladier is the ritual leader of the Radicals, but the decisive influence is wielded by Herriot. Regardless of whether or not the Radicals received the largest delegation it was obvious from the outset that the next French Government would once again depend upon this party, which is plainly divided in its views toward the People's Front. Leon Blum, for example prophesied in his interview to the press shortly before the elections that the People's Front would collapse in the next Chamber: "About 60 Radicals with right-wing tendencies will leave the People's Front organization under the pretext that they cannot associate with a majority which includes Communists."

None other than Herriot is the leader of this group. One might have innocently imagined that when Herriot, for 31 years the mayor of Lyons ("Lyons and Herriot—the two names are inseparable") failed of election on the first ballot, the Stalinists would have taken the lead in administering a rebuke and a defeat in the run-offs to the man who so obviously endangers their entire political planning. Just the contrary occurred. Herriot received the support of the Socialists and the Communists and nosed out his reactionary opponent.

The salient aspects of the election have been already outlined by us in last week's article. It remains only to add that the results of the second ballot provide a striking verification of the manner in which the People's Front salvages the utterly bankrupt party of the Radicals.

The disintegration of this traditional party of French "democracy," which is so marked in the face of the joint support of both the Socialists and the Communists, and which must continue at an ever increasing rate, has already established a relationship of forces in the Chamber which places the greatest strain upon the structure of the People's Front. The collapse of the People's Front would signify a tremendous acceleration in the process of regroupment within the French working class as a whole, within the Socialist Party, and even among the Stalinists. Its collapse at this juncture when the Fascists are as yet unprepared to launch a general offensive would come as a great boon to the French working class which can expect no counsel from Blum-Daladier-Gachin except betrayal and no action except capitulation.

The first serious test, and the resulting disintegration of the "victors" may come even prior to the convocation of the new Chamber over the question of the devaluation of the franc.

in action; and to meet the armed hands of the Fascists, the workers' defense must be armed and organized. The answer to the crisis of France must be given boldly: the workers' revolution.

But each of these tasks, without the accomplishment of which the workers of France are doomed to the fate of their German comrades, demands as its first and decisive pre-condition the reassembling of the revolutionary forces of the French proletariat, the forging of the revolutionary party, which can alone achieve the victory.

Progressives Beat Dillon Machine At the Auto Workers Convention

(Continued from Page 1)

opposing the previous craft union minded administration, the second test of their development showed definite weaknesses which can not be ignored.

Election of Officials

So strong was the desire of many delegates including the progressives to obtain offices that instead of fighting out differences on basic issues and then electing men on their stand, it was decided by the steering committee that election of officers should come first.

Martin, a compromise selection of the progressives, was chosen president. Previously Wyndham Mortimer, of Cleveland, one of the strongest leaders of the progressives, was favored as candidate. Ed Hall, secretary-treasurer, although bitterly opposed by progressives from his own territory, Wisconsin, was given second vice-presidency, in a deal. Wells, of Detroit, known as a middle-of-the-road man, became third vice president, and George Addes, of Toledo, by no means a thorough progressive, was chosen secretary-treasurer.

The caliber of the officers is very reminiscent of the rubber workers' officials selected last fall. Only the test of a class struggle will show clearly where each stands. Some of the rubber worker progressives turned reactionary in the Goodyear strike.

The Red Scare

A company-inspired red scare through issuance of a fake leader branding Martin and Mortimer as "communists" did not affect the elections.

In bitterness over the election results, reactionary delegates introduced a resolution to expel all known "communists" from the convention.

A two-hour debate ensued with militant Socialist delegates taking the best stand and putting up the strongest opposition to the resolution.

Instead of fighting the battle to

Terror Reigns In F.D.'s Cuba

(Continued from Page 1)

1. The Agrarian National Party and the Aprista Party, two petty-bourgeois organizations.

2. The "Confederation of Labor," the I.L.D. and a host of allied outfits.

3. The Havana Federation of Labor, and the Socorro Obrero.

The Havana Federation comprises the now outlawed unions of bakers, cigar-makers, building trades and office workers in that city. The Socorro Obrero (Workers Aid) is a non-partisan defense organization, which takes care of the prisoners from the Havana Federation, the Bolshevik-Leninist party and the anarchists. In contrast to the Stalinist opportunism, the Socorro Obrero seeks to enlist the support of the masses. In the Amnesty Committee it stands out head and shoulders above the rest. However, its forces are too small to change the situation at present.

Sensitive to American Protest

What does exist here is a system of prison aid, in which even Young Cuba and the Autenticos participate. A United Cooperative has been formed within the prisons to include political prisoners of every shade. This co-operative, in which both the Socorro Obrero and the I.L.D. participate, distributes money, food, tobacco, books, etc. This work, which is a necessary auxiliary to a defense movement, is the only real activity carried on under united auspices.

The Cuban government is extremely sensitive to American criticism of its policies. The protest to President Roosevelt on conditions in Cuba, initiated by the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, and signed by Norman Thomas, John Dos Passos, Clifford Odets and thirty other labor leaders and intellectuals in December, had strong repercussions in the Cuban press. News received from the Non-Partisan Labor Defense that a broad movement in defense of Cuban workers is being established in America, involving all political tendencies, is the most inspiring information we have had here in the year since the terror began.

We urge the class-conscious American workers to help build this defense movement. International solidarity can act as a springboard for the Cuban struggle for democratic rights.

A Political Book-Review of "What Is Communism?" and "Communism in the United States," By Earl Browder.

With a Few Side-Remarks on "Towards Soviet America," by William Z. Foster and Why his Book Was Suppressed.

How Browder Became the "Betrayed Leader" and his Career Under Two Flags.

a finish and defeating the resolution once and for all, the progressive forces passed a motion to refer it back to the constitutional committee where it was forgotten.

In that connection, a speech by Rose Pesotta, of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, speaking as a guest that afternoon, spiked the reactionaries on the red scare. She gave an eloquent plea for political democracy in unions which was cheered by virtually everyone. After her talk the issue never came to the surface again.

Plays Craft Union Regime

Then came the memorable speech of Richard Frankenstein, an observer for the Independent Industrial union which Coughlin had influenced. He scathingly denounced the craft union policies of the Green regime. He criticized the ignorant attacks of many labor papers against his union pointing out that at no time in the past two years had any attempt been made by the A. F. of L. or any group to bring them into the federation. He declared the A. F. of L. conduct in the Motor Products strike where Dillon led scabs into the factory under the A. F. of L. banner a disgrace to unionism. Then he made a stirring plea for unity and pledged to bring the union into the autonomous United Automobile Workers while the delegates gave him a tremendous ovation. Anderson of the M.E.S.A. likewise took a similar stand in his talk.

It was clearly established that two main ideas were in the auto workers' minds—an expression of what the thousands of workers in the huge factories think. Those were UNITY of all unions under the banner of INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM.

Unity Probable Soon

Immediate plans for amalgamation including the seating of an independent union leader on the general executive board were made. It is therefore highly probable that unity will be established among the auto workers.

In this matter the Committee for Industrial Organization was praised by Frankenstein and Anderson. Frankenstein openly declared that the discussions with the C.I.O. representatives, Adolph Germer and others, had brought them to the unity position.

It can be said generally that the C.I.O., because of the very nature of the problems confronting the auto workers, played a more progressive role than in the Goodyear strike where more basic questions were confronted.

Labor Party Resolution

However, the credit for much of the progress made must be given to the active group of young militant Socialists. They supported and fought for every point of the program previously mentioned both in numerous caucus meetings and on the convention floor, except the Labor Party resolution and that deserves special mention.

Although Stalinist-influenced progressives expected a bitter fight and considerable doubt was entertained about the passing of the Gorman resolution, the resolution was supported without any voice of opposition, without any debate.

(Since the writing of this article the press reported the carrying of a resolution endorsing Roosevelt for re-election. This motion was put and passed as a rider to the resolution urging the formation of a Farmer-Labor party following a speech by President Homer Martin, who appealed to the delegates not to cross the C.I.O. which is definitely committed to back Roosevelt in 1936.—Ed.)

It seemed that no one except the Stalinists took the resolution seriously. The S.P. delegates appeared confused in their position and some voted for and others apparently abstained from voting.

A Significant Observation

As a Toledo delegate remarked after the vote, "What we are vitally interested in is building a powerful progressive industrial union. The Labor Party isn't going to help. If we can bring in 450,000 auto workers after a real struggle against the auto magnates that will mean something to the workers."

As a matter of fact, a careful survey led this writer to the opinion expressed above that the auto workers are a hundred-fold more interested in building a union by direct class struggle than in any Labor Party.

It hardly need be pointed out that such a struggle for elementary rights will necessarily take on revolutionary aspects because of the

forces against which the workers battle. Many of the militants appeared to realize this too, and expressed that opinion.

The delegates have no illusions about the ferocity of the struggle that will be waged against them. Speaker after speaker told of the spy-systems, the intimidation, the blacklists and other weapons brought into play to crush unionism. But the great advance of the United Rubber Workers left a definite impression and built up a new determination in the auto workers. "If the Goodyear strikers did that much, we can do the same," a Detroit delegate said.

It was in that temper that the delegates adjourned, returning to the 40,000 workers they represent to begin an intensive organization drive backed by the C.I.O. to unionize the 450,000 auto workers.

However a speech by Charles P. Howard, secretary of the C.I.O., and president of the Typographical union, indicated the limitations such aid would take.

"We believe that the worker should obtain more of a share of the product produced. The automobile workers deserve higher wages. We must fight to maintain the American standard of living to give us continued life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. The employer must learn it is good business to pay higher wages. . . ." Howard said, at a mass meeting.

Support of Roosevelt also was urged. In other words, a class collaboration policy will be pursued by the C.I.O. when obviously only the most militant struggle can bring any victory, as the Goodyear strike proved.

In conclusion, it must be said that the number of young militants at the convention offered real hope that the United Automobile Workers would base their fight for unionism on a class struggle policy. In clashing with the powerful auto magnates only such a policy offers the correct program for victory.

As in the rubber strike, irrespective of any particular leader or groups of leaders, future battles in the auto industry will assume such magnitude and the auto workers such a militancy that one can safely predict the development of cadres of class-conscious, revolutionary-minded militants by the very nature of the struggle.

Grant Wage Rise in Akron

(Continued from Page 1)

and boxes, and embellished with a sign, "Moving Goodrich to Oak Park, Pa.," a slap at the decentralization announcements of the past month.

With Goodrich marched its uniformed baseball team, and members—believe it or not—of the riding club, gallantly bearing signs, "Goodrich Riding Club—the Horses are Resting."

Splendid Fraternal Delegations

Throughout the parade were signs demanding the repeal of the sales tax, condemning the "Law and Order League," and attacking the Bedaux system. Fraternal delegates from Canton bore a large sign, "BLACKLISTED!—Repub Steel Workers," and served as a reminder that labor solidarity reaches everywhere. The Palmer march workers, carrying a sign, "LOCKED OUT!" and bearing on their shoulders what were obviously huge imitation matches, but which, cynics would probably serve as fine picket clubs, were applauded constantly.

An encouraging sign, especially when it is remembered that Akron recruits largely from southern labor, was the large number of Negroes parading with the Pittsburgh Valve local.

After the parade, a mass meeting was held in Grange Park. Joseph Schlossberg of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers spoke, as did the C.P. stooge, Maurice Sugar of Detroit.

As a whole, however, the parade was a wonderful exhibition of the Akron trade unions' fresh, young strength. Naturally the barons of the rubber industry have not been napping. While throwing a sop to the workers, they have been busy solidifying the forces of reaction. At Goodyear the police force is being augmented, the "Law and Order League" is initiating a low dues paying union, and it is entering the political arena.

Everything points to new and glorious struggles ahead!

EARL BROWDER

THE MAN AND HIS BOOKS
SPEAKER

MAX SHACHTMAN

Editor of the New International

IRVING PLAZA HALL

15th ST. and IRVING PLACE

WEDNESDAY, MAY 20th 8p. m.

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Communist Party Trails F.D. Bandwagon

Aid the Russian Bolshevik Exiles!

Stalin Plans Wholesale Persecution

New Decree Directs Violence of Regime Against Revolutionists

By L. TROTSKY

The March 15th issue of Pravda carries a semi-official order that emanates from a high source, obviously from Stalin, and that deals with the treatment to be accorded the expelled party members. The question is not a simple one because, as we have only to recall, from the second half of last year to the present day more than 300,000 have been expelled, perhaps, even half a million. The smallest percentage of the party members expelled is 7%, but in several instances over one-third have been expelled. At the present time the purge is continuing under the guise of "exchanging the party cards", or, as Stalin's order states, the party continues to rid itself of "Trotskyists, Zinovievists, White Guards, and other fifth." This list and the order of naming the categories of the expelled have become very firmly established, and, moreover, in all the lists, both local and general, the "Trotskyists" invariably occupy the first place. This means that the heaviest blows are directed against them.

Stalin's order leaves no room for doubt on this score. On the surface the order seems to be intended as a check upon the excessive zeal of local organizations who are depriving all the expelled of work. With unexampled bureaucratic jesuitism, Stalin intervenes in behalf of certain categories of the expelled. Thus, the order remarks that certain communists have been expelled as passive elements, for breaches of discipline or of party ethics. Harshness toward them is unwarranted. If they are to be compromised for their old work, they must be given new work. One should not needlessly breed enemies. "Unfortunately, this simple truth is not understood everywhere." A man who has committed "some sort of a grave breach of party ethics" may nevertheless remain a "useful individual for our socialist country." Under one condition: that he is not an "enemy," i.e., the enemy of the bureaucracy. If a man has embezzled, given or taken bribes, beat up an underling, or raped a girl, in short, committed a "grave breach of party ethics" but has in the meantime remained loyal to the powers that be, then this "useful individual" must be given other work. The chief quality that the order demands from the party leaders is: "the ability to distinguish between the enemy and the non-enemy." Ruthlessness is recommended only with regard to the political opponent. A docile grafter is not an enemy. The mortal enemy is the honest oppositionist who must be deprived of work of every kind.

The only employer in the U.S.S.R. is the bureaucracy. Stalin's order implies in practice the doom of tens of thousands of oppositionists to the tortures of unemployment and homelessness, even when they are expelled. To be sure, this used to be done before too, but not in every case. Today, this has been erected into a system.

This order of Stalin which bears the caption "On Bolshevik Vigilance" must be brought to the attention of the workers the world over. Not a single appropriate occasion should be missed to raise this question at workers' meetings. Wherever possible, it is necessary to penetrate into the trade union press. Everything must be done to prevent Stalin from physically exterminating tens of thousands of irreproachable young fighters.

March 25, 1936.

ATTENTION

Max Shachtman, editor of the New Internationalist will speak on "Browder: the Man and His Books," Wed., May 20th, 8 P.M. at Irving Plaza, Irving Place and 15th Street.

Report Death, Suffering In Stalin's Siberian Jail

The following information on our prisoners in the U.S.S.R. has been received from an absolutely trustworthy source. For obvious reasons we cannot disclose the name of our informant:

1) Our comrade SOLNTSEV, imprisoned in 1929 after his return from America served three years in prison and then an additional two. Released at the beginning of 1935, he was deported to the Siberian frontier—I do not know the name of the locality, but I was in indirect communication with him—in a village where it was impossible for him to find work and where he therefore suffered the greatest physical privation. At the end of 1935, he was arrested again, without any conceivable legal reason, and soon condemned to 3 or 5 years in prison. He refused to undergo this punishment and carried through a hunger strike lasting about 20 days in defense of his "freedom" of exile. He won his point; the N.K.W.D. consented to send him to Minoussinsk where his exiled wife and son awaited him. On route, travelling by stages with other prisoners, he fell ill with exhaustion (inflammation of the internal ear), was operated on immediately in the hospital at Novosibirsk where he died last January (1936).

2) All the Trotskyist exiles of Tara, a dozen comrades among whom is Guenstein, were arrested in January-February. This means that a "case" is being cooked up against them which can only end by their removal to concentration camps for long terms.

3) LADO DOUMBADZE must be saved. Wounded in the civil war, seriously bruised besides, he is paralyzed in both arms. Imprisoned, in 1934-35 he was moved from Souzdal to Bontirky, from Bontirky to exile, from exile again to Souzdal, rapidly transferred from prison to prison, from city to city, without obtaining any real care, he becomes more seriously ill. They ended by exiling him to Sarapul, where he is alone, an invalid, receiving an allowance of 50 roubles a month. It is almost impossible for him to dress and undress himself; he has no one to care for him, letters seldom reach him, it is only with the greatest pain that he succeeds in writing a few lines and then after hours of painful travail—I read one of these letters, it is a tragic document! but if we do not obtain care for him or other living conditions, LADO DOUMBADZE is lost; his heroism can now serve him only to go under like a man.

I believe it necessary to broadcast widely the sufferings and death of Solntsev, the danger to Dombadze. My information is quite reliable and for my part I will do everything in my power. . . .

I have read Tarov and Chlign: they are, on the whole, understating the case. The truth is much worse.

Pressure Forces Victor Serge's Release from S.U.

After three years of exile in Stalin's Siberia, Victor Serge, author of "The Year One of the Russian Revolution" and many other working class books, and a life-long and devoted militant in the revolutionary movement, has been released and returned to Belgium.

He was arrested in 1933 by an administrative order of the G.P.U. and exiled without the slightest semblance of a trial in violation of the Soviet laws for his continued refusal to give up his revolutionary views and prostitute himself to the task of liquidating the October Revolution.

He was deprived of all communication with the outside world, and blacklisted so that he was unable to obtain employment in Orenburg, where he was exiled. For three years he tried to support a sick wife and child on the meagre returns from the publication of his works in France. During this time the Stalinist bureaucrats constantly harassed him for a capitulation.

On April 1 of this year the growing wave of protest against the treatment of Serge, especially in France where a committee of prominent authors carried on a long fight for his release, finally forced the Stalinist bureaucrats to let him go. But they took their revenge by holding his former secretary, a young French stenographer, who was completely inactive in politics, as a "hostage." At the same time all Serge's papers, notes and manuscripts for books, in which the authorities vainly searched for "counter-revolutionary" statements were confiscated.

The release of Serge is the second victory of this year in the struggle to free the thousands of revolutionists who are rotting in the jails and in exile in the Soviet Union, jailed and exiled by administrative decrees without trial, and unknown even to the population of the U.S.S.R. itself.

Union Blooms Out of Their Own Mouths

By BLAKE LEAR

AKRON, Ohio, May 12.—Seven workers were slightly wounded on May 7th when a company gunman shot into a crowd of several hundred Goodyear workers milling about a company weasel who was distributing an anti-union pamphlet, "The Real Facts."

So eager were the workers to receive the pamphlet that the company weasel had to pull a black-jack to repress the importunate crowd. It was an unfortunate tactical error, for he was immediately hurled to the ground. The special deputy, one of those commissioned during the late unlamented strike, then fired into the crowd.

The pamphlet, cleverly signed "A Goodyear Worker," portrays the Goodyear as a veritable Garden of Eden before the snake of unionism arrived. The ugly lynx spirit pervading the scene is well shown in the following quotation: "There is another condition in the shop today and that is there are some very

(Continued on Page 4)

It is not often that the capitalist press draws aside the curtains that conceal the real forces at work in maintaining "social order" under the present system. All the more remarkable, therefore, is the following article on the Tampa flogging case that appeared in the New York Times of May 11. The killing of Joseph Shoemaker was so callous a crime, the national protest against its perpetrators so powerful, political and economic conditions in Tampa as brought out during the trials are so thoroughly rotten that even this ultra-conservative journal has been driven to expose them after its own fashion.

"By JUNIUS B. WOOD

"BARTOW, Fla., May 10.—An unanswerable question to persons in this part of the country is why the mere flogging and tar and feathering of three men, one of them so severely that he died, should attract such widespread attention in the United States.

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C.I.O. Faces Challenge Of Steel

Drive to Organize Industry Major Problem Before American Labor

By ARNE SWABECK

Will the half million workers, whose fortune and misfortune is harnessed to the brutal and capricious dominance of the gigantic steel empire, finally be organized?

The Committee for Industrial Organization considers this question to be a challenge. It passed the challenge on to the A. F. of L. But, it attached also an offer to contribute a half million dollars and a staff of experienced organizers for an organization campaign, stipulating that conditions necessary really to produce results would require assurance that "all steel workers organized will be granted the permanent right to remain united in one industrial union," and that "the leadership of the campaign must be such as to inspire confidence of success." Certainly, more reasonable conditions could not be stipulated.

However, the A. F. of L. Executive Council, now meeting in Washington, D.C., wrathfully spurned the offer and refused to accept its conditions.

Wm. Green declared that the Executive Council would act only if it were "free from the interference on the part of any group or groups either within or outside the jurisdiction of the A. F. of L." In other words, these distinguished elders flatly rejected the whole idea presented by the C.I.O.

A. F. of L. Decision Remains Paper

Convention resolutions of 1934 and 1935 put the A. F. of L. on record to organize the steel industry. Nevertheless, the net results to date falls below zero. The steel workers' union has even lost the gains it made during the early NRA period. To establish the responsibility for this failure should not be difficult. It is a well known fact that the leadership of the steel workers' union, headed by Mike Tighe, is even considered by Wm. Green to be so incompetent as not to merit the confidence necessary to direct a campaign of organization. Self-complacent bureaucrats, when irritated by demands for action, usually need a scapegoat, and truly, a better one than Mike Tighe could hardly be found. But this means nothing more than the old proverb of the pot calling the kettle black. The sluggishness of Wm. Green and company would also seem to mirror a consciousness of their own incompetence. And no doubt, the stubborn insistence on craft union prerogatives has very likely led them into a position that they themselves cannot think through to the end when considering organization of the steel industry.

Lewis Flays Wretched Policy

Still, the real reason for the dismal failure so far is a much more fundamental one. Unwittingly John L. Lewis touched its very nerve center when he addressed himself the other day, on behalf of the C.I.O., directly to the convention of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers.

With withering scorn he condemned the A. F. of L. policy as "inadequate, futile and conceived in a mood of humiliated desperation on the part of men who have for years past trifled with the destinies of 500,000 men employed by your industry and have materially stayed the progress of the American labor movement." Lewis also addressed his offer directly to the steel workers' convention. But chances were rather scant for a better response from this gathering than that received from Green.

A direct descendant from the proud Sons of Vulcan, and itself antedating the formation of the A. F. of L. by several years, the Amalgamated Association is again re-

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Browder Borrows Farley Campaign Slogans; New Deal Demagoguery Aided as 'Labor Party' Flops

EARL BROWDER, like a good father, always has a new surprise up his sleeve for his political children. The surprises, no doubt, seem often a bit flat and stale to those outside the family circle; but when accompanied so gracefully with that warm and well-known smile of the leader, the family itself is always ready with a happy round of applause and a shout or two of delight.

Think of that beautiful surprise he brought back from Moscow a year ago January, personally wrapped up and sealed by the hand of the master. Browder himself was so excited about it that he couldn't even stop in New York to show it first to the Central Committee. He didn't want it spoiled by being talked about beforehand. He jumped on the first train to Washington, hurried up to the platform of the Social Security Convention, and presented it there to the delegates, entirely prepaid. How they all gasped and cheered! A wonderful, new, mass-class Farmer-Labor Party! The delegates could hardly wait to hurry home, and spread the glad tidings to farm and countryside. Gone were the days of harsh words and bitter threats. Gone the lone and austere super-revolutionary struggle. Now comrades could be found at every glance, and the broad embrace of the people's movement could draw within its arms Church and school, Y.M.C.A. and Salvation Army, clubs and sororities, the bitter with the sweet.

And what a campaign it was, spurred on by Dimitroff's stirring realism at the Seventh Congress. The Daily Worker was hardly large enough to contain all the reports of the Farmer-Labor gatherings throughout the country, to list the thousands of resolutions adopted for a Farmer-Labor Party every two honest persons got together. The sweep, the Daily Worker informed us (that is, up to a week ago) was irresistible. The Farmer-Labor party was assured for 1936. Only cowards, lagging behind the masses, could fail to see it. Long editorials in large type scolded the Socialists, grew indignant at Norman Thomas, denounced the Militants, because these cynics suggested that a Farmer-Labor party in 1936 was not going to be.

UNION CHIEFS FOLLOW DAILY WORKER TO ROOSEVELT

Somehow, Lewis and Hillman and Dubinsky and Green and Olson and Klieve failed to follow the Daily Worker as closely as they should have. Somehow, they began to issue public statements and form propaganda leagues and put pressure on unions to support Roosevelt. Or was it that they had read the Daily Worker, not too little, but too well? Had they noticed in the Daily Worker that the main enemy of the masses was Hearst and Hoover and the Liberty League, that the force which blocked the people's legislation was the Supreme Court, that the agency making for fascism and war was the Dupont family, Morgan and Hearst and the organizations which these subsidized? Perhaps they had noticed these things, and observed that this was precisely Roosevelt's position, and that Roosevelt seemed a more imposing advocate than a hypothetical and non-existent Farmer-Labor Party which would advocate, in fundamentals, that same position.

For this is the truth of the matter: the Stalinist campaign for the Farmer-Labor Party has been and continues to be a campaign for Roosevelt.

This, then, makes Browder's latest surprise perhaps not so surprising. Last week-end, at the Conference of the Youth Congress held in New York, Browder disclosed it: There is not going to be a Farmer-Labor presidential ticket in 1936. Again the short gasp (after all, the Daily Worker had been explaining that there would be all during the week before), and then again the applause and even the excited shout or two. No, explained Browder, realistic politicians understand (everyone else having already come to the conclusion) that the idea that there can be a Farmer-Labor presidential ticket in 1936 is utopian and romantic. But of course that does not mean that we won't have a Farmer-Labor party in 1936. Of course not. We will organize a national party to run local tickets. And meantime we will understand that "the main slogan of the Communist Party in the election campaign will be: 'Keep the Hoovers, Landons and Hearsts out of power.'"

The Daily Worker theoreticians hurried to their desks, tore up their back copy, and prepared a deluge of new articles explaining the full meaning of the new surprise. Olson's call for a conference at Chicago showed it off to full advantage. Here was just what was wanted. A Farmer-Labor Conference called by a State Farmer-Labor party, disavowing any thought of putting forward a presidential candidate, and keeping clear of any inconvenient democracy in its arrangements. The Stalinists, under banner heads, hail the Conference, appropriately, as the greatest step yet taken toward the mass-class Farmer-Labor movement.

THE MAIN ENEMY!

And what is the purpose of this Conference? Its menacing stares are in the face. It is called to mobilize further and more solidly the confused and cloudy Farmer-Labor sentiment behind the Roosevelt chariot. Again, it somehow turns out,—the Farmer-Labor campaign is a campaign for Roosevelt.

What libel! Is it suggested that the Communist Party is betraying its class interests and lending aid and comfort to the political agent of the enemy? The infamous notion seems to have occurred even to the minds of some of the following, for we find the Question and Answer Box of Thursday's Daily Worker dealing with it. The Question is put backwards: a "simple worker" signing himself modestly "D. H." wants to know whether we shouldn't stop criticizing Roosevelt and concentrate our fire on "the fight against reaction as represented by Hearst and the Liberty League." The Answer is stern, but friendly. Of course, "the main emphasis . . . must be laid on the necessity of combating the Republican-Liberty League-Hearst combination, which is

leading the drive toward fascism. This ultra-reactionary alliance is today the chief enemy of the common people of the country, and all efforts must be made to defeat it in the November elections."

All efforts! . . . How, then, do we vote? But this question Browder and the Daily Worker have seen fit not yet to answer.

But, naturally, the Answer goes on: "However, in order to defeat reaction, it is necessary to criticize all those who, by retreating before it, are helping to pave the way for its victory. This is the role of Roosevelt." And, after outlining why local Farmer-Labor parties must be built: "Moreover, only such a militant people's front could exert real pressure on Roosevelt and slow down to some extent his retreat before reaction." The leading editorial in the same issue amplifies further the same ideas, under the heading, "Roosevelt, on Taxes, is Giving New Concessions to Reactionaries."

CONFUSION VERSUS MARXISM

A moment's pause is necessary. Let us stop to consider for a moment these quotations from the Answer. This, no doubt, is the realistic Marxism modelled after the new helmman of the Comintern. But it seems, at least at a superficial glance, somewhat removed from the Marxism associated with the founder of the principles which bear his name. Indeed, if it were two years ago, we might believe that we were reading an account of Roosevelt in The Nation or The New Republic. These two Quixotic periodicals likewise analyze in the same manner the "tragedy of Roosevelt." Roosevelt, they have been telling us for some time now, an honest man with good ideas, "retreated before reaction." He was too weak to stand up before the attacks of Wall Street and the industrialists.

Revolutionary Marxists (that is, of the non-Dimitroff variety) make a different analysis. They state that Roosevelt is the political executive of finance-capital, that he stepped into the government to use the resources of the state to help pull capitalism out of the depths of crisis, to restore profits and maintain the rule of the bourgeoisie and of private property. Far from "retreating before reaction," they say that Roosevelt is precisely the agent of reaction—the agent of the bourgeoisie, the reactionary class in modern society. They grant that his methods differ from the methods of the Liberty League, that indeed he has conflicts with many of the bankers and industrialists. But in basic class content and allegiance, they are (these unrealistic Marxists) unable to find any difference between Roosevelt and the Liberty League, between Jim Farley and Hoover or Landon. It is their view—a view they share with Marx and Lenin but unfortunately not with Browder and Dimitroff and Stalin—that the "chief enemy" of the common people of the country is not "the Republican-Liberty League-Hearst combination," but—the class enemy, the bourgeoisie, capitalism as a whole. They declare that the business of Marxists in the 1936 campaign is to agitate, not against the bogey-man of the Liberty League, but against capitalism and for socialism, to utilize the ferment of the election year to draw the masses toward a revolutionary program and a revolutionary party, not toward reformist illusions and a third-party to patch up the holes and wash the dirty linen of a rotten social order.

A CAMPAIGN AGAINST SOCIALISM

The Stalinist campaign, the whole false, hypocritical, degraded, cynical campaign of their mass-class Farmer-Labor hocus pocus, is a campaign for Roosevelt, a campaign against socialism, the ideas of socialism, and the revolutionary struggle for socialism. This is true whether or not the Communist Party comes out openly to call for votes for Roosevelt. This latter possibility, as we have repeatedly pointed out in recent months, is by no means excluded; it is, on the contrary, entirely consistent with their present position, as well as with the international orientation of Stalinism. The ground has been carefully laid, and it is significant that the past weeks Daily Workers nowhere carry a categorical denial. The latest dodge is that "the Communist party will seek a joint presidential ticket with the Socialist party." This can hardly be meant seriously. And, they go on, "if unsuccessful (the party) will place in the field its own independent candidates." The statement that these candidates will include a presidential candidate is studiously avoided. Moreover, candidates can always be withdrawn. The actual election tactic, however, depends upon certain factors other than the logical consequences of their position: upon the stage of the crisis in the Far East, the developments in Roosevelt's foreign policy between now and November, and a purely opportunistic judgment as to the effect upon its mass following which electoral support of Roosevelt would have. The Stalinists have a hard job in their strivings for respectability: Roosevelt will naturally be the first to repudiate their votes; and besides Roosevelt is sure to be elected in any case.

ROOSEVELT IS THE PEOPLE'S FRONT

But the specific electoral move is unimportant. The political significance remains the same in either case. The Stalinist propaganda plays into the hands of Roosevelt because of the basic political perspective which directs it. There is nothing strange in this, nor would there be in their voting for Roosevelt, no more than there was in the vote for Benes in Czechoslovakia. Does not their international position call for the support of democracy against fascism? Are they not prepared to support democratic countries in wars against fascist countries? Do they not call for a broad people's front of minimum reform on non-class lines, against the "200 families" in France, against Wall Street and the Liberty League in this country? Do they not call for neutrality legislation, social security, an end to the control of the Tories, a people's government? Wherein, therefore, does their program distinguish itself from

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C.I.O. Faces Challenge Of Steel Industry

(Continued from Page 1)

duced to a mere shadow of a union. It represents today a far cry from the powerful organization that conducted the Homestead strike in 1892 and cleaned up on the Pinkertons. Its gain of 150,000 new members during the 1918 steel strike withered away under the unfortunate leadership of Mike Tighe, who was then its ancient president and who remains in control today despite his senility and decrepitude. Even the new spark of life with which the union was infused as a result of the impulse from the NRA was too much for the hoary president and his slightly younger lieutenants. A new set of progressive elements had come into leading local positions. They condemned in scathing terms the policy of paralysis; they made some stupid mistakes, but they demanded action and organization. Mike Tighe knew only the reply of suppression and expulsion and numerous local lodges were wrecked.

After Fifty Years

To Mike Tighe the secret rituals and mummerly left over from old days of trade union illegality remain a sacred union heritage, more dear to him than activity and progress. And so well did he discharge his obligation to the inviolability of his contract with the steel manufacturers that the union, after more than a half century of existence, counts a paid up membership of not more than 4,800. Needless to say this contract which Mike Tighe holds as sacred, is not meant to embrace more than a scattering of workers here and there in a few mills. It is a contract designed essentially to restrict and to prevent organization.

From this description it would be difficult for any reader to note any real distinction between Mike Tighe and Wm. Green, except the difference of age. Outward differences there are. Actual differences there are none. In essence the former has carried out the policy of the latter and both are more or less equal partners in the policy and methods of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy. And thus the real reason for the dismal failure of organization in the steel industry—aside from the devastating gross incompetence—can be found only in the position of this bureaucracy.

Wm. Green and his allies do not think of coming to grips with the problem and undertaking a campaign of organization in the only way that it could actually succeed. Such ideas are alien and repugnant to them. Their own role is determined by their attitude to the capitalist system to which they swear allegiance. They naturally become champions of the rights of collective bargaining for labor with themselves, however, occupying the position of agents who are privileged to bargain both ways. In this role they will endeavor to gain concessions for the unions but simultaneously they consider themselves to be the custodians of the interests of capital against aggression from the rank and file members.

The Empire of U. S. Steel

In the steel industry, however, no alternatives are offered. The United States Steel Corporation, is the absolute and despotic ruler. It is in itself an empire within an empire. Only 23 American cities had a greater population than the population of the U. S. Steel Corporation in 1920. Not less than 196,000 workers and their families are dependent for their livelihood upon this corporation. This is America's largest employer of labor. The directors of this corporation do not at all fancy any ideas of sitting down at conference tables with representatives of labor. Their policy in this respect was laid down in a resolution of June 17, 1901, when J. P. Morgan the Elder organized the United States Steel Corporation. It says:

"We are unalterably opposed to any extension of union labor, and advise subsidiary companies to take a firm position when these questions come up, and say that they are not going to recognize it."

Every word here is meant just exactly as it is written. Moreover, the U. S. Steel executives have never deviated from this resolution. Nor has Mike Tighe ever deviated from his respect for the inviolability of his contract with the steel companies. He has understood it and interpreted it just exactly as

it was meant to be understood. This is one of the reasons for the fact that the organization he leads has only 4,800 members.

The Challenge of Steel

Mesmerized modern conditions of production has forged ahead to constantly greater improvement of machinery and efficiency of output, constantly also subordinating the conditions of labor to the control of the capitalist ownership of industry. Under these conditions the whole trade union movement is in danger of utter ineffectiveness, if not actual extinction, unless the basic industries and particularly the steel industry is organized. Even Green, Tighe and company cannot possibly be entirely unaware of this fact, though they may not comprehend its real meaning—or for that matter, care much. But they do know that the tackling of the steel empire is a serious campaign of organization, leaves no room for compromise or for bargaining. Besides it is such a gigantic task and may result in serious bruises because the feudal rulers of this empire believe in fighting it out to the end.

This is the challenge to the whole trade union movement. What the A. F. of L. Executive Council will do about it is now perfectly clear. It will do exactly nothing of any serious consequence.

The A. A. Convention

The Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers has just ended its sixty-first annual convention. For days on end it gave consideration to the offer made by the C.I.O., only by a scant majority was a conditional acceptance achieved. Mike Tighe, however, succeeded in maintaining his stranglehold upon the union and making his bid for the friendship of both Lewis and Green. The final decision adopted affirms the charter rights of the Amalgamated Association, which are the rights of sole jurisdiction as an industrial union. Outside of that the conditional acceptance of the C.I.O. offer will have real meaning only provided the industrial union forces take hold of it and carry it into life.

Company Unions Stampede

Last year company union representatives from a number of plants held a convention in Newcastle, Pa. at which demands were formulated for wage increases and improved working conditions while the delegates refused to grant admission to management representatives. Shortly thereafter a similar company union convention in Gary, Indiana, considered a proposal for a final breakaway from company control with the vote unanimously in favor of taking independent measures to defend the interests of the workers. These are important signs of a new trend and of a new vitality displayed in an original way. Real possibilities of organization in the steel industry are unquestionably available.

The organization of these workers has now become imperative. But the challenge has been thrown right back into the lap of the industrial union bloc. What will these unions do about it? Trifling with this problem or nibbling at it will not do. A rich opportunity awaits these unions. A spark of new life was manifested at the steel workers' convention nourished by the pressure for action made by the progressive elements. New unions are growing and gaining ground in several mass production industries from which forces for further extension can be recruited. Practically all of these new unions appear to be ready to continue an aggressive fight for the building of a truly powerful industrial union movement; but its future is bound up with progress in steel.

The organization of the steel in-

Roosevelt Steals Labor Party Thunder

Labor Chiefs Use New Deal as Safety-Valve

By ARNE SWABECK

During the last few weeks the plea for Roosevelt's re-election has gained new converts and new adherents with amazing speed from the trade union movement. It is taking on the character of a clean sweep. By the manner in which the plea is presented, and in view of the present objective conditions, it is not at all surprising that the labor party question fades into the background with the same ease that this sweep gains in momentum. Or, perhaps it would be more correct to say that the labor perambulator is being hooked onto the Roosevelt bandwagon.

This stampede started last January when John L. Lewis whooped through the United Mine Workers convention a unanimous resolution for Roosevelt's re-election. Following this lead Labor's Non-Partisan League came into being. It was sponsored by the Lewis-Hillman forces. The American Federation of Hosiery Workers convention and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers General Executive Board next fell in line. Two international union presidents, David Dubinsky and Emil Rieve quickly deserted the Socialist Party for their new and real allegiance. Wm. Green, on the opening day of the A. F. of L. Executive Council second quarterly meeting, advocated the President's re-election. And two days before this the delegates to the United Automobile Workers convention voted without a dissenting voice to support the Roosevelt candidacy.

Raw Deal for Auto Workers

Nobody will suspect that the automobile workers harbored feelings of special gratitude to Roosevelt. They cannot possibly have forgotten his infamous automobile agreement which was foisted upon them during the spring of 1934. This agreement they looked upon then as a definite setback to their aims and efforts; and such it proved to be. It brought about the hated Automobile Labor Relations Board headed by Wollman. It strengthened, for the time being the stranglehold of Wm. Green and Collins, later supplanted by Dillon, and postponed the organization of the autonomous international union so much desired by the organized automobile workers.

No, these are not the reasons for their endorsement of Roosevelt. The decision of the auto workers' convention simply means that it follows the lead of the Committee for Industrial Organization. This is of double significance when viewed in relation to the labor party question. It must be remembered that on the whole the unions of the C.I.O. and its supporting unions, like the auto workers, represents the section of organized labor which is traveling in a progressive direction. This is indisputable. It is also the section of organized labor that has shown the greatest vitality and growth, and particularly so when a comparison is made with a number of unions, distinctly craft in make-up and in spirit, which have remained

stagnant for some time, or actually lost ground.

No Serious Labor Party Swing

These facts only lend so much more emphasis to what has been stated in these columns more than once: There is not a serious movement on foot, nor are there any serious forces available for a national labor party, or farmer-labor party or third party in 1936. Those who still attempt to create the impression that there are, like the Stalinists do, are simply up to their old perdition game of deception. An editorial in the May 7 Daily Worker finally acknowledges that, "A Farmer-Labor Presidential ticket in 1936 is now out of the question," but it maintains that the prospects are as good as ever for a farmer-labor party this year. This is equally pernicious and deceptive.

Superficially it may seem as if the fervent desires nurtured by the Stalinists were to be realized through the conference call sent out by the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party. However, the appearance in this case is also deceptive. The conference call is issued only to individuals, not to organizations. Obviously these individuals are expected to do nothing more than to explore the possibilities for a labor party. But what they are to explore becomes further clear in the announcement that a farmer-labor presidential ticket is not to be considered at this conference. In other words, the sponsors of the conference consider the presidential ticket to be a matter settled by the Roosevelt reelection endorsements. Nothing further remains to be explored but how to swing the labor party sentiment successfully into this reelection campaign.

Local Bodies Powerless

A labor party sentiment has been recorded in a number of local unions. Much of it is motivated on progressive grounds. To an extent it arises out of disappointment with promised New Deal measures which were not realized; to an extent out of disappointment with conditions under the "New Deal blessings." Above all it arises out of fears of reaction and an instinctive but unclear fear of Fascism. But, in view of the general lack of understanding of what the requirements of a party of the workers must be, it is particularly these fears that help to drive the organized workers in marching formation into the Roosevelt camp.

P.D.'s Eye on 1936

The stampede for Roosevelt has been cleverly manipulated by the deliberate and carefully planned policies emanating from the White House and from the "progressive" labor leaders. Roosevelt and his brain trusters—whatever is left of them, not to forget the corrupting patronage dispenser, Jim Farley—have for some time had their eyes on the November elections. Special emphasis has been laid in all the promissory notes upon the labor legislative program, the alleged social security measures, the tax program

to soak the rich, the need of curbing Wall Street and the need of preventing the invasion of the people's rights by the courts. Roosevelt declares himself to be against war and Fascist tyrannies and for a "people's government." By these ingenious campaign devices, the Rooseveltians aimed, and rather successfully to forestall the emergence of a labor party, or a third party, in 1936.

The adept pupils of these demagogic cunning devices, who are holding high posts in the progressive union bloc, follow up the campaign in the same high key. They are for aggressive unionization, for industrial unionism and against reaction. John L. Lewis started the ball rolling at the U.M.W. convention with a mighty attack on the Liberty League. An easy target. These leaders are now all against war and Fascist tyrannies and they also have broad views on the people's front. It is therefore not at all unnatural they should direct the genuine fears of reaction and the fears of war and Fascism into the safe channels in support of Roosevelt's reelection. With a little manipulation that can easily be interpreted, and even in the prevailing labor party and people's front jargon if necessary, as symbolizing the fight against reaction.

No Labor Party Wanted Now

Of course, the truth is that these "progressive" leaders, in harmony with Roosevelt, do not want a labor party, or a third party and certainly not before their own preparations are well done; not until they are sure that they can keep it within the proper reformist bounds. Even then they can be expected to yield only to pressure. Their aim can then be expected to be to utilize such a development to counterpoise the growth of a revolutionary movement. As solid converts to the New Deal, they aim to lay out the line of march with Roosevelt today and perpetuate his program tomorrow—if need be, by means of a third party.

Today they attempt to make a distinction between Roosevelt and the Democratic Party. How can any real distinction be possible? Roosevelt is the standard bearer of his party—one of the two capitalist parties. From this party he receives his mandate and this carries with it the duty to serve finance capital. Need there be any doubt that this is the responsibility to which he will remain loyal even more decisively and unequivocally after his reelection.

The trade union support of Roosevelt could not be unexpected. It is destined to go down in history as one of the great illusions of 1936. It has become possible primarily due to the lack of revolutionary education of the working class. After 1936 new disillusionments are sure to begin. Will a third party carrying on the New Deal tradition and program then prove a solution? Most decisively not! And it is well to remember that this is the only kind of a labor party that can reasonably be expected. Hence there remains one main conclusion to draw. Today and tomorrow the struggle for Socialism must go on.

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C. P. Trails Roosevelt

(Continued from Page 1)

Roosevelt's: this entire perspective was outlined in Roosevelt's annual message to Congress. In actuality, the Democratic Party in this country this year, under Roosevelt's leadership, constitutes the ultimate in the People's Front as defined by and called for by the Communist Party. It comprises, in its main social composition, just what the Stalinists ask: the bulk of the trades unions, the organized farmers, the Townsendites, the Epic Clubs, the disoriented middle classes, the bulk of the unemployed; with the majority of "Wall Street and the industrialists" howling against it from the outside. And its program is a completely typical People's Front program, with the standard People's Front demands, closely similar to and in many cases to the left of the program, for example, of the French People's Front.

Thus the Roosevelt demagoguery, ably assisted by

the Hillmans and Dubinskys and Olsons, is in a position to sweep to itself the great majority of those who have been infected by the Stalinist agitation, and tie them to Roosevelt's machine, whatever the Communist Party publicly declares about voting, since the Stalinist agitation leads necessarily in the Roosevelt direction, and provides no political barrier to bring about a differentiation along class lines.

Browder is too modest in asking for a joint ticket with the Socialists. In all conscience, his name should be presented to the Democratic Convention as the logical and fit running mate for Roosevelt.

The international betrayal of Stalinism manifests itself in every country in the betrayal of the revolutionary struggle within that country. The fight for socialism is the fight not against this or that individual capitalist or group of capitalists, but against capitalism itself. And this fight is no longer conceivable apart from the fight against Stalinism, whose historical function is now only the search for new forms in the betrayal of the struggle for socialism.

What can it mean when one of the foremost bankers and the most powerful captain of organized labor in the country combine to set their seal of approval on Roosevelt's policies and vie with each other in soliciting support for his reelection? It can mean but one thing. That this "labor lieutenant of capital" is delivering the workers into the hands of the political servant of their masters and is engaged in an act of outright betrayal of the interests of the working class.

There is no need to look further than one's nose to prove this point. For at the very moment when the corpse of capital and the captain of labor joined in a chorus of praise for Roosevelt, the notorious open-shop Industrial Association of San Francisco, backed and financed by Hillman and his friends, was engaged in a conspiracy to smash the Maritime Federation of the Pacific, one of the most militant and progressive organizations in the American labor movement. And it was doing so with the active connivance of such administration officials as Secretary of Commerce Roper and

his subordinates and Secretary of Labor Perkins!

This unpromised harmony between Lewis and Hillman and their common allegiance to the Democratic Party not only illuminates the political landscape for 1936. It also provides us with an insight into the character of the Democratic Party, the sources of its support, and in general the political mechanism by which capital keeps labor enchained and maintains its hold upon the American masses.

Could the picture be more perfect or the symmetry more complete? Roosevelt in the center embraces Hillman with his right hand and Lewis with his left. The instructions that Hillman and his colleagues whisper in his ears, Roosevelt with his inebriated smile passes on to Lewis, while Lewis in turn hands them down to his rank and file. Each is a necessary link in the chain whereby organized labor is kept in subjection to the domination of organized capital.

The orders transmitted from financial headquarters do not, of course, always reach their destinations, nor are they always needed when they do. Both Roosevelt and Lewis must reckon with the demands of their supporters as well as the wishes of their masters. They must mediate between the two antagonistic forces and find a formula for the solution of their conflicting interests. This is easier said than done. But in general this is the way in which the system operates, this the methods by which the working class is lined up on all important questions affecting the social interests of their oppressors.

Certain naive people have been surprised and shocked at the spectacle of Lewis and his associates in the C.I.O., whom they have been taught to regard as the hope of the working class, so ardently embracing Roosevelt. But such conduct should surprise no one who understands the real character of these leaders and cherishes no illusions concerning their progressiveness.

Differ in Method Not Ideology

It cannot be too often stressed that Lewis, Hillman, and their like are no less committed to class collaboration than their craft-unionist opponents in the A.F. of L. The two factions differ not in their fundamental allegiances but only in the forms and methods by which this policy should be carried out under the present conditions. In this respect the two factions serve the same purposes within the labor movement that the Republican and Democratic parties serve within the nation as a whole. Resting upon different social bases, they carry out the same policies by different methods.

Lewis and his associates did not become aggressive advocates of industrial unionism out of any profound inner convictions or class consciousness but as a result of the pressure exerted from below upon them by their rank and file and of their own thirst for power. They realized that in order to maintain their position in their unions and extend their influence among the masses of industrial workers that the horse-and-buggy methods of the Gompers-Green regime had to be modernized. Craft unionism had been rendered obsolete and impotent by the development of industry; the workers in the mass production industries could only be organized along industrial lines. In so far as they have struggled for industrial unionism and added the organization of the unorganized in these industries, (and so far that said has been more nominal than real), they play a progressive role

An Act of Betrayal

On the other hand, thanks to the activities of John L. Lewis and his associates, Roosevelt will be assured of the support of the vast majority of organized labor. A few days ago Lewis and Major George L. Berry visited Roosevelt at the White House and informed him that 30,000 union officials in various states had already sponsored Labor's Non-Partisan League; 4,000 speakers in every state of the union were warming up for the campaign; and that, in addition to the international unions that have declared themselves for Roosevelt, six state Labor Federations had endorsed the President and the League itself.

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WORLD OF LABOR

The Liquidation of the Russian Komsomls (Y.C.L.) as a Political Organization

After a lapse of almost six years, the Tenth Congress of the All-Union Leninist (read: Stalinist) Komsomol, originally scheduled to open on March 20, was finally convened on April 11. The Tenth Congress met for 10 days in the Great Hall of the Kremlin to take up the following agenda:

- 1) Report of the C.E.C. (reporter, Kossarev). Co-report of the C.C.C. (co-reporter, Kozlov).
- 2) Report of the Delegation of the Komsomol and the Y.C.L. (reporter, Chemedanov).
- 3) Adoption of the Program and Statutes of the Y.C.L.
- 4) On the Work of the Komsomol in the Schools.
- 5) Elections.

At its last session the Congress unanimously adopted a new program and a new constitution which set the seal of approval upon the already achieved transformation of the Y.C.L. into a non-party, non-class, non-political organization for the propagation of culture.

The draft program of the newly constituted Young Culture League is rather brief, occupying about 5 columns of Pravda's six column page (March 27).

Three-fifths of this new program is devoted to a preamble which sets forth five theses.

The New Catechism

Thesis 1: The October Revolution took place in 1917, overthrew the rule of the bourgeoisie and established the dictatorship of the proletariat. (Two quotations from Stalin).

Thesis 2: A description of capitalism with particular stress on the plight of the youth, in capitalist countries.

Thesis 3: A lyrical description of Socialism in the U.S.S.R., and the fortunate position of the youth there.

This is the longest "thesis" of all, and it begins with the affirmation that the proletariat in alliance with the peasantry not only overthrew the bourgeoisie in Russia but also "transformed the formerly backward, poverty-ridden, bankrupt country into an advanced, powerful Socialist power." It concludes by declaring that: "Socialism has become a reality for the many millions of peoples of the Great U.S.S.R. . . . The conditions are being prepared for the transition from socialism—the first stage of communist society—to complete communism." In short, a socialism is in full bloom; communism is just around the corner.

Thesis 4: This thesis is very brief and to the point. It informs us that in addition to overthrowing the bourgeoisie and building socialism, the working class has established a workers' and state which does not give the slightest signs of withering away although "all the classes have been completely destroyed," and although "socialism has irrevocably triumphed." Among other things, Soviet power is necessary as a great cultural and moral institution which "plants discipline and respect for socialist laws and the rules of communal living, and imbues all the toilers with an honest attitude toward labor and social duty without which the complete victory of socialism cannot be realized."

Thesis 5: Sums up the situation. The C.P.S.U. and the Soviet Government are busy "organizing the communist system" while the role of the Y.C.L. must be that of a "mass, non-party organization . . . embracing in its ranks . . . wide strata of the advanced and politically educated toiling youth of the city and country." Its task is to aid the Bolshevik Party "in the cause of educating the youth and children in the spirit of Communism."

The preamble ends with a quotation from Stalin to the effect that all this is according to Marx and Lenin.

The remaining two-fifths of the program is devoted to the enumeration of the "tasks" of the Stalinist Y.C.L., which fall under six general headings.

Six "Heroic" Tasks

I. In the Sphere of the Political Education of the Youth. The Y.C.L. organizes the study of the "basic ideas of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin," publishes its own papers, magazines, etc., both political and literary, organizes clubs, libraries, and reading rooms, and carries on a "patient" campaign against "superstition" and "religious prejudices" as well as against the "remnants of chauvinism."

With socialism blooming, the youth must be agitated against superstitions and religion!

We append the verbatim translation of the "anti-religious propaganda" clause:

"The Y.C.L. patiently explains to the youth the harm of superstition and religious prejudices, organizing with this aim in view special circles and lectures on anti-religious propaganda."

II. In the Sphere of the Education of the Youth. Amplifies the

immortal statement of Stalin that the youth "must study, study, study in the most stubborn way." Pledges the youth to liquidate illiteracy and to organize clubs, etc. to raise the cultural level of the socialist masses, and so on.

III. In the Sphere of Work in the School and among Children. Particular stress laid on the Y.C.L. taking the lead in supplying children with good toys.

IV. In the Sphere of the Physical Development of the Youth.

V. In the Sphere of Participation in the Socialist Construction. The youth is instructed to take the lead in Stakhanovism (although the name Stakhanovism is not mentioned in the draft), and is asked to assist the Soviet State in "strengthening the family."

VI. In the Sphere of the Defense of the Socialist Fatherland. The Y.C.L. is turned into a reserve force of the Red Army. The new constitution provides that: "Every member of the Komsomol shall study military technique, be supremely devoted to the great Socialist fatherland and be ready to give all his strength and if necessary his life itself."

From a political organization of the youth, the Y.C.L. has been transformed into a "non-party mass organization" for "political and cultural education," with a particular stress upon the mobilization of the youth for the "patriotic defense of the U.S.S.R."

The age limit has been changed from 14-23 years to 15-28, and the Komsomol will admit into its ranks every boy and girl, who is "politically" without any regard to his or her social origin.

Stalin Contradicts Scriptures

To put the full weight of authority behind this decision the following little scene was staged at one of the meetings of the Stakhanovists in the Kremlin: young Tliba, a combine operator rose to his feet and said: "Although I am the son of a kulak I will go on struggling to improve the life of the workers and peasants. I will go on building Socialism." Thereupon, Stalin arose and declared to a wildly cheering gathering: "A son is not responsible for the sins of his father." Young Tliba's photograph was reprinted in every paper in the country.

The Commissariat of Education issued a decree admitting the sons and daughters of deceased people to Soviet universities and colleges. And the Komsomol now incorporates Stalin's pronouncements into its statutes.

The changes effected in the constitution and statutes of the Y.C.L. will be to quote from the Program of the Communist International, adopted at the Fifth World Congress of the Y.C.L., confirmed by the Presidium of the E.C.C.I. on March 10, 1936. In other words, we shall quote against Stalin.

Before the New Dispensation

"These are fundamental differences in the conceptions of the Communists on the one hand, and the social democrats on the other as to the role of the youth and the youth organization in general. There are some essential shades between the bourgeois and the social democracy, but the fundamental conception of both is the same. Social democracy for the most part declares the role of the youth organizations to be 'purely' educational or cultural. . . . The Y.C.L. is a political organization. . . . It must strive to gain the majority of the working youth, and the other decisive sections of the toiling youth. . . . The Y.C.L. repudiates the theory of Y.C.L. 'neutrality' in political struggles within the party. . . . Political activity must not be confined to the higher bodies of the Y.C.L., but must permeate the entire organization. . . . In accordance with its political role and social character as an organization of the working youth, the Y.C.L. ensures that the working class membership plays the leading role. . . . (Program of the Y.C.L., pp. 33-34.40.)

To repeat these words today in the U.S.S.R. (approved by Stalin himself in 1929) is to lay oneself open to indictment as a counter-revolutionary "Trotskyist" and to run the danger of imprisonment and exile.

Not All Is Roses

While the leadership of the Komsomol has accepted the changes without so much as a stutter, there has been considerable opposition from the rank and file. Thus, P. Vershkov, secretary of the C.E.C. of the Komsomol, expresses his astonishment over the fact that "among the Komsomol membership there are people who consider such a definition of the Komsomol (i.e., as a non-party, etc. organization) to be incorrect in principle."

Speaking at the session of the Ukrainian Komsomol P. Potysher said, "Individual activists here and there are not pleased with the draft of the new constitution."

Daily Worker Performs Sleight-of-Hand on Elections in France

The Stalinists are mobilizing their "specialists" to interpret the facts relating to the French general elections. In other words facts and figures must be twisted and falsified to suit their boasts and claims.

The results of the French election indicate first of all the process of differentiation of France into two camps. This fact is so obvious that even Harry Gannes was able to take note of it. Commenting in his column upon the results of the election, Gannes says: "Not only was there a smashing People's Front victory, but side by side with that there was a polarization of forces: on the one hand, a massing of the forces of democracy and socialism; on the other of reaction and Fascism."

"Democratic" Regime Falls

At whose expense is this "polarization" taking place? A clear answer to this question cuts the ground from under the policy and practice of the People's Front. This differentiation is proceeding at the expense of the parties of the so-called "democracy," that is to say, those parties of the Center that have served as the balance wheels of the parliamentary regime in France.

Their disintegration is only symptomatic of the disintegration of the "democratic regime" as a whole. This fact above all must be denied and "disproved" by the Stalinists. And so, the statistical "expert," Theodore Repard has been assigned to prove by "facts and figures" that the gains of the People's Front in general and of the Communist Party in particular were made at the expense of the Right wing, of the reactionary parties supported in the election by the French Fascists, who did not run their own candidates.

And so Repard "proves" (D.W. May 14) that it is not the Center with its traditional leading party of the Radicals that is disintegrating in France, but the parties of reaction. His proofs?

He first performs a delicate political operation and causes all the parties of the so-called Center to disappear entirely. This accomplished, Repard is able to operate only with two wings. The left wing is composed of those parties that adhere to the People's Front, while all others are assigned by him to

tion . . . is precisely the position of Trotskyists and other "Leftists."

The young bureaucrats, who are obediently executing the orders of Stalin, declare that all the criticisms leveled at the new program and new constitution are manifestations of nothing else than "vanguardism," the viewing of the Y.C.L. as a "youth party."

"What was the purpose of all these appeals (i.e., objections to the changes introduced) to the Y.C.L.ers? To make them doubt, to impel them to take a critical attitude to the decisions of our party, not to take into consideration the party authorities, to ignore the revolutionary traditions of the older generations, etc. Translated into the language of organizational principles all this would signify the crystallization of the Komsomol as a party independent of our party, a separate party organization." (Postysher's Speech, Pravda, April 11, 1936.)

Cautious About Opposition Influence

The bureaucracy as a whole has been extremely cautious in its references to the extent of the "counter-revolutionary influences" upon the youth. But we can gather a pretty clear picture from the veiled remarks. Kossarev in his report complained that "among the propagandists there are many comrades who are obviously untrained, while here and there, for example, in the Leningrad organization we have had revelations not only of untrained people but also of enemies—Trotskyists, Zinovievists and so on." (Pravda, April 13.)

Looking for an example of an instance "here and there" Kossarev points to nothing other than the leading Leningrad organization! And, moreover, he assigns the first place in Leningrad, the traditional stronghold of the Zinovievists, to the latter but to the "Trotskyists." This fact alone speaks volumes.

The depraved bureaucracy which found it relatively simple to crush the older revolutionary generations of the Russian working class, is in mortal terror of the youth. This is what underlies the political and organizational liquidation of the Komsomol. The youth must be removed completely from political life; its thoughts and energies must be channeled into the fields of culture and sports. They must "study, study, study," preferably the classics of Marxism, but "belles lettres." The working class youth must be dissolved in the millions of peasant youth, and thus fettered. . . .

Stalin has decreed it a crime for any youth between "the ages of 15 and 28" to occupy himself with politics.

the Right wing. Says Repard, "party names are not at all descriptive in France." From a general pile of such Right wing parties Repard is able to produce a combination showing a staggering loss of almost 500,000 for the Right wing. But the newspapers reported a considerable gain for the Right wing which was recognized even by Gannes. How then was Repard able to establish a loss? Very simply. He included among the Rights, such parties for example as the Popular Democrats, a Catholic Centrist party, and the party of the Independent Radicals. The only difference between them and the Radical Socialists is that the latter are members of the People's Front, while the former refused to join it, although invited.

In the 1932 elections these two parties received:

Popular Democrats (Catholic)	309,336
Independent Radicals	955,990
	1,265,326

In 1936 they obtained:

Popular Democrats	246,129
Independent Radicals	600,557
	846,686

Making Gains from Losses

The loss that these two Center parties alone suffered amounts to over 225,000; the rest of the "losses," Repard supplied by means of his "Democratic Alliance and Left Republicans." Thus, he was able not only to mask a gain of more than one-third of a million votes secured by such a truly reactionary party as the Republican Union but to emerge with a "loss" of 455,698 votes. Similarly, he was able to screen the loss of more than one-third of a million votes suffered by the party of Radicals by "totaling" it in with the gains scored by the parties that lean upon the working class for support, in particular by the Stalinists.

After this juggling with gains and losses, Repard adds what the "Rights" lost what the "Left" gained and draws the following conclusions: (1) "The left parties gained 168,370 votes"; (2) "The total number of votes which were transferred from right to left amounted to 824,069"; (3) "The

French Communists gained a total of 857,293 votes on this first ballot."

And to clinch his brilliant statistical demonstration he then proceeds to quote from the Socialist party organ, *Populaire* to the effect that the Communists made their gains "mostly from the right."

Thus, the Stalinists are growing at the expense of the rights or the Fascists, the Socialists are maintaining their own . . . to whom did the Radical Socialists lose their one third of a million votes? Statistics may be made to lie, but in this case his own statistics give the lie to Repard.

Blum Follows Bruening

If any proof were needed that Fascism is not disintegrating in France and that the parliamentary regime cannot be restored to its former equilibrium by any sort of juggling on the parliamentary arena, we need only turn to the latest reports from France relating to the position advanced by Blum, the "next French Premier." As P.J. Philip remarks, in his May 10 dispatch (N. Y. Times) from Paris, "Leon Blum today assumed leadership of the democratic majority in France in terms that implied that leadership would be not far removed from the dictatorship." In other words, Blum is preparing to follow in the footsteps of Doumergue, Laval, Flandin, Sarraut. We are to have a semi-Ronapartist, semi-parliamentary regime in France, headed by Leon Blum, who will attempt to introduce a solution by a way of a mild Rooseveltian public works program. Could any clearer proof be adduced of the utter bankruptcy of parliamentarism in France, than the fact that the "victors," instead of restoring the "democratic" rule are obliged to follow in the footsteps of those who had acted in accordance with the demands of the Fascists, like Doumergue, Laval and Co.

Blum as dictator will reveal the very same inability to solve any of the pressing and fundamental problems in France as did all of his dictatorial predecessors. The People's Front will in the end only reveal most sharply the utter collapse of "democracy" in France.

People's Front Boosts Azana into Presidency

By ALFREDO ROJAS

Azana has been indicted as the new president of Spain, to the tune of the "International" sung with clenched fists by the Stalinist deputies. Stalinists and Socialists joined with conservatives and Catalan rightists in the vote for Azana in the electoral college; there was no opposing candidate and only a group of die-hard monarchists and Catholics did not vote for Azana but instead cast blank ballots.

Azana's first act as president was to call for consultation about the new cabinet, representatives of all the leading parties, including the Stalinists. This was followed by his invitation to Indalecio Prieto, Right Wing Socialist leader, to become premier and form a cabinet. Unexpectedly, Prieto declined; so certain were the press services that he would accept that advance stories predicted it. One can only conclude that the Right Wing Socialists did not dare enter the government on the eve of the June congress of the Socialist Party.

The new cabinet formed by Casares Quiroga, a member of Azana's party, is an undistinguished one, and undoubtedly represents a stop-gap until after the Socialist convention when the Right Wing Socialists will enter it. There have been several recent reports of threats by Prieto to split the party and make a fusion with Azana if the Right Wing perspectives are not accepted.

Indalecio Prieto, Besteiro and Fernando de los Rios, Right Wing Socialist leaders, have wished to enter the cabinet since the February elections. The opposition of Left Socialists has so far prevented them from doing so, although the Rights, who control the Socialist daily and the party executive, have been warm supporters of Azana.

Caballero, who was Minister of Labor in the coalition cabinet of 1931, has been opposed to coalition cabinets since the October 1934 revolt. But his recent conduct in the events connected with the presidential election provide little hope that he will lead a firm struggle against the coalition proposals.

A Significant Index

The election of presidential electors, equal in number to Cortes deputies, the two groups constituting an electoral college to name the new Spanish president, provide a significant index to the lack of an independent proletarian policy.

Equivalent in form to an election of deputies, the election provided a magnificent opportunity for the Socialist Party to gauge its strength among the masses. There was not even present the problem of com-

peting with the reactionaries, for except in a few places, the reactionaries were boycotting the elections. The Socialists could have run their independent slate, polled a vote for Socialism, and then made whatever bloc may have been deemed necessary in the electoral college.

Caballero's Cogitations

Naturally, the Azana government did not want such an election, for it would have exposed their lack of support among the people. And the Right Wing Socialists were more than willing to cover the nakedness of the republican bourgeoisie. These two groups, therefore, agreed to run a Popular Front slate, with the understanding that Azana would be elected president. And Caballero? He immediately gave way on the fundamental issue—the independent slate—but exhibited "stubbornness" on the candidate. Not that he proposed a Socialist candidate! He merely wanted Albornoz, another bourgeois republican, instead of Azana. When the executive committee of the S.P. announced its support of Azana, a spokesman for Caballero complained to the press that he had not been consulted but in the same breath declared he would not oppose Azana. The real issue—that the election should be a tabulation of Socialist strength—was thus completely obscured.

The Stalinists were as eager as Azana for the joint slate. Here is the Daily Worker's description of the problem (May 3):

"The Fascists and foreign reaction had hoped that the Socialist Party would insist on their own candidate and thus split the People's Front, and the A.P. had gleefully set out that prophecy. But the important Madrid section of the Socialist Party firmly refused to carry water for Fascism by such a split."

Refuse to Join Capitulator

Madrid is Caballero's stronghold and still considered the center of the Left Socialists, so that when Caballero capitulated on this question, there was no concerted action by the Left Wing.

But it is enormously significant that in spite of Caballero, a number of Socialist sections—Almeria, scene of many recent strikes and street fights with the Fascists, Ciudad Real and Albacete, and other provinces—refused to join the government parties in a joint slate and instead elected a straight Socialist slate. This is the first definite breakaway from Caballero's temporizing tactics of talking left and acting right.

Only thirty percent of the twelve million qualified voters took part in the election. The election provided a magnificent opportunity for the Socialist Party to gauge its strength among the masses. There was not even present the problem of com-

In the Columns of Pravda...by Alpha

Ever drawing newer and newer balances of the so-called "check-up" of party documents, Pravda is convinced that the behind-the-scenes purge takes the palm over the open purge. It turns out that "many of the disguised enemies were able to fool the purging Committee, and in some places they even passed through the purge with applause." In other words, this to say that many of those suspect of being oppositionists had the sympathies of their organizations with them and the Committees, appointed from above, had no pretext for expulsion. But, in the behind-the-scenes check-up "the study of the party personnel was much deeper and many-sided than during the purges" (Pravda, March 22). This is hardly to be wondered at, the searchlight here was the apparatus of the G.P.U.

We learn from Pravda, in passing, that in one of the Chelyabinsk factories "to 103 communists there are 318 of those who were expelled from the party at one time or another." In other words three times as many have been expelled as have remained. The Chelyabinsk factory is hardly a rare exception. At all events, it illustrated the manner in which this sorry ruling "party" is living!

Pravda carries an exposure of the secretary of the Uspensk District Committee of the Azov-Black Sea region. "His motions during the session of the District Committee—and he introduces them on every question—do not meet with any objections, because he does not tolerate any objections." How awful! What a shocking breach of democracy! Saltykov once wrote a history of the city of Gilepov (Dunecvile) in which he portrayed the customs of the entire Czarist autocracy. The piece about the Uspensk District Committee rings like an involuntary satire on the regime. The name of the Uspensk secretary is Sant. But if one were to put down the U.S.S.R. in place of the district and replace Sant with Stalin, one could leave unaltered everything else remaining in the text.

Molotov has succeeded in completely straightening out the front. Since the liquidation of the "Third Period" Molotov, as is well known, has been in semi-disgrace. His name, it is true, was to be found among the inborn leaders but not on every occasion. His name was commonly put after Kaganovich and Voroshilov, and he was often deprived of his initials. In Soviet ritual all these are signs of paramount importance. Whenever a delegation arrived to see Molotov he was allowed to receive them only by having Indantak as his left wheel horse, and Chubar as his right wheel horse. On his part, Molotov, though he did give necessary praise to the leader, would do so only two or three times throughout an entire speech, which in the atmosphere of the Kremlin sounded almost like a call for the overthrow of Stalin. But, with God's help, since the end of last year, a turn for the better has been noticed. Molotov was straightening out the front. In re-

in the election, demonstrating the lack of interest of the masses in a show of strength for the Popular Front. Such a proletarian-peasant stronghold as Seville registered only a fifteen percent vote.

While the Socialists and Communists repeat the Menshevik course of 1917 in Russia, the anarcho-syndicalists play a completely reactionary role in "left" phrases. The national convention of the syndicalist unions, now in progress, claiming to include 700,000 city and rural workers, finds every anarcho-lard declaring against trade union unity with the Socialist-controlled U.G.T.

Mass Action Broadens

While the proletarian parties continue to support the bourgeois government, the mass action in the factories and streets offers a striking contrast. We list only a few of the events of the last few days.

On April 28, "El Aguilá," biggest brewery in Spain, was seized by its employees and held for days until the bosses granted all the demands. The same day the vendors of vegetables and fish in Madrid declared a protest strike because police had injured seven of their members in an encounter—how deep the ferment when these lower petty-bourgeois elements are drawn into political life!

Since April 30 a general strike of all maritime workers has stopped all ships and closed all ports.

The iron mines of Penarroya have been occupied by the miners, declaring they will operate them on a "communist basis," because the employers have refused to re-employ the workers dismissed after the October, 1934 revolt.

Twelve church buildings were destroyed by Madrid masses when a rumor spread through the city that the monks and nuns had poisoned some children. The same day (May 4) three churches and two convents were burned in Cadix, and several churches in other pro-

cent weeks he has delivered several panegyrics to Stalin which made Mikoyan himself turn green with envy. In reward Molotov has received his initials. His name figures in the second place, and he bears the title of the "closest companion-in-arms."

All's well that ends well. But in all decency it must be admitted that Molotov didn't find it easy. After all he knows Stalin for too many years to place him on the same plane with Lenin, as he did in his debased speech to the delegates from Soviet Georgia. But, after all, it is not for us to be concerned about Molotov's dignity as a man. We have other concerns.

During the school term in Kremchoug, on the initiative of a propagandist named Potellako, a discussion was instituted on the "possibility of building Communism in one country," during which Potellako "advanced Trotskyist formulations." Despite the protests of several communists, (obviously, the Pravda correspondent himself) Potellako was left on his post and continues to give his lectures.

But, after the correspondent's notice in Pravda, we have reason to believe, Potellako was not only removed as lecturer but also given all the necessary inspiration by the well known theorist Yagoda.

Novoseletski, who received the "degree of the best newspaperman" at the Ukrainian Communist Institute of Journalism, on arriving at his new post printed in the newspaper edited by him a "Trotskyist counter-revolutionary article," for which he was expelled from the party (and, of course, arrested). This episode is a clear testimony to the influx of Oppositionist audacity. We note it with satisfaction.

In explaining the need for vigilance with respect to "Trotskyists," Pravda unburdens itself of a brilliant image which is worthy of reprinting: "the class enemy in his death-throes (evidently there are death-throes which are not death-bed) refuses to surrender. He resorts to all sorts of snares and dirty devices, especially when there is a lull in vigilance." Thus the class enemy is terrible not when he defended his privileged positions with arms in hand at the height of his strength—no! He is particularly now "in his death-bed death-throes." His most Serene Excellence Prince Potemkin once remarked on a similar occasion to the literature Voroshilov: "You might as well die, Denis, you will never write anything better."

On December 30, 1935, Pravda indignantly reported that revolutionists were being subjected to tortures in Yugoslav jails. Pravda forgets to mention that Yugoslav revolutionists are subjected to tortures also in the jails of Stalin.

From a Conversation with a Soviet Dignitary.

(Not from Pravda (Truth), but forthrightly the truth).

"Why do you flatter him so shamelessly?"

"What can one do? He loves it so."

In Castor and Algar, the priests were expelled and sentenced to death if they returned. General strike declared in Malaga, with shooting encounters between strikers and police.

On May 6 a general strike in Cadix, to support the demands of striking arsenal workers, closed city and port; not a single store was permitted to open.

The same day general strikes began in Santander and Huelva, miners and dock workers paralyzing the city in sympathy strikes supporting railroad workers' demands.

Madrid café workers have closed their places of work, with the demand that all Fascist sympathizers among the employees be discharged.

Significant agrarian strikes are now in progress. In the province of Teruel all land workers are out demanding higher wages. In Baguenas striking agrarians forced the rightist secretary of the municipality to resign and escorted the parish priest out of the municipal limits, notifying him he would be shot if he returned. An agrarian strike in Valencia developed a series of anti-religious demonstrations, resulting in the destruction of twelve church buildings.

Rigorous Censorship in Spain

Suspiciously little news is printed in the Spanish press—which is under rigorous censorship—about events on the land. One must not forget that of the twenty-four millions of Spain, nearly twenty live on the land. Six weeks ago reports indicated widespread seizures of estates by the landworkers. Undoubtedly they remain in possession of the land, and are seizing more estates.

At least one armed encounter between workers and rightists or fascists is reported every day, almost invariably involving some deaths. Many municipalities in control of workers report mass arrests of monarchists and fascists. (Continued on Page 4)

BROWDER: THE MAN AND HIS BOOK

2. THE WOOING OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY

By MAX SHACHTMAN

Whatever else a critic may say about Mr. Browder, he cannot justly accuse him of the vice popularly known as "author's pride." Quite the contrary. If Browder errs in any side in the evaluation of his past writings, it is to the side of humility. What are we saying—humility? No, downright self-effacement. In any case, so it appears.

Three of his works are before us. The earliest one, "The Meaning of Social Fascism," we will call No. I, to simplify all references to it. His book late last year, "Communism in the United States," we will call No. II and his latest volume, "What Is Communism?"—No. III.

If you look through No. III you will find no gratified reference to the ideas so recently developed in No. II, both of which simply fail even to mention No. I. The latest volume shyly notes the fact that "his previous book, 'Communism in the United States,' was a collection of official reports, articles, speeches and pamphlets, brought together over a period of three years. It had all the shortcomings inevitable with such a form. The present book is, in contrast, a single work" (p. vii). Not another word: what was defective in No. II was merely its form—a candid confession which meets the strictest requirements of that "Bolshevik self-criticism" so vehemently insisted on in Browder's encyclicals to the flock.

Abandoning the Old Mistress

A closer comparison of the two, however, reveals that Browder has done more than simply abandoned an old form. Indeed, it requires a high degree of nonchalance to designate what he did abandon as just a "form." For Browder's joy with his new book is really of the kind described by the old Restoration playwright, William Wycherley: "Next to the pleasure of making a new mistress is that of being rid of an old one, and of all old debts." In the brief few months between No. II and No. III Browder has effaced everything he wrote and stood for a year ago. And in putting forward his latest ideas, he places himself essentially upon the discredited platform of the Second International which, fortunately, the best Socialist elements are now abandoning.

What Browder has succeeded in doing in his latest volume is to give up entirely internationalism for the sake of national patriotism, the Leninist position on the struggle against war for the social-patriotic position, the Marxian concept of the class struggle for the reformist concept of class collaboration. In passing, he has dumped overboard a dozen other views which he held virtually until yesterday. Let us compare notes!

The United Front Mood

The principal stress in the tactics of the Stalinists, especially since the Seventh Congress of the C.P., is now laid on the united front with the Socialist Party, to the point where the C.P. even proposes the fusion of the two organizations into one party. A united front with the S.P. even at the price of completely recasting the American League Against War and Fascism. A united front with the S.P. for the purpose of launching a Farmer-Labor Party. A united front with the S.P. on any and every question.

Now, the united working class front against capitalism is neither a new idea nor a poor one, and we who were not among the last to discover its merits will not be found among its opponents today. But in all the years during which we found it necessary to combat Stalinist opposition to the united front, we never forgot that such a front has meaning and value to the working class only if these questions are answered: with whom? against whom? for what? till when?

Browder doesn't always say quite clearly just what the united front will really look like and do. But for that he makes it entirely clear that he wants the united front with the S.P. like a dying man wants life. He falls all over himself in his anxiety; he laments on the S.P.; he praises it and especially its Left wing; he cozens and wheedles it in every key on the scale; he means it no harm but is interested only in its welfare. A few quotations from No. III will suffice to indicate his position.

"The differences between us are growing smaller." (p. 103.) "Communists, when they propose the united front, do not desire the defeat of the Socialist Party, as the

Old Guard claims. Communists do not want a weak Socialist Party which is no asset to the working class. They urge Socialists to join the struggle for the united front because it will strengthen both the S.P. and the C.P. and thus strengthen the working class." (p. 111.)

The Keeper and the Nurse

Can nobler sentiments be found in any contemporary political work? Browder, who, you might imagine, has work enough building his own party, is nevertheless concerned also with building the S.P. Unlike Cain, he not only wants to be his brother's keeper, but his nurse as well. Weaken the S.P.? Perish the thought! Nothing but a powerful and mighty Socialist Party will satisfy him, and he is determined to help build it despite any reluctance or suspicion it may display. And he not only wants to strengthen the S.P. in general, but its leadership in particular. "If the militant Socialists come out boldly for the united front, then their party, which deeply desires the united front, will rally around them, and they will be able to multiply the strength of the S.P. many-fold." (p. 110.)

Only the strongest physical effort enables us to overcome the emotions stirred in a reader by this touching sign of unselfishness and prodigality. But the recollection of what Browder said not so long ago is enough to restore the pulse and heart-beat to normal. For Browder not only wrote on the same subject before, but wrote words of a diametrically opposite kind.

What Happened to Social-Fascism?

"When we speak of the Socialists as Social-Fascists," he wrote in Work No. I—in No. III, as the reader will surmise, the phrase Social-Fascism simply cannot be found, "we are not merely abusing them [not merely!], we are giving the scientific description, the name of the political role which they are performing. . . . Socialists in words, Fascists in deeds! That is what Social-Fascism means. It is an accurate, scientific, descriptive term applied to the Socialist Party." (p. 144.)

At that time Browder was not so worried about the S.P. not being strong. In fact, his worries were of a different order altogether, because, thought he, the S.P. was being built up. And by whom? "The bourgeoisie is definitely building up the Socialist Party because it knows that in the coming great class struggles in America it is going to need the S.P. . . . When the S.P. does not exist, the capitalist class has to bring it into existence and that is what is going on in the United States today. . . . the building of the S.P. is so directly the business of the capitalists and not of the workers, this is the determining reason why the Socialist Party has such leaders as Norman Thomas. The capitalists, if they are going to build the party, are going to be sure they have a reliable man at the head of it. . . . Especially will it grow and become a menace in this country if we Communists are not active and well armed in the struggle against it." (p. 40f.)

One can only conclude, from comparing Browder's two positions, that the C.P. decided to pick up the job of building the S.P. where the capitalist class left off. Once the bourgeoisie knew that "in the coming great class struggles in America it is going to need the S.P.," now, the C.P. needs it.

United "Against the Leaders"

Objection may be raised that because in 1933, when Work No. I was presented, the S.P. was different from the S.P. of today, a different analysis was warranted. Granted. But Work No. II was presented in 1935, and a second printing of it appeared as late as September of that year, without a single word or footnote to qualify its contents. That is, it appeared more than a year after the Detroit convention of the S.P. where the Left wing gained control. And here is what No. II has to say about what it calls the "crisis among the social-Fascists."

"In this crisis," wrote Browder a brief few months ago, "the social-Fascist leadership finds it necessary to invent new means to keep the workers fooled and under their control. For this purpose, they are beginning, wherever the situation gets too hot for them, to establish a division of labor—one part of them becomes the 'Right wing,' which carries through the dirty work of the direct sell-out; the other part becomes a 'Left wing' which mildly deplores the necessity

of submitting to the sell-out. . . . (p. 62.) And again: "No, it is clear, unity behind these gentlemen [Norman Thomas and S.P. leaders] means a united surrender to the capitalist attacks. That is not the kind of unity the workers need. We need a united fighting front of the workers against the capitalists and all their agents. But that means that unity must be built up, not with these leaders on their present policies, but against them. That means not a united front from the top, but a united front built up by the workers from below in the organization and struggle for their immediate needs." (p. 52.)

How Black Becomes White

Enough has been quoted to indicate that Mr. Browder has slightly modified his views about the Socialist Party. A few months ago, mention of the S.P. was enough to make him rage like Vesuvius on a rampage; now you'd think that but-ter wouldn't melt in his mouth. Not so long ago, the bourgeoisie didn't want a weak S.P.; now Browder doesn't want one. Not so long ago, the split in the S.P. represented a clever trick, a division of labor among the social-Fascists to facilitate the selling out of the workers; now Browder lies awake nights thinking of how best to help the Left wing strengthen itself with its followers in the S.P. A few months ago, he wanted nothing less than a united front from below against Norman Thomas and the other leaders of the S.P.; now only a united front with them will do.

Why does Browder gush with honey like the rock in Horeb that gushed with water when Moses struck it with his rod? Because he has been instructed to cajole the S.P. into cooperating with the Stalinists to organize the American "People's Front" which, according to Browder, is to be accomplished by "federating the trade unions and all other mass organizations of the toilers into a wide Farmer-Labor Party representing a coalition of all the people prepared to resist the attacks of capitalism." (p. 111.) "Such a party cannot arise spontaneously. It must be led and organized by a united front coalition of the most advanced sections of the toiling masses." (p. 114f.) The most advanced sections means: S.P. and C.P. And for the Stalinists, as we shall see even more clearly further on, the S.P. is an indispensable ingredient of this "united front coalition" which is to lead and organize the "coalition of all the people."

"We Communists," Browder writes, still on the same page, "would be delighted if we could bring millions immediately behind our own program and our party. But we are realists. [Hear, hear!] We know that these masses have as yet not had that necessary experience which will bring them solidly behind our leadership." Therefore, the Farmer-Labor Party. Let us dwell a moment on the sense of these few lines.

Why the Farmer Labor Party?

What experience is, logically, necessary for the masses before they come solidly behind a (presumably) correct program and a (presumably) communist party? An experience that would be tantamount to disillusionment with all other parties and all other programs. What Browder is saying, therefore, is this: We have the correct program and party. The masses don't yet support our party and won't for some time to come. They must first find out that the other parties and their programs are worthless. Consequently, let us build a Farmer-Labor party for these inexperienced masses. Its conduct, its record—

we know—will be such that it will provide the masses with that "necessary experience" required before they "delight" us with support of the C.P. and its program. To put the matter thus bluntly, would reveal the ludicrousness of any attempt made nowadays by revolutionists to initiate a reformist party. Browder, who cannot put the matter so plainly, is therefore compelled to paint a glowing picture of what his "People's Front" Farmer-Labor party would be capable of doing. The picture glows because it has so many colors; and all of them clash so harshly that it is impossible to achieve the slightest bit of clarity.

"We Communists have proposed a Farmer-Labor Party, which will fight for all the necessary demands of the toilers." (p. 107.) "It must be emphasized that only one thing can stop the advance of Fascism in our country, and that is, the build-

ing of a powerful people's anti-Fascist front, given an organized expression in a Farmer-Labor Party." (p. 107f.) Through the united front of a fighting Farmer-Labor Party, we will protect our rights now and prepare the workers for socialism." (p. 111.) "It is the only bulwark against economic catastrophe, against political reaction and Fascism, against the growing danger of another war." (p. 125.) "It [a F.-L. P. government] could fight against the economic chaos of the capitalist system." (p. 125.) "Our perspective of a united front government is one of an instrument of struggle against capitalism, of the collaboration of all anti-Fascist parties and groups, against reaction and Fascism, and for the interests of the entire working population." (p. 126f.) (Our emphasis throughout, M.S.)

99.44 Percent Pure

Now, it is our contention that any party possessing the properties and virtues that Browder attributed to his Farmer-Labor Party, is good enough for the working class. Its existence would obviate the need of any other working class political organization. Browder does say that the government of this party "will not be able to introduce socialism, which can only be done through a real revolutionary government" (p. 125); but he doesn't bother to say or show why the F.L.P. government could not meet the final test. According to him, the party of his heart's desire could fight for "all the necessary demands" of the toilers; it can stop Fascism—the only thing that can stop it; it is the only bulwark against imperialist war; it can contend against the economic chaos of capitalism; it can protect our rights now.

If it can accomplish all these things—and they are hardly trifles—then why in heaven's name can't it also usher in socialism itself? Is there one single example in the history of the international labor movement of a political party that was able to defend the daily interests and rights of the masses as successfully as Browder says his Farmer-Labor Party will, that was not equally able to emancipate the masses from all bondage? We know of none and we are ready for enlightenment. We do, however, know something about the British Labour Party. . . .

The Mystery Grows

Let us try the Browder puzzle from another angle. "Such a [Farmer-Labor] party, while not having the program of the proletarian revolution and of socialism, would necessarily have to fight on the most important issues of the day." (p. 121.) Assuming that it would not be "neutral" in the fight between the two classes in modern society, we conclude that it would fight on these issues on the side of the workers. Yet, Browder points out, "such a party could be neither Socialist nor Communist, but it also could be neither anti-Socialist nor anti-Communist; it could be a genuine anti-capitalist party" (p. 107); and, remember, it "will not be able to introduce socialism." Well, it will "fight for all the necessary demands of the toilers."

And when it comes to power and forms a government, as Browder says it should and will? Then the "Communists will support such a united front government so long as it really uses its powers to protect and extend the economic and political rights of the masses. We are even prepared under certain conditions [which?] for practical participation in such a government" (p. 125). But a few pages back we are informed that among the other virtues of the F.-L.P. is the fact that it "would bring the masses face to face with the problem of state power, and therefore with all the problems of revolution" (p. 120f.). Very good, very commendable.

Now picture the situation in the concrete, however distressing this may be for the many-volumed author. The F.-L.P. takes over the government, legally and peacefully. The C.P. supports the government—even enters it "under certain conditions." The government brings the masses face to face with the problem of state power and all the problems of revolution. It cannot solve any of these problems because Browder forbids it the right or ability to provide the only solution of such a problem: "to introduce socialism." The problems of state power and revolution can (may we assume?) be solved only by the Communist Party when (may we further assume?) it gains the support of that "majority [who] were preparing themselves for a final decision as between capitalism and socialism" (p. 125). Now, when the C.P. gains this majority and is ready for the revolutionary solution, is the "united people's front Farmer-Labor Party government" to be overthrown and its place by what Browder calls the "real revolutionary government, a Soviet government of workers and other

toilers"? If this is the idea, how will the C.P. overthrow a government which "communists will support"? Enlightenment, please!

Paging Abe Cahan!

Or perhaps the Browder idea is a different one. The F.-L.P. government is not Socialist, not Communist, nor can it introduce socialism. A "real revolutionary government" can. Is the latter, then, to come into power without the violent overthrow of the "united front" government? The only other way known to man is to come to power by voting the preceding regime out of power. Consequently, the transference of power from a non-socialist regime to a socialist regime, of the means of production and exchange from the hands of the proletariat, would occur peacefully and legally. Thus would be realized the most dearly cherished dream of Karl Kautsky, Ramsay MacDonald and Abraham Cahan. But a few pages further, our happiness at the prospect of so entrancing and painless a solution of the class struggle is discourteously shattered by the same Browder: "History does not show a single example in which state power was transferred from one class to another by peaceful means, whether in the form of voting or some other method of formal democracy." (p. 165f.) Again, enlightenment, please!

Let us try one last time. The "people's government" would come out of a "coalition movement of all liberals, progressives, Socialists and Communists" (p. 123). But this government "should not be confused with the Soviet government of the victorious proletarian revolution, composed of an alliance of Communists, left-Socialists and other groups which had jointly participated in the overthrow of the capitalists" (p. 126). If the composition of the two governments (the latter would directly follow the former) is compared, the only visible difference seems to be that the "Soviet government" would be identical with the "people's government" except that it would not contain the "liberals and progressives"—unless (God knows!) they are to be included among the "other groups." Now, is it the idea of Browder, who does not know a single example of the peaceful transference of power, that a violent revolution will have to be undertaken to get a few liberals and progressives out of the "people's government" in order to convert it into a "Soviet government"? Isn't it much more likely that no violence at all would be needed? Then, faced with Browder's fascinating scheme, all the liberals and progressives and Socialists and Communists would laugh themselves to death, thus leaving the General Secretary in such complete control of state power that he would not even have to shoot off a water pistol?

History Has Already Spoken

We can hardly wait to see Browder's "People's Front" come to full bloom. But then, we really don't need to wait. In what essential respect could it differ from the late "Iron Front" in Germany, or the People's Fronts in France and Spain? In the lands mentioned, they served and serve as dikes against the proletarian revolution. In the United States, it could serve only as a hindrance to the rising class consciousness and class independence of the workers. Browder has, of course, no illusions about the imminence of a "People's Front Government" in the United States, however wistfully he may yearn for the role of a respectable statesman. He is interested in more tangible and immediate matters. His "government" may have to wait; the formation of his "People's Front Farmer-Labor Party" and the corraling of the Socialist Party into it, cannot wait. And it cannot wait because the Stalinists cannot afford to let the S.P. continue further along the road of revolutionary proletarian socialism which it has begun to tread.

The "People's Front" is the Stalinist formula for subordinating the working class movement to capitalist democracy in the name of a "struggle against Fascism" and the "defense of the Soviet Union." It is the formula which sanctifies the most despicable practices of social-patriotism and class-collaboration. Neither of these is fully realizable if any appreciable section of the working class movement retains its class independence and revolutionary integrity. It is for the purpose of eradicating every particle of these qualities in the Socialist Party that Browder woos it so ardently.

What Browder hopes to achieve by his courtship in concrete terms of American working class policies, is clearly enough revealed in other sections of his book. The anxiety to get the support of the S.P., to consummate a "united front" with it, can be fully understood only in connection with Browder's views on such questions as bourgeois democracy, the contest between Roosevelt and the Liberty League, patriotism, the "defense of the Soviet Union," and the approaching world war. These questions require the detailed treatment which only another article will allow.

Out of Their Union Blooms Own Mouths In Akron

(Continued from Page 1)

"At the same time, those in other parts of the United States are puzzled that a court trial where the issues seem so clear and evident should drag along as the present trial here in the Shoemaker case has done, with the State's case taking three weeks and just now reaching its conclusion.

"The two points of view show the wide differences in thought, customs, life and politics in the country.

"Flogging, tar and feathering and even death are not unusual here as a means of disposing of persons who are disturbing to certain interests, or to what is vaguely called 'social order.' They are not carried out under any law in Florida statutes but by persons who believe such methods are for their own or for the public good, and their political influence is so great that court trials, or even arrests, rarely follow.

"At the same time, the great majority of citizens in Florida, numerous but not influential, express the hope that the outcome of the present case will put an end to such methods.

"Citrus growing is a \$100,000,000 industry in Florida, and as it cannot afford to pay higher wages, labor organizers must be discouraged. It would be undignified for members of the organization to do it, and outsiders are used, one man explained, adding that he himself had helped consign a dozen such 'disturbers' to abandoned and water-filled phosphate mines and swamps.

"Enough has been produced in court and openly talked outside . . . to involve the citrus growers."

Azana Boosted to Presidency

(Continued from Page 3)

What is the Azana government doing? Two things: its civil guards daily murder workers in attacks on strikes and demonstrations; while the government makes demagogic gestures to which the Stalinists and Right Wing Socialists can point as proof of the "progressivism" of Azana. A law is passed announcing fines of employers who refuse to re-employ workers fired after the October revolt, many announcements of plans for public works, etc.

The reactionaries are openly threatening and preparing for civil war. "Ya," rightist paper, declares: "A civilization, a culture and a religion cannot be made to flee in the night by savage hordes manipulated from foreign countries. The fight is now inevitable. The critical moment approaches, but with

(Continued from Page 1)

radical people who thrive on the cause of tearing down something decent and who enjoy causing trouble. . . . Those persons should be singled out and dealt with accordingly."

Five Sit-Downs in Night

This early morning episode followed a night during which there were no less than five sit-downs at Goodyear and several at Firestone, where they were protesting the introduction of pace-setters in the tire departments. The companies are trying to take advantage of the recent wage increases to speed up production. This is proving a notable failure.

The gears in the machinery of the anti-union forces are slowly meshing. One of the latest evidences of this is the formation of an "Akron Civic Justice Association," a fit companion to that other pillar of Akron society, "The Law and Order League." The former is now specializing in full page ads, the chaos of reasoning being that now since the rubber companies out of the bounty of their hearts have raised wages, this union monkey business ought to be stopped.

Centralization on Increase

More of this type of propaganda was the recent hullabaloo about decentralization, spread by the rubber barons. Outside sources seem a bit sceptical, somehow, James McMinn in his New York column pointed out that United States Rubber, currently one of the most successful plants in the country, far from decentralizing is pursuing a directly opposite course, and the "Annalist" openly stating that the rubber companies (beyond being affected with the incurable disease of capitalism) are the victims of their own merciless price cutting.

How little all this guff fazes the Akron gum miners was well demonstrated last Sunday when 4,000 rubber workers celebrating the advent of Spring in Akron, Ohio (The Rubber Center of the World), descended upon the amazed town of Kent, a suburb of Akron, and demonstrated before the Black and Decker Electric Company, where scabs remained in the plant, closed recently by striking workers.

Yes, summer is imminent in. But it looks like a union summer this time.

a will to conquer, we shall succeed and Spain will not be a Russian colony." Almost daily, Gil Robles, Catholic leader, declares himself ready for civil war. On April 26 he offered Azana one of two choices: "Anarchy or a government of national concentration." In a speech in the Cortes on May 5, Gil Robles declared his followers were becoming Fascists and that he was not opposing the tendency, "because Spain is now divided into two groups irrevocably opposed to each other."

Now Ready!

LEON TROTSKY THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL AFTER LENIN

Considerable confusion exists as to the cause of the split in the Communist International which drove Trotsky into exile from the Soviet Union which he helped to create.

Was it—as certain commentators have sought to make it appear—a personal feud between Stalin and Trotsky? Was the issue a mere squabble for power—a purely organizational fight for the control of the Russian Communist Party and the Soviet Union?

This book explodes such a superficial interpretation of the struggle in the Soviet Union between the forces led respectively by Stalin and Trotsky—a struggle in which Stalin was the victor and the cause of the world revolution the loser.

Which course for the Soviet Union and the Comintern—nationalism or internationalism? This was the issue, and around it the battle has raged.

This volume, written in Trotsky's customary brilliant style, makes plain the issues that brought about the split. It is basically, his criticism of the official program of the Communist International adopted at its Sixth World Congress. It was around the counter-program put forth in this criticism that the Trotskyist Opposition rallied. The movement for the Fourth International is based upon it essentially.

It is impossible to understand "Trotskyism" without a reading of this volume. No one interested in the history of the modern working class movement can afford to be without this volume.

Its stress upon internationalism as against nationalism acquires particular significance at the present moment when world war threatens to engulf the labor movement again in a wave of nationalism and chauvinism.

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EARL BROWDER

THE MAN AND HIS BOOKS

SPEAKER

MAX SHACHTMAN

Editor of the New International

IRVING PLAZA HALL

15th ST. and IRVING PLACE

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The Death of the Little NRA

AN EDITORIAL

The reaction against the reforms of the Roosevelt regime sweeps forward on the swelling tide of economic recovery. The unabated massacre of the New Deal measures by the Supreme Court is the most pronounced expression of reaction's growing strength. What the Liberty Leaguers proscribed, their judicial tribunal hastens to sentence to death.

Before declaring the Gaffey Coal Control Act unconstitutional, the Supreme Court has already condemned seven of the most important measures in the New Deal program, including the N.R.A. and the A.A.A. Two escaped execution for special reasons: the T.V.A. because, although it threatened the monopoly of the power trusts, Mussel Shoals was needed for national defense; the Gold Clause because it could not have been interfered with without creating colossal financial convulsions.

The Gaffey Act was a posthumous child of the N.R.A. It was designed to accomplish for the anarcho and decrepit soft-coal industry what the N.R.A. was supposed to accomplish for all big industry: "to stabilize the bituminous coal industry through the regulation of labor and prices." The Act provided for the regulation of the entire industry by an industrial commission appointed

by the government. Production was to be rationed, prices fixed, wages and hours of work regulated, and a 15 percent sales tax imposed on all coal sold.

The Gaffey law represented the maximum of governmental interference in private industry, short of nationalization. It was therefore bitterly opposed by big business interests as well as the corporations who operate the captive mines. It was sponsored by the United Mine Workers and favored by the unionized coal operators who sell their product under highly competitive conditions in the open market.

Conservative circles are therefore jubilant over their victory, as the editorial commenting the decision in the Republican Herald-Tribune and interpreting it as a slap in Roosevelt's face, indicates. Reaction is in the saddle and riding high, trampling the hated New Deal into the dust. Finance capital has plenty of reason to be overjoyed at the decision. For it was an utterly reactionary decision, untainted with the slightest suspicion of liberalism. The irreconcilable and almost insurmountable opposition of Justice Sutherland's opinion is in itself a sign of the courage and confidence that has been restored to the big bourgeoisie by the upturn in the business cycle.

Reactionaries Rely on State's Rights

The majority opinion declared the law unconstitutional on the ground that it violated state's rights. "The States," Sutherland wrote, "were before the Constitution and therefore their legislative powers antedate the Constitution."

It is an ironic coincidence, the latest issue of the "Nation" carries a leading editorial complaining that the liberals have allowed the slogan of state's rights to be taken over by the reactionary Republicans. The Supreme Court decision proves anew, what should surely not require proof in this day and age that, contrary to the belief of the "Nation," the slogan of state's rights can only have a reactionary significance. Just as the slaveholders before the Civil War inscribed this slogan on their banner, so our contemporary slaveholders, the capitalists, are using it to defend their property interests.

The shibboleth of state's rights is as antiquated as the stagecoach. The capitalist class itself recognized this in its heroic days when it waged civil war against the slavery. Today the slogan is doubly reactionary. The American people long ago cast off the swaddling clothes of petty statehood, and now it has also outgrown its youthful garments of nationality. The liberals of the "Nation" are advocating a reversion to local limits at a time when it has become urgently necessary to abolish national boundaries!

The majority opinion reveals how vigilant these judicial watchdogs are in safeguarding the interests of

their masters. The majority ruled, here as in the N.R.A. decision, that Congress possessed none of the significant powers assumed in the Act. Congress could not impose a sales tax, because that was not a tax but "a penalty." Congress could not fix wages and hours because "the relations of the employer to the employee is a local relation." . . . "all the evils of the industry are local evils," and do not therefore come under the category of interstate commerce.

It is plain that the justices who wrote these words have the conditions of colonial America in mind. They have also however the present needs of the capitalists in mind. While they flatly state that the labor provisions are unconstitutional, they do not declare that the price-fixing provisions are illegal. These are rejected now presumably because they are inseparably interwoven with the labor provisions. In other words, Congress may have the power to set prices for the interests of the mine operators but it certainly has no power to set wages for the mine workers. The proposal has already been made that a new act be prepared that will regulate prices but leave out the labor provisions.

The dissenting opinion of the minority in whom the liberals vest their hopes is little better. In a feeble voice they reserve judgment on the question of the constitutionality of the sales tax and the labor clauses. They speak forth strongly and without ambiguity only in favor of price fixing.

Roosevelt Receives Reward of Virtue

The storm of protest engendered by this decision of the Supreme Court will doubtless rebound to the political credit of Roosevelt and add considerably to his political capital. All the righteous indignation of the miners and the masses of the people against this reactionary action will be concentrated on the Court. Roosevelt, the spotless knight, will receive the rewards of his virtue.

Roosevelt's open and concealed supporters in the labor movement are doing their utmost to divert attention from his art in the whole affair and to treat him instead as a friend or ally of the working class. That worthy champion of the workers, Daniel Tobin, President of the Teamsters, hastened to declare: "Every worker of every class (!) is pledged tonight to President Roosevelt to vote for him at the next election as a result of the decision today. The decision has established in the minds of the workers the fact that the court is reactionary, is living in ages past, and that Franklin D. Roosevelt is a friend of the worker. I hope we all work to the end that we will elect to office a Congress that finds some way of passing legislation to replace the Gaffey Act."

The Daily Worker echoes these sentiments in its own fashion. Once again, like the plaintive bleat of a sheep, it calls upon "Roosevelt and Congress to act to curb the Supreme Court," in its leading editorial. These political enunciators cry in a shrill voice, "Is President Roosevelt going to continue to dodge the issue? Are the labor leaders who have endorsed Roosevelt for elec-

tion going to continue to give Roosevelt a blank check," etc.

Like Pontius Pilate, the editors of the Daily Worker do not stay for an answer. It can be given briefly in a single word: "Yes."

The Stalinist appeals to the President are not only futile and absurd from the standpoint of the working class. They are based upon an almost criminal blindness to the true state of affairs in regard to the Gaffey Bill. For Roosevelt is no less implicated in the plot to assassinate the Bill than the Supreme Court. He was not merely an accessory to the crime but even its instigator, as we propose to show. First of all, the Gaffey Bill was presented to Congress after the N.R.A. had been declared unconstitutional. It was therefore a foregone conclusion that the Little N.R.A. would meet the same fate as its model when it came before the highest court. On this account the House hesitated whether or not to pass the bill when it was certain to be declared invalid.

At this point the President sent the following message to the House: "I hope your committee will not permit doubts as to constitutionality, however reasonable, to block the suggested legislation." The emphasized phrase gave the cue to Congress. It meant: "Pass the bill; the miners want it; but don't worry, the Supreme Court will take care of it." And indeed it did.

The Stalinists, the labor and liberal supporters of Roosevelt completely cover up Roosevelt's role in this train of events leading to the

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Croppers Rebel At Slave Wages

5,000 Arkansas Sharecroppers Strike Against System of Peonage on Cotton Plantation

MEMPHIS, Tenn., May 18.—Five thousand cotton croppers and day laborers, members of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, will hang up their hoes and strike for higher wages. They are now being paid a wage ranging from 60c to 75c per day, working from sun-up to sun-set. Their demand is for \$1.50 per 10 hour day.

In Memphis the Cotton Carnival is in full swing. Thousands of visitors from all parts of the nation have flocked to the cotton capital of the world to pay homage and obeisance to King Cotton. Each day witnesses mile long parades with

costly floats. Wealth wrung from King Cotton's slaves is being lavishly poured out for the extravaganzas of this festival. While King Cotton's retinue feasts from the fat of the land, millions of slaves from the cotton country live in wretchedness and want. Those who have produced this billion dollar crop are today naked and starved. While their economic overlords today throw money to the winds, they themselves are fortunate to get a day's work for 60 or 75 cents. With thousands unable to get either crops or jobs and with hundreds of thousands of others barely existing on starvation wages, the slaves of King Cotton are in open revolt.

Jobless Hit Pa. Relief Workers Alliance Calls for Appropriation for Emergency

HARRISBURG, Pa., May 12.—

Hundreds of unemployed men and women from all parts of the state gathered here Sunday and Monday, under the leadership of the Workers Alliance of America, to halt the Pennsylvania legislators' disgraceful game of making a political football of the relief appropriations bill. A legislative deadlock between Republicans and Democrats threatened to cut off relief abruptly for an indefinite time. The State Emergency Relief Board had exhausted all current funds at its disposal and was prepared to shut down relief unless the Senate and the House passed an appropriation measure enabling them to continue.

The jobless met in a conference at the Penn Show Building here on Sunday afternoon. David Lasser, President of the Workers Alliance of America, opened the sessions with a stirring address denouncing the petty politics of the Pennsylvania solons and calling for militant action to put a stop to it. The conference also heard addresses by Herbert Benjamin, Sam Gordon and John Muldowney, all members of the National Executive Board of the Workers Alliance. The delegates then elected the following officers: John Muldowney of Wilkes-Barre, Chairman; Sam Gordon of Allentown, Secretary; Charles Sandwick of Bethlehem, Vice-Chairman; Charles Spencer of Philadelphia, Assistant Secretary; and a presiding committee including the officers and the National Executive Board.

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Enthusiasm for Strike High

The strike was called, and time set by one of the most enthusiastic and earnest meetings in the history of the Union. With representatives of 75 locals present, not a dissenting voice was raised. Strike committees have been established throughout the affected area, and scores of men and women scoured Northeastern Arkansas, Saturday and Sunday calling the people to strike.

The landlords, fearful of the strike, have redoubled their working force; and plan to bring unemployed relief workers out of Memphis and other cities to take the jobs of the strikers. Union officials received a pledge of assistance from the Memphis local of the Workers Alliance of America to help prevent unemployed Memphis workers from going to the fields. Local leaders of the Alliance will throw a picket line across the Harahan bridge leading into Arkansas. On the Arkansas side the Union will have its own picket line.

With thousands of its members actually on a starvation basis and hundreds of others having been evicted, the Union is in desperate need of money with which to finance the strike. Many of the people will suffer, and terror is likely to rear its head over the entire section. Contributions for defense and relief should be sent to

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Parole Mini; Free Others, His Demand

Mini Appeals for Struggle To Force Release of Chambers, Deckers

SAN FRANCISCO.—Norman Mini has been released from San Quentin Prison, first to complete his term of the eight workers convicted in the famous Sacramento criminal syndicalism trial of 1934. Norman Mini received a three-year sentence and must spend the next sixteen months under charge of parole officers.

Of the other male prisoners Albert Hougardy received three and a half years and like Mini will serve the last 10 months on parole; while Pat Chambers, Martin Wilson and Jack Crane got five years sentences, parole to be determined later. The National Sacramento Appeal Committee, defending Mini, conducted a national campaign for minimum sentences, rallying the support of ten international unions, five state federations and two-several city central labor bodies and a group of Senators and Congressmen.

Mini Appeals for Other Prisoners Upon leaving San Quentin Mini called for a renewed effort to upset the convictions, which come up on appeal soon.

"By releasing me the state of California hopes to obscure the fact that it is holding in prison the leaders of the California agricultural workers, Chambers and Decker. The fight for the freedom of these two and of the other prisoners is indissolubly bound up with the fight to organize the agricultural workers. Elementary solidarity demands that all workers and workers' organizations unite in renewed efforts to free these workers from prison."

The National Sacramento Appeal Committee announced that it is sending to the State Parole Board additional resolutions from unions, demanding that minimum sentences be set for the girl prisoners, whose indeterminate sentences are soon to be fixed by the Board. The United Rubber Workers International, Chicago Federation of Labor, Boston Central Labor Union, and the central bodies of Pontiac, Lansing, South Bend and San Bernardino are among the latest unions demanding freedom of the Sacramento prisoners.

Raymond W. Henderson, state chairman of the Socialist Party, is attorney for Norman Mini and will represent him in the pending appeal. The other prisoners are represented by the International Labor Defense, which refused the invitation of the National Sacramento Appeal Committee for one united defense.

Blum Upholds French Capitalism

People's Front Leader Pledges "Safe" Regime, Socialism, Only Solution to Crisis, Is Remote to S.P. - C.P. Moguls

Within a few days, the first Socialist Ministry will be officially installed in France, with Leon Blum most likely as Premier.

The French Socialist Party is about to make history in the same sense that the "socialist" governments of Vanderelde, Scheidemann, MacDonald, etc. made history, in their time. That is to say, Blum will assume the vestments of power with the permission of the bourgeoisie on the self-same condition that his colleagues in other countries were invested with power, namely: that he protect the bourgeoisie against its enemies, tide it over a crucial period, provide it with a sufficient interval in which the masses can be exhausted and demoralized, while all the necessary preparations are made for a decisive assault upon the revolutionary forces of the working class and the peasantry.

New Sitdown At Goodrich

Rubber Workers Rep Violation of Union Regulations

AKRON, Ohio, May 20.—Good-year Plant 2 was closed down completely last night by a sit-down involving 7,000 men. At the same time there were three sit-downs in the Goodrich mechanical goods department. The sit-down at Goodrich began at midnight when a non-union "head-layer" was placed in charge of a pit crew though he had less seniority than two union men. The dispute at Goodrich also involved seniority. Both were settled when union heads conferred with the management.

The increasing intensity and frequency of the sit-downs indicate that a tremendous blow-up is ahead unless management makes a radically new departure in its tactics. It is doubtful if they can afford to do this. All signs point to a strengthening of their strike-breaking organizations and to a ruthless battle in the not too distant future.

AKRON, O., May 19.—The Akron anti-social calendar this week recorded the apparently virgin births of three new strike-breaking organizations.

The first of these is the Association of Rubber Workers, a disguised company union operating on "safe" principles and charging an initiation fee of \$1.00

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"Third International After Lenin" Off the Press, A Lexicon for the Revolutionary Movement

When Stalin condemned Leon Trotsky to exile in lonely Alma-Ata in 1928, after having expelled him from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Soviet bureaucracy breathed a sigh of relief. The expulsion occurred on the eve of the Sixth Congress of the Comintern, which marked the completion of the rise to power of the bureaucracy. The Stalinist faction had been in control of the situation at the Fifth Congress of the Comintern in 1924, but the prestige of the makers of the revolution was still so great, and the bureaucracy still sufficiently doubtful of its control, that Trotsky had been elected a member of the Executive Committee of the International.

Between 1924 and 1928 the apparatus automatically expelled the leadership of one after another of the great parties of the International and replaced them with subservient hacks. Only after they had had firmly secured a stranglehold on the entire organization, did they convene the Sixth Congress.

Prevent Trotsky from Appearing The Stalinists did not dare permit Trotsky to appear at the Sixth Congress. Not all the delegates were handpicked; not all of them had been tested to certify that under any and all conditions they would take orders from the bureaucracy. So, a few months before the congress, Trotsky was expelled from the Russian party and marched off to exile. Although, according to all the rules and traditions of the International, only a congress could confirm or revoke the decision against Trotsky as a member of its Executive—this violation of communist procedure did not make the Stalinists hesitate for a moment.

A lesser man than the organizer of the 1917 insurrection might have succumbed to passivity. As the political and theoretical leader of the Left Opposition, he would participate in the Sixth Congress in spite of Stalin's armed guards. And he did!

His participation took the form of writing the materials which constitute the core of "The Third International After Lenin," published this week by Pioneer Publishers. It remains not only his most basic work, but the fundamental platform of the Fourth International in its struggle against Stalinism. A rich theoretical distillation of the successes and failures of the Communist movement since 1917, it is an indispensable guide to the revolutionary strategy demanded by the conditions of our epoch, the period of capitalist decline, of wars and revolutions.

Document Sees Light of Day In complete violation of his rights as a member of the E.C.C.I.—not to speak of his moral right to be heard as the great co-worker of Lenin—Trotsky's materials were never distributed to the delegates and were not discussed at the congress. Two parts of his Criticism of the Draft Programme of the Communist International border-line and badly translated were given to the small number of delegates in the Program Commission, and a "report" on it was made to a selected group of delegates which immediately "settled" the issue without discussion. The document "What Now," which is Trotsky's letter of appeal to the Congress for refusal to submit to the Congress members; it is

here published for the first time in English. Yet even this suppression did not succeed. Among the small group of delegates in the Program Commission were James P. Cannon of the American C.P. and Maurice Spector of the Canadian party. They were deeply impressed with Trotsky's critique. They were not permitted to bring the materials with them out of Russia. The few copies at the Congress were numbered and required to be returned. Fortunately, they managed to obtain one and smuggle it out of Russia. Thus did this great work first reach the light of day.

Prophecy Fulfilled

"The conception of the building of socialism in one country is a social-patriotic conception."

This statement excites no surprise when it appears in our press today. It is our major criticism and condemnation of the Stalinist betrayal of the interests of the world proletariat. Almost every action of the Comintern since the Seventh World Congress and the signing of the Stalin-Laval pact confirms the social-patriotic policy of the Comintern. The nationalistic theory of socialism in one country has led to social-patriotism in other countries. And yet this sentence was not written recently. It appears in the Criticism of the Draft Program of the Comintern, written by Trotsky in 1928! What was then presented as a theoretical deduction has today become a tragic reality!

The "Amazing" Course of History

This striking prediction is only one example of the surprises that await the reader who comes afresh to "The Third International After

Lenin." That reader is truly to be envied. He will find not merely awe-inspiring prophecies that have been fulfilled in the eight years since this book was written. More important, he will learn why what has happened has come to pass. For Trotsky in 1928 was not a mere prophet crying in the wilderness. Trotsky was a maker of history, who knew that Stalinism could logically lead only in the direction of social-patriotic betrayal.

Even most of us who read mutilated parts of this work which were smuggled out of Russia in 1928 and published in 1929 and 1930, will read this great work with far more insight today than was possible six years ago.

How many of us, in the first years of the Stalinist lunacy of the "Third Period," really believed that the Comintern would inevitably make a swing back to the opportunism of 1923-28? When the Stalinists were breaking up Socialist meetings and declaring the Socialists to be a greater danger than Hitler, it seemed fantastic to many that the same Communist parties would go back to bowing and scraping before Chiang-Kai-Shek and Leon Blum. But in 1928, before the opportunist policy had been entirely replaced by third period lunacy, Trotsky was already warning that both the opportunism and the lunacy were alternating phases of the degenerate Stalinist bureaucracy's false course of national-Bolshevism.

To read this work now is to realize how clearly Trotsky grasped this fact, which has now been proven to the hilt by the Stalinist return to an even more emphatic opportunist course.

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Blum's Capitalist Program As there was not a shred of socialism in the "labor" governments in England, Germany, Belgium, etc., so there will be nothing "socialistic" about the future Blum government, a fact which Blum himself has openly avowed to the mass meeting in the Salle Wagram, held in celebration of the "victory."

"Reminding his hearers that the country had not given power to the Socialist Party but to the People's Front coalition, Blum said: 'Our program therefore is based on capitalist society. Our task will be to extract from this social regime everything that it can still harbor of well-being and justice.'" (John Elliot, N. Y. Tribune, May 16.)

In these words of Blum we have the balance-sheet of the People's Front, its program and its "victory": it is that of capitalism. All that Blum is pledging himself to do as Premier is to extract "everything" compatible with the "well-being and justice" obviously not of the working class but of the capitalists on the basis of whose program Leon Blum and his associates are preparing to assume power in June.

Stalinists Revive Cartel Policy

It ought to be noted that if Blum and Co. did not "assume power" up to now, it was thanks only to their fear of the effects of such a step upon the French working class. The fact that the Stalinist leaders dared to venture in the sphere of parliamentary collaboration was to support the Radicals in power—this was known as the cartel policy, and is in all respects similar to the present policy of the French Stalinists. Millerand, Briand, Laval, Paul Boncour and lesser fry who exploited the working class movement in order to carve out a ministerial career for themselves, all had to resign from the Socialist Party on becoming ministers.

The French Communist Party, from the very first day of its existence, aimed its heaviest blows against the cartel policy of the Socialists. And, in point of fact, for months prior to the actual establishment of the united front between the C.P. and the S.P., the Stalinist leaders were seriously considering breaking off the cartel with the compromised party of the Radicals.

As for participating in the same government with Herriot-Daladier, Blum, Faure, Auriol and Co. actually broke with the so-called Neos, a group of Socialist parliamentarians who saw the quinquessence of socialist policy in participating in ministries. Most of these Neos, after the split, joined with Paul Boncour's "Socialist and Republican Union." In a few days Leon Blum will sit in the same ministry with perhaps the very same people whom he had voted to expel not so very long ago. It was all a very unfortunate misunderstanding!

People's Front Program

Fortunately, however, the French Stalinists intervened energetically and opportunely to reestablish the cartel on a "higher level."

What sort of a "capitalist program" is the program on which Blum is accepting the premiership? In the sphere of domestic policy its outstanding demands are: (1) the disarming and the abolition of the Fascist leagues; (2) the abolition of the private manufacture of arms (the nationalization of the armaments industry); (3) the control and reorganization of the Bank of France (the nationalization of the Bank of France); (4) the immediate abolition of Laval's economic decrees (which hit the civil service workers, the proletariat and the peasantry); (5) the maintenance of the "gold" franc; (6) taxing of the rich.

In the sphere of foreign policy, (Continued on Page 4)

Book Review

By JACK TAYLOR

"TROTSKYISM is the vanguard of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie. . . . That is why the attempts of certain 'litterateurs' and 'historians' to smuggle the disguised Trotskyite rubbish into our literature must encounter determined resistance from the Bolsheviks."—Joseph Stalin, Questions Concerning the History of Bolshevism, 1932. International Publishers.

"Determined resistance" does not and cannot dispose of the real history of the October Revolution and of the perspectives of the Bolsheviks when they decided upon the seizure of power in 1917. From many sources and in many ways the Leninist interpretation of revolutionary events and perspectives of the October Revolution reach the surface. To label the Leninist interpretation of the revolutionary events and perspectives as "counter-revolutionary Trotskyism" did not, as the documents show, prevent Stalin from taking the road of "counter-revolution" in his earlier interpretation of the revolutionary events.

Who Is Counter-Revolutionary?

In 1932 Stalin asks: "Who gave the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie its intellectual weapon against Bolshevism in the form of the thesis of the impossibility of building socialism in our country. . . ." In looking for the answer to this question, let us turn to page 48, Stalin's "The October Revolution."

Says Stalin: "The fact of the matter is that the seizure of power by the proletariat occurred under peculiar conditions, domestic and foreign, which placed their imprint on the entire work of the party after it seized power. In the first place, Russia is economically backward; it cannot of its own strength set aright the transport system, develop industry and electrify the urban and rural industries. . . . If Russia had as a neighbor a big, industrially developed Soviet state or several Soviet states, it easily could have established co-operation with such states on the basis of an exchange of raw material for machines and equipment. However, so long as this is not so, Soviet Russia and our party. . . . are forced to seek forms and means of economic co-operation with hostile capitalist groups of the West in order to acquire the necessary technique pending the victory of the proletarian revolution in one or several industrial capitalist countries. . . . Failing these, there is no use even thinking of serious economic construction, of electrifying the country."

This was written in the early years of the Revolution, when ideas were still fresh in the minds of all, when the Stalin falsifiers did not yet and it possible to distort the perspectives of October. The above quotation is from an article by Stalin originally published in Pravda, No. 190, August 28, 1921.

"Socialism in One Country"

As we see, the question of socialism in one country was considered impossible, especially since "Russia is economically backward." But we are anticipating a bit, for Stalin in those days (1921) did not yet approach the question of socialism in one country. Stalin in those days clearly stated: "Russia cannot of its own strength set aright the transport system." How far removed from Stalin's theory of Soviet Russia's economic self-sufficiency. According to Stalin, in 1921, the economic resources of Russia did not permit the "setting aright" of the transport system without economic collaboration with hostile capitalist groups of the West, "pending the victory of the proletarian revolution in one or several industrial countries."

How fresh and far removed from the reactionary theory of socialism in one country. But perhaps this was incidental due to "alien" influence upon the mind of Stalin. Not so. For Stalin in those days considered it necessary to take into account the question of international economic cooperation on the "fraternal principle" between the "progressive (industrial) countries and the backward (fuel and raw material producing) countries (in place of the principle of robbery of the latter by the former). This is precisely why an international proletarian revolution is needed. . . . However, in order to begin (at least begin!) instituting a correct world economy, the victory of the proletariat in at least a few advanced countries is necessary. So long as this has not been achieved, our Party must seek circuitous paths of cooperating with capitalist groups in the economic arena." (Joseph Stalin, The October Revolution—p. 49.)

How far removed from the theories of "economic self-sufficiency" and "socialism in one country." The earlier international perspectives of the Bolsheviks as indicated in the above quotations from Stalin are today taboo. Internationalism is labelled "counter-revolutionary ideology" and revolutionists are exiled and shot by Stalin's and Yagoda's O.P.U. for refusing to relinquish the international traditions of Bolshevism.

In his role of falsifier of the his-

tory of the Revolution Stalin says: "Trotsky, who was a relative newcomer in our Party in the period of October, did not and could not have played any special role in the party or in the October uprising." The same Trotsky whom the world knows as Lenin's collaborator and as the organizer of the insurrection of 1917 "did not and could not play any special role in the October uprising."

"Let us," says Stalin, "take the minutes of the meeting of the central committee, on October 16, 1917. . . . A practical center is elected to take charge of organizing the uprising. Who is elected to this center? Five were elected to it: Sverdlov, Stalin, Dzerzhinsky, Bubnov and Uritsky. . . . Comrade Trotsky did not get on the practical center, which was called upon to lead the uprising. How can this be reconciled with the current notion about Comrade Trotsky's special role?" (Stalin's October Revolution, p. 71.)

We are at liberty to ask the falsifiers of the history of the Revolution how it is that Trotsky, who did not get on the "practical center" was able to "direct"—as Stalin says—"all the practical work in connection with the organization of the uprising?" A truthful man need not fear saying two different things at two different times. Only falsifiers have the quality of contradicting themselves at every turn. For Stalin, you see, tells us on page 71 of the above mentioned work, that Trotsky "could not and did not play any special role in the October uprising," forgetting that on page 30 of the same work he tells us the exact opposite: "All practical work in connection with the organization of the uprising was done under the immediate direction of Comrade Trotsky, the president of the Petrograd Soviet. It can be stated with certainty that the party is indebted primarily and principally to Comrade Trotsky for the rapid going over of the garrison to the side of the Soviet and the efficient manner in which the work of the Military Revolutionary Committee was organized."

History will have its revenge! And when it does, Stalin's role of falsifier and grave-digger of the Revolution will meet the fate reserved for it by the onward march of the international proletariat. Already we hear the steady tread of the iron battalions of the Fourth International.

Differences with Lenin

By placing the mystic halo of infallibility upon the head of Lenin the falsifiers hoped to extend that infallibility to themselves. Infallibility does away with lots of "explaining" about the differences between Lenin and the October central committee. Since the central committee was infallible, and hence could make no mistakes, how could serious differences arise therefore between Lenin and the central committee on the question of the seizure of power?

Speaking about the October days, Stalin says: "The question of the transfer of power to a new class becomes the burning question of the hour. . . . Were there any differences of opinion within our party at that time? Yes, there were. But they were exclusively of a practical nature. . . ." (Stalin's October Revolution, p. 79.) Only slight differences "of a practical nature"; nothing political involved; so says Stalin. And some of us wonder: what are the falsifiers trying to hide now? What is Stalin trying to hide?

Behind "infallibility" Stalin tries to hide his own opposition to Lenin in the October days. Stalin attempts here to hide his own sabotage of Lenin's directives to the central committee in the October days. For proof let us turn to Lenin: "To refrain from seizing power at present, to wait, to 'chatter' in the Central Committee . . . means to ruin the revolution. . . . Seeing that the Central Committee has left even without an answer my writing insisting on such a policy since the beginning of the Democratic Conference, that the Central Organ (Stalin was editor—J.T.) is deleting from my articles references to such glaring errors of the Bolsheviks as the shameful decision to participate in the parliament, as giving seats to the Mensheviks to the Presidium of the Soviets, etc., etc.—seeing all that, I am compelled to recognize here a 'gentle' hint as to the unwillingness of the Central Committee even to consider this question (seizure of power—J.T.), a gentle hint at gagging me and at suggesting that I retire. . . . I am compelled to tender my resignation from the Central Committee, which I hereby do. . . ."

Crystal clear! Lenin wanted to resign from the Central Committee because it tended to "refrain from seizing the power" and because the central organ of the party, with Stalin as editor, "deleted" and delayed the publication of Lenin's directives to the party in connection with the seizure of power.

How devastating to Stalin! To continue to exist politically it became necessary to falsify the history of the Russian Revolution. To usurp the power it became necessary to slander and to persecute

The Death of the Little NRA

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the death of the Guffey Bill. They point to the Supreme Court as the sole culprit and ignore the role of Roosevelt and Congress as accomplices in the crime.

The Triple Play

Thus the Guffey Bill was put out as the result of a triple play between the President, Congress, and the Supreme Court. Rarely has there been a clearer case of the manner in which the executive, legislative, and judicial arms of the government work together to deceive the workers and deprive them of their demands. What the government appears to give the workers with its left hand, it takes away with its right. Roosevelt proposes, Congress enacts, and the Supreme Court disposes.

The American system of bourgeois democracy must operate in this fashion. The President and Congress, being elected officials, are compelled to yield now and then to the pressure of the masses and concede part of their demands. They act as a buffer between the rulers and the ruled. The Supreme Court, appointed for life and practically irremovable, can turn a completely deaf ear to popular clamor. They need listen only to their master's voice.

What Now?

The lesson to be drawn from this decision of the Supreme Court is so clear that even William Green, with rare flash of class-consciousness resembling the last flicker of consciousness in the brain of a dying man, could not miss it. "After all," he said, "we must rely on our own economic strength. If we cannot enact legislation of this kind in an orderly way, we will irresistibly be drawn to use our economic power; that can be done only through complete and thorough organization; the more thorough and complete it is the greater will be our economic power."

Green does not of course intend these words to be taken seriously, but he inadvertently hit upon the right note. Only through their organization and militant action, and not by reliance upon the bounty of the capitalist state, will the miners be able to obtain their demands—and to keep them.

The soft-coal industry is a dying industry. Other sources of power are steadily cutting into its market. The history of the English coal mining industry shows that no amount of regulation or state subsidy can save it from continued decline. The manifold social problems that arise in the lives of the miners out of the decay of the coal industry can only be solved under Socialism.

Meanwhile, the bituminous miners can prevent the operators from relegating them to the scrapheap and from reducing their wages to starvation levels only by the strong, organized and the most unrelenting struggle. The half-million miners in the U.M.W.A. already have enough combined strength to enforce their demands upon the operators in most fields. They need only a correct class struggle policy and a progressive leadership.

New Sitdown At Goodrich

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and dues of twenty-five cents per month.

The next is "The Rubber Club," an organization "made up of persons in all walks of life and . . . interested primarily in promoting civic welfare." The organization, with a fine spirit of thoughtfulness too often lacking in this wicked, commercial world of ours, deplores the sit-downs, and three days ago addressed a plea to the United Rubber Workers of America to "return to the principles of Labor for collective bargaining through accredited representatives and to end mass bargaining and intimidation."

The last organization—at least, at the instant of writing—is a "recreation" club designed to make men out of red apple boys and to beat up trade unionists, who reputedly too often do not rely on formal logic in reasoning with company union members.

In the meanwhile production in the rubber industry is slackening off; the rubber plants have already begun to lay off men. Tension in the plants is acute. In an effort to lessen it the Firestone local is presenting the company with a plan for spreading the work. Should this be refused, or even should it be accepted, no one would dare predict when a new storm will break.

and to bound the "organizer of the October insurrection" and those revolutionists who refuse to relinquish the revolutionary traditions of Bolshevism.

But the truth will out! Already do the Stalinists find it difficult to stuff the cracks. Here and there the real history of October seeps out. Some of the pages of Stalin's "October Revolution," when they reach the contradiction point, simply reek with "counter-revolutionary Trotskyism!"

Jobless Hit Pa. Relief

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Board members, to lead them in the fight.

121 Million Declared Imperative

The conference then got down to business, adopting various resolutions affecting the conditions of the workers, to be brought before the legislature. A relief appropriation of \$121,000,000 against the \$70,000,000 figure proposed by the Democrats under Governor Earle and the \$43,000,000 proposed by the Republicans was declared to be absolutely imperative, on the basis of the cut-to-the-bone budget of 64 cents per person per day, to tide the unemployed over until the beginning of next year. The conference unanimously recommended this figure as an air-tight minimum to the governor and the legislature. The presiding committee was instructed to interview the governor and to demand spokesmen before the legislature, to present the case for the organized unemployed. Committees were also elected to present grievances to the State Emergency Relief Board and to the state WPA administration.

All the delegates—men, women and children—were housed and fed at the expense of the government during their entire three days' siege. The impressive turn-out and the serious conduct of the conference had forced the hand of the administration.

Committee Interviews Earle

On Monday afternoon, the presiding committee was received by Governor Earle for an audience. David Lasser, John Muldowney, Sam Gordon, Charles Spencer and a Negro woman delegate from Philadelphia, Margaret Johnson, argued the case of the unemployed before the chief executive for more than two hours.

The governor was very generous with his typically vague promises and his hypocritical assurances of concern over the plight of the jobless in his state, but would not make any definite commitments. Beneath the thin veneer of his Rooseveltian liberalism penetrated a slightly stronger indicative of the real feelings of this latter-day "friend of the people." Side by side with a portrait of F. D., there was displayed on his mantelpiece, an autographed picture of none other than Engelbert Dollfuss, the butcher of the Austrian workers!

Upon a challenge from delegate Gordon, that the \$70,000,000 figure was woefully insufficient and was not based upon the actual needs of the unemployed, the organizations of the jobless never having been consulted as to their estimates which were based on actual contact with the workers' needs, Mr. Earle in a flurry of excitement offered the WAA delegation a representative on his public committee on unemployment. The delegation finally extracted a promise from him that he would not use the state troopers to molest the demonstrators in any way in the mass meeting they planned at the state house in the evening.

Crowd Swarms Legislature

At 6:30 the huge delegation lined up in front of the Farm Show Building and, headed by the officers paraded through the streets of Harrisburg down to the state house. Lester Heckman, of Allentown, presided over the open air demonstration that was staged there and at which David Lasser and numerous other speakers addressed the crowd which had by then swelled to several thousand. A spokesman for the presiding committee rose on the improvised platform to inform the gathering that both houses of the legislature had been petitioned to hold a joint session and to hear the leaders of the WAA. He announced that both houses had agreed to submit to the request and the crowd thereupon streamed en masse into the galleries.

Lieutenant Governor Thomas Kennedy opened the joint session shortly thereafter and called upon John Muldowney, the chairman of the delegation, to introduce the spokesmen. Muldowney warned the legislators that unless they provided for adequate relief, unemployed steel workers and silk workers would follow the example of the unemployed miners and start up bootleg steel mills and silk mills just as the coal-diggers had started up bootleg mines.

Demands 6 Billion Appropriation

He was followed by Charles Sandwick. Sandwick urged the representatives and Senators to memorialize congress for the passage of the Marcanonio Relief Standards Bill, which provides for a \$6,000,000 appropriation to aid in subsidizing state relief and WPA agencies. Sandwick gave some telling arguments for this measure from the experience of the unemployed in the state.

Margaret Johnson, a young Negroess from Philadelphia, told the joint session of the tremendous sufferings, the discrimination and the intolerance which the workers and the unemployed of her race were subjected to and warned the legislators that the Negro people of the state were watching their action alertly, and that they would draw their conclusions soon enough.

Sam Gordon, the secretary of the delegation, startled the fat-bellied

A Lexicon of Revolution

(Continued from Page 1)

This book is no abstract thesis on the impossibility of socialism in one country. It is, rather, a richly concrete history of the Communist movement both inside and outside Russia from 1923 to 1928. In order to illumine his criticism of Stalin-Bukharin's draft programme for the Comintern, then about to be "submitted" and adopted by the Sixth Congress of the C.I. in 1928, Trotsky found it necessary to tell the story of the major events of the years since Lenin died. The story of the circumstances surrounding the failure to make the German revolution in 1923; the tale of the preposterous Peasant International created by Stalin and which disappeared without even an obituary; the American Farmer-Labor party fiasco of 1924; the Stalinist alliance with the British trade union bureaucracy—Purcell and Cook were going to defend the Soviet Union but instead the prestige of the Soviet Union covered Purcell and Cook's betrayal of the British General Strike; the development of the Stalinist bureaucracy, leaning for support on the backward peasantry—all this is clearly sketched. The forty pages of explanatory notes round out the historical detail so that a newcomer to the revolutionary movement can follow the argument understandingly.

Special mention must be made of the "Summary and Perspectives of the Chinese Revolution" which, together with the explanatory historical notes, provides the reader with a succinct introduction to the whole history of the Chinese movement from 1923 to the present time. The general features of the history of the Communist International since 1928 are given in Max Shachtman's fifty-page introduction, so that this 400 page book can serve as an introduction to the history of the Comintern up to the present time. Indeed, until the further volumes of this series of "Selected Works of Leon Trotsky" are published, this first volume will remain the best study of the Communist movement that has yet appeared.

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Rebel at Slave Wage in South

(Continued from Page 1)

H. L. Mitchell, Executive Secretary, Box 5815, Memphis, Tenn.

There can be no doubt that once this strike gets under way, lynch law and mob violence will become a daily routine of the planters to crush the sharecroppers. This terror will be organized in the bailiwick and with the connivance of Joseph P. Robinson, Roosevelt's whip in the Senate. A significant commentary indeed on the policy of Lewis, Green, Dubinsky, et al who support Roosevelt because of his liberalism! And also, by the way, on the Daily Worker, which ascribes all of Roosevelt's reactionary moves to "pressure from Wall Street!"

Senators and representatives with a cutting remark that "boondoggling" was hard work compared to the insipid conduct of which they were guilty in their so-called work. Speaking over their heads to the gallery, he hailed the example of the Allentown WPA strikers last month, who, disgusted with the antics of the capitalist parties had marched down to the courthouse in a body from their picketlines to register Socialist. He warned that unless they took immediate action to break the legislative deadlock that was threatening the unemployed with starvation, thousands more would be called into the capitol.

David Lasser, speaking for the national organization of the Workers Alliance, wound up the presentation with a picture of WAA actions in Illinois, Wisconsin, New Jersey and St. Louis, assuring the politicians that the national organization was wholeheartedly behind this Pennsylvania demonstration and that the WAA would back the unemployed of the state to the limit in their fight for adequate relief and against their criminal petty policies.

The session was concluded amidst a volley of cheers from the unemployed, who filled the gallery to the rafters.

The next day both the house and the senate voted for an immediate appropriation of \$3,300,000 to prevent the shutting off of relief, before continuing their debate on the larger figure for the balance of the year.

The delegates returned to their homes inspired by their achievement but conscious of the fact that mass action was needed more than ever to provide adequate relief. They pledged their determination to continue rallying the masses of jobless back home and to prepare them for emergency action.

Steps are now under way to set up a state organization of the unemployed units affiliated with the national office of the Workers Alliance.

Whitewash Lynchers in Tampa Flogging Trial

BARTOW, Fla., May 17—The first smear of whitewash was applied to the Tampa floggings Saturday when Judge Robert T. Dewell ordered the acquittal of R. G. Tittsworth, former chief of police, and Robert Chappell "for lack of evidence" and threw out three of the four counts in the information.

The defense motion for a directed verdict of not guilty for the other five defendants, made by Pat Whitaker immediately after the state rested Tuesday, was denied.

The counts knocked out by the judge are conspiracy to imprison falsely, false imprisonment and conspiracy to kidnap. The charge of kidnapping Eugene F. Poulnot, Chairman of the Florida Workers Alliance, remains.

The defense is not expected to take more than two days to present its side. The case will probably go to the jury this week.

The indictments against Chappell as a principal and Tittsworth as an accessory in the false imprisonment and kidnapping of Dr. Sam J. Rogers and in the second degree murder of Joseph A. Shoemaker, still stand. The freeing of Tittsworth, who was on trial as accessory after the fact, followed Judge Dewell's refusal to admit damaging testimony against the former police chief and was in the face of vital evidence that had been admitted earlier in the trial.

"Shirking His Duty"

Whitaker, during the course of the two-day argument on his motion, contended that the information was "fatally defective" because it failed to specify secret intent as provided in the Florida statute on which the charges were based.

The information was drawn by Hillsborough County Solicitor C. Jay Hardee whose removal was recommended recently by a grand jury on the grounds that he is using bling ring and "is guilty of shirking his duty" in the floggings cases.

Hardee was chief assistant to State Attorney J. Rex Farrior during the preparation of the case and during the unsuccessful attempt to obtain a jury in Hillsborough County. From the beginning, however, he has been regarded unfriendly to the prosecution.

The alleged defectiveness of Hardee's information need not be ascribed to ignorance or accident. Faulty informations which are thrown out by the trial judge are a standard device used here to protect paying or powerful criminals and at the same time permit the prosecuting attorney to go through the motions and avoid criticism.

Governor Dave Sholtz has refused to act on the 17 specific grand jury accusations against Hardee under the general charge "incompetency, malfeasance and misfeasance in office and neglect of duty." He has announced he will "let the people decide" through the Democratic primary elections in which Hardee is running for renomination.

State Often Overruled

The state spent its last week in a futile effort to get before the jury some vital testimony against Tittsworth. Whitaker made long frequent and impassioned objections to admitting this evidence. The court sustained him on the ground that "no sufficient overt act" had been established as to Tittsworth.

The testimony ruled out included conversations held by Tittsworth with Matt C. Beasley, assistant chief of detectives, and H. L. Russell, a former policeman.

Beasley testified that Tittsworth had tried to get him to say that he had received a telephone call which led him to order defendant Smitty Brown and his men to raid the meeting of Modern Democrats at the Herald home.

Russell testified that when he told Tittsworth that he was withholding the truth from the state attorney and was afraid of getting into trouble, his chief told him that he could not help him if he changed his story and advised him to "stick to" his original lies.

Refuses to Testify

One of the state's last witnesses was Manuel Menendez, Tittsworth's former stenographer who is also under indictment as accessory after the fact but against whom charges have not yet been pressed. On Whitaker's advice, Menendez declined to testify because he might have incriminated himself. Judge Dewell did not even allow Menendez's refusal to testify to be made before the jury.

The fact that such testimony against Tittsworth was inadmissible because "no sufficient overt act" had been established was apparently an afterthought with Judge Dewell. He had already permitted much damaging evidence against Titt-

worth to get before the jury over Whitaker's objections.

He allowed W. D. Bush, chief of detectives, to testify that when he told Tittsworth what he knew about police participation in the kidnapping, Tittsworth "blowed up, told me not to let it get to the Mayor and that was the end of it right there."

The judge also permitted Lieut. J. L. Eddings to tell the jury that Tittsworth had assured him that he did not think Poulnot and Rogers had been flogged and if they had, "it was probably no more than they deserved anyway."

The jury also heard a series of witnesses tell how the badge number of defendant John P. Bridges was changed from 39 to 140 after Tittsworth had learned that the state attorney had evidence that a policeman answering Bridge's description and wearing badge number 39 was involved in the kidnapping.

Other policemen testified that, although Tittsworth knew they were on duty the night of the kidnapping, they had never been questioned by him about what they saw or knew.

The Bull's Hunch

In the meantime, the testimony revealed, Tittsworth was writing a letter to Mayor Chancy in which he exonerated the police and suggested that Poulnot and Rogers themselves murdered Shoemaker and also making a public statement declaring that his "own investigation" had "conclusively established" that the police were innocent.

Tittsworth's acquittal in the face of this mass of evidence indicates that, as one of the "higher ups," he testified had revealed that Smitty received special protection. The Brown, ex-trial sergeant who led "the boys" in the raid, was Tittsworth's pet in the department.

Police witnesses also testified that traffic cops had never before made any raids and that it was unusual for them to be in the police station at all on a busy Saturday night when traffic is heaviest. The raid occurred on a Saturday night.

Obviously the arrests and the kidnapping were not Smitty Brown's own idea. Tampa is now asked to believe that Tittsworth—Brown's boss and mentor—did not know what his protégé was up to.

The state closed its case after four weeks of testimony by 34 witnesses without once touching the question: "Who ordered this whole thing done?"

The state's evidence against all defendants except Chappell is overwhelming. Even Chappell, who was freed with Tittsworth, was identified among those who arrived at the police station with the arrested Modern Democrats and among the men standing outside while Poulnot was being kidnapped.

But these defendants, with the exception of Tittsworth, are small fry. Behind them are the citrus growers with their machine guns and barbed wire, the phosphate corporations and their convenient, water-filled pits, the shipping magnates and their stool-pigeons, the crooked politicians and their gambling gunmen.

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France--the Last Week Before the War

By A. Rosmer

The last week of July 1914 was the last week of peace, the last week also of an era in the life and the history of Europe and of the world.

The ultimatum of the Austro-Hungarian Government was served on Serbia on Friday, July 24. The French newspapers published it and commented on it the next day, Saturday the 25th. The *Bataille Syndicaliste* (organ of the C.G.T.—Ed.) gave it the importance that it deserved; a three-column spread announced: "The ultimatum of Austria to Serbia. The Viennese Government wants to impose humiliating conditions on Belgrade. If Serbia refuses, it means war, and then..." The article stressed the gravity of this new phase of the conflict and emphasized the inevitable character of the European complications which would follow. It drew no conclusions.

In the same edition a prominent position was given to the "Russian strikes" under the heading: "The riots continue. Repression has begun."

The next day's edition, Sunday, July 26, was of paramount importance; it provided the conclusions which were missing from the article of the day before and provided them in the name of the C.G.T. (The trade union federation—Ed.). First a boxed head over the first two columns under the caption:

"WE DON'T WANT WAR"

and the text:

"The decisions of the federal congress on the attitude of the working class in case of war become operative at the moment war is declared."

"... In such a case the declaration of war should be the signal for every worker to immediately stop work."

"... To every declaration of war the workers should immediately reply with a revolutionary general strike."

(Extract from the resolution adopted by the Special Conference of Central Labor Unions and Federations, Oct. 1, 1911.)

Youth Against War

During this last part of the month of July when the war danger suddenly reappeared, the Jeuneuses Syndicalistes decided to call their members once more to demonstrate against the military parades of Saturday the 25th. In the morning *Bataille Syndicaliste* published their appeal and in the evening there were more demonstrations. The *Bataille Syndicaliste* reported them as follows on Sunday:

"THE MILITARY PARADES PROVOKE INCIDENTS"

"Cries of Down with War!"

"The military maneuvers provoked incidents last evening to which the present situation gave an especial importance."

"After a year's truce, the Jeuneuses Syndicalistes have called on their members to demonstrate when the military parades passed over to the right bank."

"On one side the shouts were raised: Long live the Republic! Long live Calliaux! Down with war! Down with the three years military service! On the other: Long live the army! After the demonstration, the Jeuneuses Syndicalistes, reinforced by numerous spectators, demonstrated on the Boulevards."

But during Sunday, other demonstrators, several thousand in number, marched along the Boulevards shouting: "Long live the army! Long live the War! On to Berlin! On to Berlin!" The Seine Trade Union Federation, and the *Bataille Syndicaliste* decided to reply immediately. They called on the Parisian workers to come out on the streets in their turn and assemble before the offices of *Matin*, a newspaper especially hated by the workers and the one which at that time most cynically pushed on toward war. The *Bataille Syndicaliste* renewed the appeal in a special edition printed during the afternoon and sold by newsboys in the working class sections of the city after 5 P.M.:

"ANSWER THE JINGOES"

"On to the Streets Tonight"

"Everything isn't settled yet; the die is not yet cast; but as things are now, only a blunder or a rash move is needed to precipitate the catastrophe."

"... War... is the unleashing of every hideous instinct, the bloodiest, vilest and basest instincts. Read the reports of the correspondents on the atrocities committed in the course of the last Balkan war. Remember the women raped and disemboweled, the old men and children mutilated, their fingers and ears cut off, their eyes gouged out, villages burned and the piles of decomposing corpses abandoned in the open to the flies and vultures!"

"Those corpses, tomorrow, it will be you!"

"Those women, those children, those old men, tomorrow they will be you!"

"That is war!"

"And that is what the bandits on the Boulevards have been hailing for the last two days."

"And that, mind you, solely because some Serbian peasants and some Austrian soldiers are quarreling and will come to grips."

"So! Unless we are either crazy or corrupt; unless we want to see our country throw itself in a few hours into the worst imaginable adventure; if, comrade, you do not want to be torn from the arms of your family to be led into the East to the firing line, the people of Paris must be immediately aroused. This is an emergency. If these criminal fools, who cry: 'Long live war!' are not silenced this very evening then the end has come."

"Tomorrow We Will be Mobilized!"

"It is the duty of all our readers, of all our friends, of all the trade unionists of Paris, of all the friends of peace to come!"

"This Evening After 9 o'clock on the main streets opposite the offices of *Matin*."

"And everyone shouting, 'Down with War!'"

"Relève, Montmartre, St. Antoine, Montparnasse, remember your heroic traditions. Let the streaming masses from the faubourgs flood the centers of the city and submerge these imbecile and jingo provocations."

"That is our only hope of peace. That is our only salvation."

"That is our last hope of avoiding the catastrophe; let us save ourselves while there is still time."

"Time presses."

"Until this evening!"

"—*Bataille Syndicaliste*."

Finally the District Committee was convoked for the next Thursday:

"Meeting of the District Committee, joint meeting of both sections, Thursday, July 30, 9 P.M. 33 Rue la Grange aux Belles. Agenda: the international situation."

"(signed) Jouhaux, Sec'y."

The Violence of "Democracy"

These appeals were heard. From 9 o'clock until midnight that Monday an enormous crowd flowed ceaselessly through the Boulevards. Extraordinary numbers of police were mobilized; the tactic of the chief of police was to protect the offices of *Matin* (in anticipation of a working class assault, a hundred police agents had been stationed inside the "red house"), and, by police cordons, established in each of the streets leading to the Boulevards, to prevent the formation of a single mass demonstration by checking the flow of new arrivals. But the workers who came from the faubourgs into the centers of the city were so numerous that the tactics of the police produced unexpected results: there were soon as many demonstrations as there were streets. The violence and brutality of the police could not dampen the fighting spirit of these crowds; all evening the cry of "down with war!" resounded from the Opera to the Place de la République. The following lines summed up the report—an accurate report by a certain J—, which the *Bataille Syndicaliste* gave of the demonstration:

"The government officials? Ah! the great apostles of democracy! They were pacifists at election time. Yesterday they opposed to Paris' will for peace the sabres of the police and the guns of the Gardes Mobiles. It was their first step toward war. Yes, they are mobilizing, but mobilizing the police against the workers... Their first victory... No, they were not victorious..."

Most of the Tuesday, July 28 issue was devoted to this demonstration. The front page bore the streamer: "The People Rise Up Against the War."

Then a four-column head:

"PARIS WANTS NO SLAUGHTER"

"It proved it yesterday evening. There were demonstrations everywhere yesterday evening in the teeming sections of Paris. The great boulevards were jammed. Officers and jingoes were warned. The police charged violently against the demonstrators who shouted: Long live peace! Down with war!"

The report was preceded by an article entitled: "First notice," whose importance was indicated by the signature of the Bureau of the C.G.T. and the Union des Syndicats. The following is the text:

"Yesterday morning the *Bataille Syndicaliste* in its own name and in the name of trade union organizations called upon the people of Paris to demonstrate the same evening against the threat of war. A special edition appearing at five o'clock repeated the urgent appeal of the morning."

"And yesterday evening at eight o'clock up to the time of this writing, despite the police, one hundred thousand, two hundred thousand—who can estimate such a crowd?—of the workers of Paris demonstrated on the great boulevards with constant shouts of: Down with war! Long live peace!"

"... This is the first warning given to the rulers of France who from now on are informed of the

CONFUSION has its roots in ignorance, and the widespread confusion of the present day on the burning problem of war is in large measure due to ignorance not only of revolutionary policy but of the past. This condition can be principally traced to the studied, seditious, systematic dissemination of false information and interpretation by the social-patriots. A disoriented working class, nurtured on lies, is pliant material for the militarists in time of war. To create such a condition is the special job of social patriots.

What is the lesson of the World War? To read or listen to the Stalinists, reformists or pacifists one would gather that it was a terrible calamity, destroying wealth, body and soul, and that is all. That the World War shattered besides material treasures and the lives of millions of human beings, the policies of the leading circle of the working class movement, is carefully avoided in their press and literature. Why? Because these very same policies, with differences only in degree and emphasis, are being practiced and advocated in the labor movement today. Disaster for the working class followed in the wake of these policies in 1914-1918; blindfolded, it was led to the imperialist slaughter, while at home the iron heel of capitalist dictatorship made a mockery of the shibboleths they were dying for on the battlefields. Certain as death itself the same policies today will lead to the same tragic results.

The imminence of another war, no longer considered even by the skeptical as a fantastic prediction of panic-mongers, makes it imperative that we, the revolutionists, the class-conscious workers, study and assimilate the real lessons of the first World War—imperative if we are not to be caught unawares, with the war coming as an unexpected shock. For this reason we are devoting an entire issue of the NEW MILITANT to a chapter of Alfred Rosmer's invaluable book, recently published in France, *Le Mouvement Ouvrier Pendant la Guerre—De l'Union Sacrée à Zimmerwald* (The Workers' Movement during the War—From Civil Peace to Zimmerwald). This chap-

ter dealing with the last week before the war in France, describes in detail the reaction of the trade union movement to the problems raised by the war crisis. In it we note the gradual but perceptible metamorphosis of the outstanding leaders, some of whom, like Jouhaux, are still at the head of the trade unions of France and still advocating the same policies.

Beginning with loud pacifist pronouncements, with threats of general strike, with telegrams of international solidarity and even the organization of huge anti-war demonstrations, their position begins to veer the moment war is unleashed. The call for a general strike is forgotten, and how else could it be, as the leaders begin to explain: "We have done everything in our power..." then a complaint against the working class "for not understanding its duty" and finally the acceptance of the war as an accomplished fact: "It is odious, it is atrocious, it is unbelievable..." but it is... With this, the treacherous leaders wash their hands of all struggle against war, may more, they join in the struggle for the victory of the capitalist fatherland they inveighed against in vague rhetorical flourishes the day before. But the ground is even then tested cautiously through a patriotic remark at the Emperor Franz-Josef. From this point on the social patriots grow bolder. The working class is exhorted to "leave the front without bitterness," to die not for their capitalist fatherland but for the "revolution" (Modern version: democracy, the Soviet Union). The outstanding trade union leader enters the unholy coalition of class peace and advises the capitalist class as to how to induce passivity and quiet in the working class and how to profit most from the imperialist war.

Rosmer's book deals only with the French labor movement, but it can be applied almost in detail to those of almost every other country before and during the fatal years of 1914-1918. Above all, it can and must be applied today. The events of the last world war must become an integral part of the revolutionary arsenal. Only by learning the errors and crimes of yesterday can we be strong today and tomorrow.

hood of the Etiole. All the neighboring subway stations were closed at seven o'clock. But the workers who, because of the late hour at which the government decision was made and posted, could not be prevented from arriving from all parts of the city in large numbers. All those who asked for an explanation were immediately beaten up, slugged, arrested, and jailed. *Bataille Syndicaliste* wrote that the garb of a worker sufficed to provoke a beating by the police. From which the newspaper concluded: "Wherever the workers, there the enemy." Despite this show of police force and the brutal orders conscientiously executed, crowds gathered around even the Etiole and the Place des Ternes, which soon became the scene of bloody encounters. This quarter of Paris kept seething the entire evening.

Bataille Syndicaliste of Thursday, July 30, carried the following streamer: "... Down with war... despite everything!"

The government did not stop with this brutal prohibition of anti-war meetings and demonstrations; it methodically prepared the minds of the people for war and its acceptance. In these critical days it practiced special technique through the medium of the venal press which alternately blew hot and cold: one day it was war, the next day peace. In Paris the rhythm was even more rapid; on the same day they passed successively from war to peace. By this method the people were rapidly whipped up to a frenzy. On Wednesday, panic was already in the air. There was a run on the banks and on the savings banks and gold was universally demanded in place of bank notes.

The B.S. for Thursday reported the incidents of the panic under the following caption:

"LET THEM STOP AND THINK"

"A day of anxiety. The government could find only one solution to the international crisis: prepare the repression against the working class."

"This is undoubtedly the guarantee demanded by the Czar, 'our friend and ally.'"

"Such measures will save neither national independence, if it were endangered, nor the little statesmen who want to plunge the country into the most catastrophic of adventures."

"The workers have shown their sentiment by the demonstrations on the Boulevards; our ministers know today what they must count with."

"The will of the people is clearly against the slaughter."

"Wee to those who ignore this today!"

"Wee to the perpetrators of the slaughter and savagery!"

"Wee to the powers that be!"

"The working class alone will decide the fate of these criminal megalomaniacs. Before, during or after the massacre."

"Let them take warning before the die is cast."

—B.S.

Jaures Assassinated

Friday evening, July 31. The Confederal Committee was meeting. On its agenda was the organization and preparation of a new and powerful demonstration against the war which would take place simultaneously in Paris and in all the large cities of France. Suddenly the telephone rang, interrupting the deliberations. Jaures had just been assassinated! The discussion was

hastily terminated, inasmuch as Jouhaux, Merheim and other members rushed to the offices of *PHUMANITE*. When they arrived there, rue Montmartre was thronged with a vast multitude of agitated workers shocked by the horrible news. But there was not alone grief among them, there was also anger and a desire for vengeance. Their number was constantly swelling. The Socialist leaders assembled at this time no doubt feared reprisals against the perpetrators of the crime, all of whom were well known, because a voice from one of the windows of the offices of the paper was suddenly heard urging calm. The multitude of workers dispersed slowly, very slowly; late into the night many groups still remained discussing. But the crime was to go unpunished.

Saturday, August 1, *Bataille Syndicaliste* drew the following balance sheet of this fatal day:

"A DAY OF TRAGEDY"

"Mobilization Rumored; Jaures Assassinated."

Under the heading: "A monstrous crime," the paper wrote: "What a sinister omen in this martyred death!" Then Leon Jouhaux:

"NO HYSTERIA"

"The hour is grave, but not desperate. The cause of peace has still numerous friends in the world, and the working class of all countries are acting in a common thought: to avert the armed clash."

"Above all we must guard ourselves against panic and hysteria, which lead to the worst results."

"... Our duty is to attentively scan the news we receive without however placing unlimited trust upon it."

"The confederal Committee will call popular demonstrations, in Paris and in the provinces."

On its part the Confederal Committee had adopted the following agenda:

"The Confederal Committee, meeting on Friday, July 31, resolves in view of the international situation, to organize in agreement with the Socialist Party a great international demonstration against war on August 2."

dispatch from Strassbourg relating to Socialist activity in Alsace-Lorraine:

"STRASSBOURG, July 31.—The Socialist Party has organized protest meetings against war and against the threat of a universal conflagration in the great cities of Alsace. A meeting was held yesterday evening at Mulhouse and this evening others will be held at Strassbourg, Mulhouse and Colmar. Meetings are also scheduled in the less important centers."

It also makes mention of international working class action. Legien had sent a telegram to the C.G.T.; Jouhaux replied to him. Here it is as published in the B.S.:

"INTERNATIONAL WORKING CLASS ACTION"

"In reply to a telegram from comrade Legien, secretary of the International Secretariat, requesting the opinion of the C.G.T. on the present situation, the Confederal Bureau addressed the following telegram to him:

"Legien, Engel Uter (15 Berlin). 'French Federation of Labor resolutely against war, demands international proletarian intervention by pressure on governments to obtain a localization of the conflict. 'Peace is possible, and must triumph, if the workers organized internationally remain united in the same thought: opposition to all conflagration.'"

"This peace lies in the hands of the international working class, if it proves equal to the peril."

"Here pacifist demonstrations are continuing. We firmly believe in peace because we are energetically resolved to avert war."

"Down with war! Long live peace guaranteed by the Labor International."

"Jouhaux."

The systematic campaign of demoralization of the masses by the circulation of false news continued. On the 28th the newspapers announced the assassination of the German representative in Belgrade.

Jaures had been assassinated on Friday, July 31 at about 10 P.M. Saturday, August 1, the order of general mobilization was already posted at four in the afternoon, which set the first day of mobilization for Sunday morning. While the Socialists and syndicalists prepared their new demonstrations against war, the war makers had Jaures struck down by a hired thug, and the government, which continued to declare that it wanted peace and that it was making all efforts to avert war, had decided for the general mobilization. It only remained for Poincare to cynically declare that "mobilization is not yet war," although he knew only too well that the Russian general mobilization, begun on the 31, in the early hours of the day, made the universal conflagration inevitable.

But Poincare's lie deceived no one. Mobilization is war. *Bataille Syndicaliste* announced it in its issue of Sunday, August 2 in this streamer: "Folly triumphs over reason."

"Today, it is still in our minds that we will draw upon indispensable forces. In the name of those who are about to depart—myself among them—I declare that it is not hatred of the German people which drives us to the battle fields, it is hatred of German imperialism."

"The editor of B.S. adds in his story:

"Tumultuous applause. Emotion was at its zenith. People wept. M. Maurice Barres applauded vigorously and said to one of his neighbors: 'Very good! Very good!' one senator, a bitter enemy of the C.O.T., cried out: 'And to think that these are the men we wanted to clap in jail!'"

In the B.S. of Thursday, Aug. 6, a new explanation of the war is given in an unsigned but prominently placed article:

"... FROM THE CLASH OF LIBERTY LET LIBERTY SPRING FORTH"

"... In the present conflict the ethical question has its importance. The Germans whose blood is of a coarser strain and therefore more submissive and resigned in spirit, have not our spirit of independence."

Nevertheless the anonymous author will say in his conclusion that it is only the "proud and ferocious clique" which must be conquered.

On Friday, August 7, in an article entitled: "Humanity! Justice!" Ch. Malotia recommends tact to the foreign anarchists and Socialists residing in France, and discernment to the government which had somewhat indiscriminately imprisoned several."

On August 8, another new recruit, Charles Albert, who will become a regular and prolific contributor. Here are the principal passages of his first article:

"DEPART WITHOUT BITTERNESS"

"Immense hopes, incalculable hopes are rising in the world."

"... Depart without bitterness, without regret, comrade workers, you who are being called to the front to defend French soil."

"Depart without bitterness, leave without any mental reservations, comrade workers. It is for the revolution you are going to fight."

"And should you fall, all those closest to you who remain, both young and old, whose hour has not

yet come when the peoples will have more confidence in it and will give it strength, when it will constitute the only safeguard of Peace and Civilization."

(Continued on Page 4)

In an article entitled: "Malediction!" *Bataille Syndicaliste* inveighs not so much against the war to general as the Emperor of Austria in particular. This unexpected malediction occurs in the last line of the article.

"MALEDICTION"

"Weeping!"

"Weeping!"

"Weeping!"

"... A rain of tears is falling upon the city."

"... It is the general mobilization!"

"... May the monstrous crime which is to plunge all of Europe into barbarism, into the abyss of black mourning and ruin be punished."

"May the thrones tumble, may the crowns fall!"

"The will of the people has been violated, imperialism is the criminal that has unleashed the tempest."

"... But if it must be, if the catastrophe is inevitable, if the force of the workers for peace was valiant but futile to save their honor, oh! then may the very extent of the evil consummated arise to annihilate stifling militarism!"

"May this be the end of the nightmare!"

"And a curse upon the name of the senile Emperor Franz-Josef!"

Throughout Sunday, the first day's conscripts were entrained to join their regiments. During this time, the people left behind, undoubtedly looking for booty, sacked the "boches" shops, and abandoned themselves also, here, there and everywhere, "spy hunts." The Confederal Committee held a brief meeting in the early afternoon. Monday's *Bataille Syndicaliste* said nothing about it. The leading article, captioned "The Irreparable," is signed B.S.:

"The irreparable has now occurred."

"... The European war is unleashed."

"The spirit still refuses to believe this."

"Nevertheless, it is only too true, this catastrophe which shatters our lives and our spirits, recalls us back to our sense of duty, fastens it to those conceptions to us which we want to erase, crush all our past efforts."

"It is atrocious, it is odious, it is unbelievable."

"But it is..."

"Social-Patriotism"

Of the speeches made at the funeral of Jaures, that of Jouhaux alone must be retained here. The B.S. for Wednesday, August 5, prints long extracts. Jouhaux first explained why the working class loved Jaures, then he cried:

"Today, it is still in our minds that we will draw upon indispensable forces. In the name of those who are about to depart—myself among them—I declare that it is not hatred of the German people which drives us to the battle fields, it is hatred of German imperialism."

"The editor of B.S. adds in his story:

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(Continued on Page 4)

OLSON'S CONFAB A ROOSEVELT RALLY

Farmer-Labor Party Is Ruse for Political Trades

By ARNE SWABECK

"The date"—Governor Olson's conference at Chicago, May 30-31, to explore the possibilities of a national farmer-labor party—"may prove to be a landmark in the history of independent political action and the great battle for the rights and welfare of the American people." So says the Daily Worker. Governor Olson himself could not have said it better.

Should there be any doubt of this prophecy, let us recall the example of the Illinois coal miner. He meant well. During the period in which the National Miners Union was created, he had read in the Daily Worker about the various history-making conferences and when his turn came to attend one of them he arose solemnly just before the hour of adjournment to propose: "Mr. Chairman, I move you that this conference go down in history."

Mr. Olson's Record

Certainly the political developments that preceded this conference invest it with an unusual importance, though most likely in the opposite sense of the prophecy mentioned above. A sufficiently wide variety of representatives of the common people, so-called, are invited to give it an appearance of a new movement. But the significance to the working class of such movements, whether new in reality or in appearance, depend entirely on their political direction. And it should not be difficult even at this time to form an estimate of what role history will assign to Governor Olson's conference based on the position of the various forces that will be represented.

The actual sponsors are made up of a combination of the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party, including Governor Olson and Mayor Lattimer, and Stalinist leaders of the official party and stooge organiza-

tions. This is the leadership. It should hardly be necessary to remind our readers of the despicable role played by Governor Olson during the strike of local 574 when he declared martial law and had his soldiers throw the strike leaders into the stockade, not to mention the police assaults, under the direction of Mayor Lattimer, upon the Strutwear strikers and upon the strikers of the Flower Mill Iron Works. The whole history of the Minnesota F.L.P. leadership is one of disreputable deals with the Democratic Party. In the last election Governor Olson's party lost its control of both branches of the state legislature. It is therefore with the fear in mind of a further possible loss that the Minnesota F.L.P. leaders have set out to utilize their present unique opportunity of combining a step toward extending their own third party experiences to a national scale with a much bigger deal for support of Roosevelt, all of which is expected to bring returns in a greater popularity at home.

Who Will Be There?

Who will attend the Chicago conference? There will be serious trade union elements like Schlossberg and Gorman, the "outstanding trade union champion for a labor party," according to the Daily Worker, Heywood Brown, for whom Morris Hillquit once said that Socialism was such a nice novelty, will be there; liberals, amateur radicals and third parties will attend, together with a good sprinkling of Stalinists and their stooges; Non-Partisan Leagues from North Dakota; Farmer-Labor Progressives from Wisconsin; Farmers Holiday people; Epic Democrats, Knickerbocker Democrats and Townsend people who will support anything with pensions in it; Social Crediters, Share-Our-Wealthers and

Anti-Fascist Leaguers. What will this motley gathering do?

Browder says: "The conference has the opportunity of working out a program which will be a clear guide for the growing sentiment in the United States for a national Farmer-Labor Party." But the main forces in this gathering are prepared to make their deal with Roosevelt. The trade unions that are now generally listed in the progressive category are committed to support Roosevelt's re-election. Commitments in this case means more than support of the person or the individual; it means support of his program and support of his national ticket.

Will Back Roosevelt

The Chicago conference will not consider a national third party ticket. Naturally! Why should it? The old method of parliamentary deals still holds true and the Democratic Party will decide the national ticket. But, as has already been amply demonstrated by experience, a Farmer-Labor Party is essentially an institution of parliamentarism. So also in this case. The monetary maneuvers and election acrobatics of these elections in these elections is the presidential ticket; the standard bearer and his platform determines the character of the election campaign and of the governmental administration after the election victory is achieved. Anything that comes out of this conference can therefore in no sense be anything else in reality but an adjunct to the Roosevelt re-election campaign.

Browder cannot possibly have any illusions on this question. Evidently, he sees no conflict between the Roosevelt and the Farmer-Labor Party sentiment. And how could there really be any according to his people's front Farmer-Labor Party conception. He says: "We must collaborate organizationally and politically with those who are committed to the support of Roosevelt in 1936." To collaborate organizationally and politically is a very broad promise. It has all the possibilities of a real national union of

the so-called common people behind Roosevelt. Given the premise that already exists and reinforced by the Stalinist people's front ideology, it could hardly have any other outcome. It is therefore only in this sense that the clear guide which Browder seeks from Governor Olson's conference can have any meaning. And this is all to be put over in the name of the fight against reaction.

Browder Protects Statue of Liberty

These forces of reaction, proclaims the Daily Worker, "have drawn close together to hurl the Statue of Liberty into New York Bay." Next we will be informed, in tones trembling with indignation, that these same forces will attempt to bury the stars and stripes beneath it.

"We must make the masses of the country understand," says Browder, "that the victory of the Republican Party-Liberty League-earliest combination would throw power on to the side of the war makers." By this the masses are also to be made to understand that Roosevelt and his party are not amongst the war makers. What a frightful delusion and deception of these masses of whom Browder speaks with such a glib tongue. Or, could Browder's statement possibly have some other meaning? No, it is clear that these masses are to forget this year's gigantic military budget mounting up to more than one billion dollars, for, says Browder: "We would not do or say anything that would tend to turn Roosevelt support over to the Republican candidate. We distinguish between twins. Even twins are not identical."

Roosevelt's War Program

Certainly twins are not identical. But it is very important to know the difference as measured by time, place and objective conditions. Such an estimate will place Roosevelt as a much more effective and a much more progressive defender of capitalism and all that it stands for than the old fashioned reactionaries. Roosevelt's program, when stripped of its demagogic and verbiage, is clearly a program for more effective and more up-to-date collaboration in order to prepare the home basis for a new onslaught on the world market, for new con-

quests, economic, political and military. The gigantic army and navy appropriations sponsored by Roosevelt can be understood only in this light.

But the Stalinists are not going to "do or say anything that would tend to turn Roosevelt support over to the Republican candidate." This cannot mean anything else than no opposition to Roosevelt and the conducting of the election campaign in such a manner that votes will be garnered for Roosevelt regardless of whether or not the C. P. goes through the formality of nominating its own candidates, for, as we have seen from the statements of Browder, any other policy would bring the forces of reaction down upon us and "hurl the Statue of Liberty into New York Bay."

The Great Deception

What a dastardly deception and delusion of the working masses is being here perpetrated in the name of the campaign for a Farmer-Labor Party. And this is at a particular time and under objective conditions in which certain masses have actually begun to enter a process of awakening, when signs are manifest that point toward a beginning of political consciousness. This is the time and place and condition demanding above all clear and precise efforts toward education of the masses for the needs of a new social order—for the needs of a persistent and tenacious struggle for Socialism.

In view of this situation what can Governor Olson's conference do? Does this general situation not mean in reality that even the idea of a national Farmer-Labor Party is already shelved for 1936? Appearance and reality after all are two different things. In this particular situation it will be found so much more to be the case. Whatever Farmer-Labor Party proclamations may be forthcoming from this conference, such would really be nothing else but a new way, at least for some parts of the country, to corral support behind the Roosevelt standard.

Apparently the open betrayal of the political class interests of the working masses does not even wait for the actual formation of a reformist Farmer-Labor Party.

WORLD OF LABOR

Labor Party Leaders Vote Arms Budget in Belgium; Anti-Semitic Riots in Poland

BELGIUM

This column has already carried the story of the predicament that befell the leaders of the Belgian Labor Party, practically on the eve of the parliamentary elections. These leaders had vowed, and written into their platform that they would oppose any increases in the military budget, or in the military term of service; and they entered the Ministry, after they were assured that they need have no fears on the question of any increases, etc. Then the Minister of War proceeded to demand additional millions for defense and an increased term of service. These demands were approved by the Socialist ministers, who were then left in need of a proper formula to cover up their brazen treachery.

The new election platform prepared for the coming June elections is the concentrated essence of jesuitism and gall, which runs second only to that of the Stalinists . . . from whom the Belgian Laborists have evidently learned a good deal in recent days.

The Belgian Labor Party is not for national defense . . . it is only in favor of defending the country against any "unprovoked attack." It is therefore "in favor of a national defense organized differently. The only complete guarantee for the independence of the country is peace. A peace organized differently."

In the sphere of military defense, the Laborists will vote only for budgets "with the preponderance of defensive armaments." As for the term of military service, it must be limited to . . . "an indispensable minimum"—indispensable, defensively—and differently, no doubt!

And to guarantee real defense and real peace, the P.O.B. advocates "Public monopoly of the implements of war; nationalization of the industries which produce them." [A regular "People's Front" election program, only without the Stalinists.]

How is peace to be organized differently?

By strengthening the League of Nations, which has hitherto organized peace so well and so "differently": "Above all, the organization of peace within the framework of the League of Nations."

And of course, the lasting efforts of peace are to be secured by disarmament: "To the extent to which the organization of peace is built up, progressive and simultaneous disarmament under the control of the League of Nations."

While speaking about peace and disarmament, the P.O.B. has voted increased war budgets, and in its new platform unbinds its hands, even of pledges, for further support of the Belgian bourgeoisie in its war plans.

It is not at all surprising that a sharp resistance has manifested itself in the ranks of the P.O.B. Accord-

ing to reports in the European press, a section of the P.O.B. has been expelled for refusing to approve the social-patriotic policies of Vandervelde and Co.

POLAND

Behind the wave of anti-Semitism in Poland, and the changes in the government is the story of a frightful economic debacle. The index of industrial production has been dropping steadily, the number of unemployed has been constantly growing. According to the official figures the unemployed number between 900-750 thousand; the unofficial estimates reach the unprecedented figure of close to 2,000,000. The organ of the Polish Socialist Party (under censorship) reported early this year that "two years ago, 72% of all the workers in Poland earned less than 140 zloty a month." The paper then goes on to comment that this means that "72% of the Polish workers are undernourished. Their diet consists chiefly of bread and potatoes, and they consume an infinitesimal quantity of meat and dairy products."

Since that time, the wages in Poland have been considerably cut, and the number of unemployed has considerably increased.

The horrible plight of the workers and of the unemployed penetrates even into the semi-official press. The situation among the peasantry borders upon that of chronic famine. Tuberculosis rages. Some reports indicate that there may be as many as five million peasants in Poland without any land or work. The peasants in the Ukrainian districts under Polish control are the worst off.

The deathrate is extremely high.

It is hardly surprising therefore that the Polish Socialists report that "Anti-Semitism forms an essential part of the policy of all the Polish bourgeois parties. The parties of the Polish bourgeoisie differ from one another not in whether they are anti-Semitic or not but in the method which they favor for putting this policy in effect. The most ruthless economic boycott . . . keeps the Jewish workers, manual and non-manual, and the Jewish intellectuals out of all the public services, out of all quasi-public institutions and services, out of all the largest private undertakings."

The only difference between the bourgeois parties is how the extermination of the Jews is to be attained: openly, or by a gradual process and under the cover of "legality"? And in the meanwhile, they stage pogroms.

Of course, the drive against the Jews is only a part of the broader wave of class terror aimed against the workers as a whole. The reaction of the workers in Poland, both Polish and Jewish, has been very inspiring. A series of the greatest demonstrations ever held in independent Poland were staged in recent months.

People's Front Upholds Capitalism in France

(Continued from Page 1)

The People's Front advocates a stronger League of Nations; closer co-operation with England; a stronger France; a League policy that involves the automatic designation of the aggressor nations and the automatic and universal application of sanctions against the aggressor. It is also in favor of disarmament and "organized peace" (collective security). And of course the People's Front is the "Friend of the Soviet Union."

In his pre-election plea, Thorez stressed the abolition of the Fascist leagues, and summed up all other demands as follows: "We demand that the rich should pay . . . We are opposed to the depreciation of the currency. . . . We propose an emergency progressive tax on large fortunes over 500,000 francs." (Daily Worker, May 18.)

Not as Radical as Roosevelt

The mere listing of these points and the manner in which they are stressed by the "extreme left" are sufficient to denote that this program is not as radical in the domain of capitalist programs as, say, the program of Roosevelt.

We might point out in passing that such a well known "radical" as Lloyd George is heartily in favor of "nationalizing the munitions industry." Our own President, Franklin D. Roosevelt is certainly a far more radical "soaker" in the realm of soaking the rich in order that "the situation of all categories of the toiling masses may be improved" (Thorez). Even in France, the People's Front has competitors.

In the words of the New York Times, an authority on the subject: "The ideal of fair distribution of wealth and opportunity is not specially socialist. It is common to all Frenchmen. Ever since the French Revolution it has been the objective of successive governments and successive parliaments." (P. J. Philip, May 17.)

The public debt of France is 333 billion francs, the estimated government budget needs for 1936 are set at 16 billion francs, the treasury is empty. . . . What then are the unemployed, the workers and the ruined peasants to expect from the People's Front in the way of "well-being and justice"?

Blum to Safeguard Investors

In his speech at the Salle Wagram, Blum declared that his government would need credit, and therefore no measures would be introduced to "frighten away the investors in state loans." He has yet to make a definitive statement about the prospects of restoring Laval's 10 percent cut in pay and pensions. But he does envisage "a large program of public works designed to relieve unemployment,

and specified that most of these should be . . . financed by money raised locally" (N. Y. Tribune, May 11).

With the economic crisis still deepening in France, with unemployment growing, with ever larger layers of the petty bourgeoisie becoming impoverished, with war clouds gathering more and more threateningly, Blum is able to offer, in the name of the working class parties, the "program of capitalism" as a solution to the desperate masses—the self-same Blum who, just a few years ago, at the beginning of the crisis, under the pressure of the leftward surge of the masses was promising to "seize power," and to destroy the "machinery of the bourgeois state."

Cheers and Cocktails for Stalinism

What made it possible for Blum to so successfully pursue his present course, is the abject and infamous role played by the French Communist Party. In the May 8 issue of The New Leader (the British L.P. organ), Jennie Lee reports, as an eyewitness, election scenes in France. She observed a group of business men in front of Cafe La Paix, in the heart of the West end of Paris. These crowds were better dressed than any she had seen in Paris. Their sympathies were evenly divided between the right National Front and the left People's Front. When a communist was announced as leading the poll in one district "a group of well-to-do people gave every evidence of approval and called for champagne cocktails to toast the victory." Jennie Lee engaged the toasters in conversation—but let her speak for herself:

"Later we got to talking. I congratulated them on their conversion to a revolutionary point of view. At that a lively discussion broke out. I had quite misunderstood the French political situation, they assured me. It was not they who had changed their minds. They were good Radicals, and hoped they would always be. But, on the other hand, the Communist Party had seen the error of its ways, and now has changed so drastically that it was possible to vote Communist and still be good 'Frenchmen.' Good Frenchmen they defined as meaning support for law and order, national defense, the family, and the franc. One of them went a stage further. We are opposed to Fascism. So are the Socialists and Communists. These people realize that they cannot fight Fascism without our help. We are willing to make a deal with them. If they keep their hands off our property we shall see that Hitler keeps his

hands off France. That is, in practice you will find that the People's Front will amount to."

The editorials on the French elections that appeared in the New York Times, the Herald-Tribune and other bourgeois papers were a perfect echo of the remarks made by the French business men Jennie Lee interviewed in Paris.

Anti-Military Propaganda Subsidies

The May issue of Living Age quotes at length the remarks of Pertinax, veteran contributor to the clerical Echo de Paris (by the way, the Moscow Pravda, has also of late been quoting Pertinax approvingly, for he is a sworn enemy of Germany):

Pertinax notes with great satisfaction the "decline of revolutionary activity in France on the part of the Comintern." Says he, "If the highest military authorities are to be believed, the Moscow propaganda in France has subsided, if not disappeared since 1932. I am told that in 1934, 150 cases of incitement to disobedience were recorded in the French army, and that in 1935 the figure has shrunk to less than 10." Pertinax is convinced that as between revolution and Germany, the latter is the greater immediate threat to France. "The threat (of revolution) would be felt all the same and probably to a greater degree if hostility instead of a spirit of cooperation on the international plane were shown to Moscow. And let us observe that Moscow never objects to any repressive measure enforced against the Communists. 'Deal with them as you like' is the current phrase."

Like the business men on the boulevards who toasted the victory of the Communist candidate, Pertinax is sure that it is not he who has changed, he insists that "Stalin has turned conservative with the passing years."

The Future of the People's Front

The situation in France, however, has not radically altered. None of the fundamental problems that face France can be solved or even broached within the framework of a capitalist program. Blum is well aware of this. He is hoping for a

turn in the business cycle; for a possible loan from America, a return for a promise to pay the war debts. The old system must be retained. The Sarrant ministry, on which sit reactionaries who have been attacked in both the Communist and Socialist press as agents of the Fascists, continues in power while Blum confers with bankers, makes speeches before business men's clubs, and pleads with Herriot, who sat in Laval's cabinet, approved all of Laval's economic measures, and disapproves all of the "economic measures" proposed by the People's Front, to become a member of his ministry.

It may well be that the first Socialist ministry in France will be its last. In any case, the government of Blum will not endure for a much longer period than the semi-dictatorial governments of all his predecessors from Doumergue down. The only program for France is that of socialism. The only road for France is that of revolution. Failure to take to that road will mean the triumph of counter-revolution, the assumption of power by the French Fascists.

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PAUL LUTTINGER, M.D.

DANIEL LUTTINGER, M.D.

5 Washington Square North

1-2 and 6-8 Except Sundays

and Holidays.

The Last Week Before the War

(Continued from Page 3)

yet struck but which will, all of you by taking the solemn oath today, at the same time that they give you the kiss of parting: advance soldiers of the revolution, it is not in vain that you will have fallen."

"Depart without bitterness, without regret, comrades workers."

Beginning with Wednesday, Aug. 12, Jouhaux, who had written nothing since the outbreak of the war, started a series of articles, important for the subject matter and the conceptions expressed therein. Gone are the lamentations; our feet are now planted solidly in the war; we must now study the new problems posed by it. The first of these articles, on this day, concerns itself with the widespread unemployment which arose spontaneously from the single fact of the war. The theme which he develops, is first and foremost that "idleness is a bad counselor."

WE MUST HAVE WORK

"One of the major preoccupations of the present hour must be to be of use."

"To allow idleness to remain master would be a grave error. In unemployment, spirits are enervated, respond to the least rumour, and can wander on to passing but nevertheless prejudicial errors."

"If external activity is to correspond to internal calm, there is only one factor capable of giving this result: work."

"Every day the number of unemployed grows, it would be dangerous to allow matters to proceed in this way believing that the entire question is one of providing charity."

"It is a fine thing to come to the assistance of suffering; to prevent this misery by the worthwhile employment of the workers is better."

"In favoring the resumption of useful production, we create activity and it is to that end that all farseeing men acquainted with mob psychology must bend their efforts."

"To make work, wherever it is possible and necessary, to revive activity, is to fortify against the excesses of mass idleness, is also to favor a rise in the public morale."

"To aim at these two results in the present period is far from a negligible thing."

LET US PROFIT FROM IT!

"We have already said that we think a revival of industrial activity is urgent. We will not return to this, save to add that the more the hour of the emotions, the more imperative it is that the new potent troubles find a working class not gripped by unemployment."

"This is to say that we take it upon ourselves to publicly indicate another point of capital importance

which if realized will permit a revival of economic life."

"In the present situation the military operations, on land and sea, and in relation to the position taken in the struggle by England, the Mediterranean Sea, the Channel, the North Sea and the Atlantic Ocean are open in almost complete security for our merchant marine as well as that of our ally."

"Our ports can then resume their normal life on the condition that there is a large enough maritime traffic."

"Is this feasible? Yes. For according to the date in our possession we are guaranteed the mastery of these seas."

"But there is more, Germany is at the present time blockaded, its maritime commerce is partly cut off! Why cannot our merchant marine cooperating with England's not assume to their own profit part of the German work which is no longer being carried on?"

"This would be an initial victory, with an importance that can escape no one."

"Maritime activity will engender industrial activity, at the same time that it would permit us to establish reserves which is no small matter."

"We advance our idea, certain that it is realizable, and that the results which putting it into practice can yield, for today and for tomorrow, surpass in utilitarian weight all hypothesis which may be expounded."

"We must profit from all situations: the German blockade by the English fleet gives us commercial freedom on the seas; let us profit from it first to revitalize ourselves, to assure work and then to establish our primacy in the field of imports and exports for the future."

BELLIGERENTS WATCH, LIE IN WAIT, READY TO LEAP

On the 17th, Charles Malato, addressing himself to the Italian republicans, Socialists, anarchists and trade unionists, issued the cry: "Fuori i barbari!"

"The place of the Italian people is in struggle on the side of the French republic which is still only statist and bourgeois and which we will develop until it becomes social and libertarian."

On the 25th the leading article is by Jouhaux dealing once again with the "economic revival," taking "an example from England":

"I have before me a circular from the Hans Bertold Co. of Manchester, which reads verbatim as follows: 'The directors are resolved, however, by every possible means, to employ the entire personnel of the factories. If supplementary orders cannot be obtained, they will work for stock as long as financial resources of the company permit. If after all, a reduction of wages is necessary, this will take the form of a reduction of the hours of work rather than by a reduction of personnel.'

"Here is an example worthy of

emulation: it happily harmonizes the three principal interests of the moment: the interests of the nation, the employer and the worker."

A NEW MINISTRY; AT THE FRONT

Here at the same time is announced the resignation of the cabinet and the formation of a new ministry. Disastrous events have occurred at the front—which have been covered up until this day—which are the cause for all speeches and the change in the ministry. Following the official communiqué the paper gives a brief appreciation, unsigned, on the "New Government":

"... Finally what characterizes the new ministry is the arrival of politically influential statesmen, both former ministers or newcomers."

"A. Briand, Millerand, Delcasse and Thomson make up part of this ministry of national defense."

"The Socialists, whose parliamentary influence is not insignificant, are represented in this ministry by two of their most reputable leaders: Marcel Sembat and Jules Guesde."

"There can be no doubt that Jaures would have been able to play a role of the first water in this ministry whose task—let us have no illusions here—is a formidable one."

"Dissimilar in their past but reunited by the common will to conquer, the men who assume power in this tragic hour when the frontier is invaded, are going to face many difficulties."

"Only one thought must animate them: to drive back German imperialism which is threatening existing rights and threatens to destroy the future of civilization."

In the first days of the war, the government decided to create a "National Aid"; it was concerned with giving a piece of bread to all those women, old men, unemployed who because of the war ran the risk of dying of hunger behind the lines. (Later when the war was put on an industrial basis, there would be work for all, but at the beginning there was complete destitution in the workers' districts). And on the 4th of August one could read on the walls of Paris a beautiful white poster announcing the initiative of the government. Up to this point nothing extraordinary. But what was extraordinary was the collection of names constituting the committee in charge with the administration of National Aid: all high dignitaries of the bourgeoisie, archbishop, grand-rabbi, academicians, industrialists, bankers . . . and Leon Jouhaux, secretary of the C.G.T. and Bled, Secretary of the Union des Syndicates de la Seine."

*There was also Lepine, former police chief, butcher of workers and Ch. Maurras, one of those really implicated in the assassination of Jaures.

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Tobin Plug-Uglies Slug 574 Heads

V. R. Dunne and Geo. Frosig Attacked by Thugs
In New Union--Busting Campaign
by Reactionaries

MINNEAPOLIS, May 22.—The campaign of terrorism directed against progressive trade union leaders in Minneapolis reached a new peak Thursday morning, May 21, when Vincent Dunne and George Frosig, organizer and vice-president of General Drivers Local No. 574, were attacked and severely beaten by five thugs driving a black Buick sedan. The militant leaders of the truck drivers' union were distributing leaflets advertising a union meeting and talking with a truck driver at the Omaha freight yards when the sedan drew up and the five assailants leaped out, attacking Dunne and Frosig with black-jacks. Both were badly cut and bruised. As the attackers climbed back into their car, one of them turned and said, "This is a warning."

Two of the thugs were recognized by Frosig and Dunne as a part of a crew of eight tough-looking characters who last Saturday morning drove up to the leading platform at the Chippewa Water Company where 574 officials were talking to the drivers. They announced they were representatives of the Teamsters Joint Council of the American Federation of Labor, but did not attempt any violence. There was a large number of members of Local 574 present at the time at the Chippewa Water Company platform. The car in which the eight men appeared at the Chippewa Company was also a black Buick sedan.

Local 574, after winning three famous strikes in 1934, was expelled from the International Teamsters Union in April, 1935 by Daniel Tobin, president, for alleged non-payment of per capita tax. Ever since that time, Tobin, together with other local and national craft union A. F. of L. leaders, has been seeking to smash Local 574 and build a dual teamsters union in Minneapolis. Since last October, Meyer Lewis, a representative of William Green, has been here directing the attack against the drivers' union, the leading exponent of industrial unionism in the Northwest. Lewis' campaign against the progressive union movement in Minneapolis has so far met with little success. Last week, Mr. Lewis gave a statement to the press announcing that the American Federation of Labor would use every force available to combat the "dual and outlaw" unions. In the past two weeks, three known progressive trade unionists have been beaten up by unknown thugs and told to leave town. The attack on Dunne and Frosig brings the list of victims up to five.

Fascists Gain In Belgium

People's Front Losses Mirror
Future for France

In last Sunday's general elections in Belgium, the Socialists (the Belgian Labor Party or P.O. B.) lost ground, losing three seats for a total of 70, but despite this became the largest single party in the Belgian parliament because the Catholic Center suffered a much greater loss, dropping about one-fifth of their former strength.

As is always the case, the disintegration of the Center was accompanied by the growth of the two extreme wings. The Belgian Socialists increased their votes from about 13,000 in 1932 to 35,000, adding six seats for a total of 9. The most spectacular gains were scored by the budding Fascist party of the Rexist, who participated in the elections for the first time, and obtained some 250,000 votes.

No People's Front in Belgium? According to the Daily Worker, the results of the Belgian elections are a brilliant confirmation of the Stalinist policies in France and elsewhere, particularly in Belgium. The Socialists lost and the Fascists gained, because, mind you, there was no People's Front in Belgium. Instead, in Belgium "the Socialists are united in a 'National Union' with the reactionary parties of the Clericals and Liberals" (T. Repard, Daily Worker, May 25. Our emphasis).

The Daily Worker takes on trust the credulity, inexperience and ignorance of its readers in its attack upon the policies of the Belgian Socialists. In the sphere of domestic or foreign policy if there is any difference between them and the policy of the People's Front, it is all in favor of the Belgians. Enough to mention the fact that the economic "program" of the People's Front in France consists of sections lifted from the "Plan" of the C.G.T. which Jouhaux and Co. in turn lifted from the Plan of Henri de Man, their Belgian colleague.

In the sphere of foreign policy, the Belgian National Unioners are as solid for the League of Nations and for organizing peace and disarmament as the People's Fronters in France. But they are not as outspokenly pro-Franco-Soviet as the Stalinists would like. Hence, the "sharp" criticism.

Only Stalinists Excluded

The only other difference between

(Continued on Page 4)

Spanish S.P. Nears Split

Right Wing Takes Sanctions
Against Left; Convention
Postponed

MADRID, May 28.—The Right-wing-controlled National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party today made the following splitting moves to expel the Left Wing majority.

1. Postponed the national party congress from June to October.

2. Authorized district committees to dissolve those section organizations deemed not to be complying with all instructions of the National Executive Committee, the latter immediately to superintend the reorganization of the dissolved sections.

3. Denounced "Claridad," Largo Caballero's paper, as an enemy of the party, and demanded that it immediately settle its debts, amounting to several thousands of dollars, to the party printing works.

4. Took steps to publish, in addition to the Right wing-controlled "El Socialista," an evening newspaper ("Claridad") is an evening paper).

"Claridad" and the Madrid organization, largest of the party sections, denounced the actions of the N.E.C. and declared "the Socialist Party cannot consent to be the object of this farce and comedy" and called for election of a new N.E.C. as "a question of life or death for the party."

The struggle in the Spanish Socialist Party, long developing, came to a crisis when President Azana invited the Right wing leader, Indalecio Prieto, to become premier and form a coalition cabinet. Prieto and the N.E.C. were more than willing to do so but the volume of protests from party organizations throughout Spain forced them to desist.

A recent referendum of the party on the demand of the Left Wing that the national congress be held in Madrid, demonstrated that the Left wing has a clear majority in the party.

In a signed article in "Claridad" on the eve of the election of Azana by the electoral congress, Javier Bueno, Socialist leader of the Asturian rebellion, denounced Azana as the candidate of the Jesuits and rightists. The hostility of the Left wing was not organized, however, and most Socialists voted for Azana. But since then, in a speech declaring his position in preparation for the forthcoming party congress, Largo Caballero himself declared his lack of faith in the Popular Front.

Day to Day Report Of S.P. Convention At Cleveland, Ohio

By JOHN WEST and MAX SHACHIMAN

CLEVELAND.—The struggle between the Right and Left wings of the Socialist Party, dramatized two years ago by the victory of the Militant group at the Detroit national convention and the adoption of the much-discussed "Declaration of Principles," reached a new climax at the nineteenth national convention of the Socialist Party. Following the action taken by the majority of the 250 delegates from all parts of the country, the New York Old Guard, led by Louis Waldman, James O'Neal and Algernon Lee, has definitely parted company with the Socialist Party and is organizing an association of conservative social democrats all its own. The tremendous significance of this separation for the future of the revolutionary movement of the United States is evident when one compares the split in Cleveland in 1936 with the split produced by the first post-war crisis in the Socialist Party at its Chicago convention in 1919. Whereas the latter convention marked the triumph of the Hillquit-Neal Right wing and the ousting of the Left wing assembled around the Communists, the 1936 convention, on the other hand, repudiated the fossilized representatives of Old Guard Socialism which has produced such tragic catastrophes in the international working class movement.

The convention provided another contrast, however, with the crisis in 1919. Whereas the struggle between Left and Right in 1919 represented a fairly clear-cut division between the revolutionary Marxian current and the Right wing bureaucracy in control of the party, the fight of the various tendencies in 1936 is far more complicated in its divisions by virtue of the fact that the bloc which held together against the New York Old Guard consists of tendencies which are far removed from common conceptions on the fundamental problems pressing for solution in the Socialist Party.

Because of the fact that so much depends on the development of the struggle in the Socialist Party, the reader should have before him as rounded a picture of the important issues before the convention as can be given in this space.

The keynote speeches facing the Socialist Party, but still unclarified, were implicit in the keynote speeches delivered at the opening session. The contrast between the two principal opening speeches, those of Daniel W. Hoan and Norman Thomas, suggested almost the form of a debate, an impression which was emphasized by their repetition of key passages for the newscameras. Hoan laid his chief emphasis upon advocacy of a "Farmer-Labor Party" which, in his statement of it, clearly meant

not serve the working class. When capitalism was in its ascendant phase, a reformist party could have served the workers and farmers of America. Today with the decay of capitalism, reformism can no longer play a progressive role in America.

Today several groups in the United States seek to bring into being a national Farmer-Labor party. These groups make the most irresponsible and false promises to the masses as to what a Farmer-Labor Party is able to accomplish. All these groups seek to build their national Farmer-Labor party on the basis of class-collaboration, political trading and compromise; they seek to place in leadership of such a party not workers but liberal elements, and in many cases opportunistic bourgeois politicians who see in such a party a vehicle to better their own political fortunes. Up to now, the bulk of the trade union movement has not endorsed the building of a national Farmer-Labor party.

Today at this Socialist Party convention there are only two delegates from Minnesota, a state that once had a flourishing Socialist movement. There is a very significant reason for this. We Socialists of Minnesota have had a long and bitter experience with an actual Farmer-Labor party. We have had a better chance than comrades of other sections to observe the real functioning of such a party.

The Minnesota Farmer-Labor party was built in the 1920's by just the sort of devoted militant workers who are assembled in this convention. The radical and revolutionary workers built the Farmer-Labor party in Minnesota. We made thousands of good Farmer-Labor converts—and broke our own party in the process. The Minnesota Farmer-Labor party has been the main political power in our state since 1930. It has elected senators, governors, representatives, congressmen, mayors and other state and municipal officers. During this period the Minnesota Farmer-Labor party cannot record any gains commensurate with the tremendous energies devoted to its cause. On the contrary, the party has time after time betrayed the workers who elected it to power. The governor has brought in troops during strike situations against the demands of striking unions that be withhold such troops. Farmer-Labor Mayor Latimer of Minneapolis has personally conducted scabs through picket lines, with the help of the police which were under his control. He has used his police against every strike that has arisen since he took office. Twice he has used Farmer-Labor police to break up and club unemployed demonstrations. He has done all this despite the fact that he was elected to office by the largest majority

(Continued on Page 4)

a conservative combination of reformers of all brands similar to the petty bourgeois mess into which the Socialist Party of Wisconsin has been dragged by association with the Farmer-Labor Progressive Federation organized in that state under the aegis of the LaFollette dynasty.

On this score, Norman Thomas delivered his most decisive remarks of the convention. Contrary to Hoan, he stressed the necessity of socialism and of a socialist campaign in the presidential elections and dismissed the Farmer-Labor Party with simple reference to the impossibility of its organization in 1936, at any rate. His remarks about those labor leaders who had jumped on the Roosevelt bandwagon with the slogan of "Roosevelt or Reaction" were entirely in order. Thomas rightly compared this piece of deception with such treacherous slogans as "Wilson or War" in 1916, pointing out that just as we had got Wilson and war, so the victory of the Lewis-Hillman-Dubinsky course would mean Roosevelt and Reaction. He insisted that the only genuine choice before the workers in the present period was: Socialism or Reaction and Imperialist War. Even if his speech was gravely marred by ambiguous formulations on more than one question—that of the Farmer-Labor Party not excluded—the great stress he laid on a straightforward socialist campaign so obviously harmonized with the sentiments of most of the delegates that he was constantly interrupted by bursts of applause.

Indeed, significant of convention sentiment was the fact that while Krzywicki's "prediction" that there would be a strong Farmer-Labor Party in this country "before many months are over" was greeted apathetically, spontaneous applause followed every statement of a clear-cut campaign for socialism. The temper of the delegates is not so much to be judged by their mild interest or outright unconcern in those sections of the three keynote speeches which were diluted with liberal and reformist platitudes, but by their enthusiastic response to any sentence that smacked of militant socialist aims and tactics.

This was even more clearly evidenced in the spirit prevailing during the fight over the seating of one of the two contesting delegations from New York, a dispute which consumed most of the time of the numerous sessions devoted to organizing the convention itself. The fight was at bottom a highly significant struggle between political tendencies—the delegation headed by Thomas representing the general line of the Militant group and that headed by Waldman representing the Old Guard. The stage of the development of the political struggle in the Socialist Party is still embryonic and more often than

not the underlying issues of principle are obscured by the emphasis laid on the confusing organizational aspects they assume. Nevertheless, those speeches that broke through the organizational crust and touched the political heart of the conflict, were the ones that aroused the keenest interest of the delegates and created the clearest demarcations.

Preliminary Skirmishes

The first test of strength came in the vote on seating the disputed New Jersey delegations. The National Executive Committee, functioning as a credentials committee and represented by reporter Kruger, proposed the seating of the Militant delegation. O'Neal, as minority reporter, proposed a contrary motion. The N.E.C. proposal was upheld by a vote of 115 to 55. The minority was composed of the Right wing delegations drawing their main strength from Massachusetts, Connecticut, Maryland, parts of Pennsylvania, Washington, Montana and some scattering delegates. The majority vote was made up of a combination of the delegates supporting the Militant group, plus 30 out of the 31 delegates from Wisconsin. The vote of the majority was not greater because, due to the contest, neither of the two New York delegations was permitted to vote until their own dispute was decided by the untested delegates.

Rhode Island and Texas were settled in favor of the Militant with approximately the same division, bringing the Left wing strength up a notch or two after each decision. The section of the Pennsylvania delegation led by Darlington Hoopes of Reading, who had been leaning strongly towards the Old Guard without committing himself too irrevocably, had been challenged prior to the convention and on its floor. The Credentials Committee, however, upheld the claims of the Hoopes group, and just before the fight opened up over the New York contest, the challenge against Hoopes was withdrawn, thus seating his contingent without actual dispute.

Among the results of this arrangement was the loss by the New York Old Guard of the outright support of the Reading delegation upon which they had previously counted. Other results of the arrangement were made clear to observers in the discussion of other questions brought on the floor at later sessions, as will be seen below.

Old Guard States Its Case

The settlement of all these minor disputes set the stage for the New York contest—the one which aroused the sharpest division at the convention. After considerable parliamentary jockeying, O'Neal led off

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2 Shot, 15 Jailed In L.A. Bean Strike

"Red Squad" Unleashes Terror Against Walk-out of 5,000 Agricultural Workers;
Defense Funds Urgently Needed

LOS ANGELES (By wire).—Two agricultural strikers were shot down and fifteen more arrested and held in high bail, as Los Angeles' notorious "Red Squad" attempted to terrorize the five thousand agricultural workers now on strike in this county.

This strike is the first big agricultural strike since the conviction of Chambers, Decker, Norman Mini and five others in the famous Sacramento criminal syndicalism case in April, 1935. It is the first real sign of recovery from that blow, and may be the signal for a wave of strikes similar to those of 1933 and 1934.

The two strikers were wounded by thugs armed with shotguns, who broke up the picket lines. The police then followed up, arresting fifteen Mexicans and Filipinos on the preposterous charge of assault with a deadly weapon! Strikers are shot—and strikers are then arrested for shooting! Bail was fixed at \$2,500 each. This is the second mass arrest in the strike, forty having been locked up last week.

The Los Angeles labor movement is rallying to the defense of the strike. Relief and defense are being provided by a trade union committee under the leadership of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. The Socialist Party has provided bail for a score of strikers. The Non-Partisan Labor Defense has provided counsel, taking care of the prisoners' needs, and raising money for bail bonds.

Defense funds are urgently needed. They should be sent to the Non-Partisan Labor Defense at 124 West 6th Street, Los Angeles.

Unions Rap Co. Plot

Rubber Workers and CLU
Rally Against Provocations
of Berons

By RICHARD FERGUSON

AKRON, May 28.—With the mass arrest of 31 union workers at the Goodyear Tire and Rubber Co. late last Saturday night the never-ending struggle between the rubber workers and their despotic bosses is entering a new and higher plane. All Akron is seething.

The arrests grew out of a 12-hour sit-down on May 20 inside Goodyear's plant 2, during which the unionists are charged with rioting and imprisoning foremen, supervisors and company union rats in a "bull pen" until the management settled the workers' grievances.

The mass arrests, coming late Saturday evening when it was almost impossible to arrange bail, is everywhere recognized as a deliberate move by the company to crush the union. All Akron labor is infuriated, especially because the company deputy who recently wounded five Goodyear workers by firing into their midst, has just been acquitted in the same court in which the company will try to get convictions against union men.

C.L.U. Supports Men

Responding immediately to their brothers' need of assistance, the Central Labor Union held a meeting of its Defense Committee, which aided so greatly in the Goodyear strike. The Committee has appealed for legal aid from the American Civil Liberties Union. It published a special resolution sharply condemning Goodyear's refusal to bargain collectively with the union, and attacked the man-

(Continued on Page 3)

Cotton Lords Ape Hitler

Concentration Camps Set
Up to Defeat Tenant
Farmers Strike

MEMPHIS, Tenn. — Thirty-five striking members of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union were thrown into jail at Earl, Arkansas late yesterday, as the strike of five thousand farm laborers held the cotton plantations in Eastern Arkansas in its grip for the second day. Earlier in the day, Peach, deputy sheriff and large cotton planter, had threatened to arrest any day-laborers found on the streets of Earl. The Earl local of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union and all the locals throughout Crittendon County declare they will send all their men to fill the jails to overflowing before they will return to the fields at present starvation wages.

Many instances of terrorism and intimidation have been reliably reported to Union headquarters according to H. L. Mitchell, Secretary of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union. Workers in isolated areas have been driven to the cotton fields and forced to work by riding bosses who stand over them with high powered rifles. A. L. Lancaster, planter in that region, himself drove several people into the fields to work at the point of a gun. He remarked that he would build "a dam across the lake there with the bodies of dead Union men." A state official driving through Eastern Arkansas reported a large group of day laborers at work on the Blackfish plantation near Widener, Arkansas on U. S. Highway No. 70. He reported further that a man stood close by armed with a high-powered rifle.

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The Problem in Akron

By A. J. MUSTE

Several "sit-down" strikes have occurred recently in the Akron rubber plants including the Goodyear where a great strike came to an end only two months ago. Last Saturday thirty-one militants of Plant Two of Goodyear were suddenly rounded up on charges of rioting in connection with one of these "sit-downs". What is behind these turbulent developments?

As readers of the New Militant will recall, the "settlement" which marked the end of the Goodyear strike was by no means fully satisfactory to the workers. For one thing, the demand that the Goodyear company union be abolished, or at least that the company definitely agree no longer to finance it, was not achieved. Thus the workers went back partly as union men, a minority as company union men. Now no situation where a real union and a company union exists side by side can possibly be a static one. The employer immediately resorts to direct or indirect methods

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to undermine the union. The union men, unless they are prepared to lose the ground which they have won in their strike struggle, must work to win over or eliminate non-union or anti-union workers. The fight is invariably transferred from the picket line to the plant. In this case the conflict is peculiarly sharp, because the men have maintained at top pitch the militancy which they displayed during the strike at Goodyear, the other big companies, and the employers in the basic industries generally are well aware that if the rubber union actually establishes itself, the movement in steel and automobiles will receive a tremendous impetus.

Conditions Still Bad

If there was a particle of ground left for the assertion that the "settlement" of March 21st effected even a partial adjustment of basic problems, that particle is now removed. Even the capitalist press admits this. The Cleveland Press,

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PERSECUTED BY STALIN

THE HONOR ROLL

We have long been uneasy about Solntsev. Recent letters bring us the grave news of his being brought to death. . . . Still a young man (he was not more than 35 years old), Solntsev was among the most talented, true, and authoritative Bolshevik-Leninists. On his return from a mission to the U.S.A. in 1927-1928 where he went, we believe, with Pyatakoy, he was shortly arrested, and sent to an isolator for 3 years, then received an additional term of 2 years, serving this term in Verkhne-Uralsk; he was freed after the mass hunger strike of the Oppositionists against the added automatic "sentences" to new prison terms, and was exiled either to the Northern part of the Urals or Western Siberia (we are unable to recall the precise place) to an utterly forsaken spot, where he found himself absolutely alone, and of course doomed to total unemployment. Almost no letters at all reached him, letters from him to his friends would arrive in the ration of one out of three. His wife and child were exiled to Minusinsk—the disingenuous bureaucrats still sought to break the fighter by destroying his personal life. In the middle of 1933, Solntsev was once again arrested in exile where he could not have failed to have been politically active. He was given a new sentence: 5 years in the isolator, to which he immediately replied by a hunger-strike to death if need be. On the 18th day of the hunger strike he was informed that the sentence had been revoked. Death was nearing, and the executioners became "embarrassed." For, the news would spread! Solntsev was given exile to Minusinsk, i.e., the possibility to see his wife and son. Still convalescing, he was sent off under police control, together with criminals, in prison cars, from one sinking transport jail of the old regime to the next. En route, in Novosibirsk he had to have an emergency operation. He had an inflammation of the middle ear, and he died on an infirmary cot in January, 1936.

It is impossible to convey in words the meaning of this loss to the Russian communists. His image will have to be restored; we will always remember him. As a theoretician, as an exemplary personality, crystal pure in character, as an unwavering proletarian revolutionist, capable of bearing up under everything and of sacrificing everything for years, Solntsev left an indelible impression upon everybody who knew him. We in Russia considered him as possibly the outstanding of our young and future leaders.

The writer of these lines doesn't like to exaggerate, and knows the value of words—he also knows that it was impossible to overestimate Solntsev.

They tormented him to death. They also knew him, and they evaluated him in their own fashion.

Vassili Fedorovich Pankratov

V. F. Pankratov is one of the most devoted and influential of Russian Oppositionists. A former sailor in the Baltic fleet, participant of the revolution in Kronstadt, delegate of the Kronstadt Soviet to Kerensky, participant of the civil war, important member of the Cheka and the G.P.U., Oppositionist since 1923, vice-chairman of the Trans-Caucasian congress of the G.P.U., he was arrested as a Bolshevik-Leninist in 1928 and sentenced to three years imprisonment. Upon the expiration of the term in Verkhne-Uralsk, in view of his upright character, he received an additional term of 2 years. In 1933 he was freed and exiled to Orenburg, where his wife Elizabeth Senatskaya also resided in exile. She was in reality not a party member, and was exiled solely because she was Pankratov's wife. In Orenburg, Pankratov worked as an economist in Zashcherno, and quickly earned the confidence of the management of this institution as a trusty and exemplary co-worker. He was arrested after the Kirov affair, without the slightest pretext for new persecutions, disconcerting of course, the "legal" pretext of his remaining true to his convictions. Pankratov served four to five months in complete isolation. His pregnant wife had absolutely no news from him during this time. Later we learned that Pankratov was once again in the Verkhne-Uralsk prison for a five-year term, to which he was sentenced after an absolutely monstrous and cruel investigation and trial, about which we cannot say anything now. He was recently lodged in the prison in a common cell with L. B. Kamenev, Smilga, and Slepokov.

The name of Pankratov must become widely known to the proletarian revolutionists, as the name of one of the most valuable and courageous representatives of the October traditions in the U.S.S.R. whose life must be protected from the Stalinist stranglers.

Lado Dumbadze
L. Dumbadze is an old Georgian Bolshevik, participant in the civil war, wounded at the front, arrested

several times, committed to prisons and exiles. He fell gravely ill, after receiving a long prison term in 1934 as a Bolshevik-Leninist and being sent to Susdal prison. The prison regime caused an extreme aggravation of a condition resulting from a wound he received at the front. Dumbadze began gradually to lose the ability to move both his hands. Comrades in the cell had to dress him, feed him, etc. The prison commission of the G.P.U. headed by Andreyeva, on one of his inspection tours, promised to arrange medical treatments for him. As a result, he was shortly transferred to the Butyrski infirmary in which, for technical reasons, he could not receive treatments. Then his martyrdom began. The half-paralyzed veteran was shunted—under what conditions!—from exile to prison, from prison to exile; he is brought to unequipped infirmaries, and suddenly thrown out and left to his own devices. In February and March, 1936 he turned up in exile in Sarapul, all alone—there are no comrades there, so that he has nobody to help him even to dress or undress; he has no resources (the G.P.U. dispenses unemployment "relief" of . . . 40 rubles a month, while a kilo of bread costs 1 ruble, and a corner in a lodging room not less than 3 rubles); he is helpless, made a wreck by a progressing disease.

A tragic letter of his circulated in exile; it is written as a child writes, in printed letters.

From nooks and corners of the entire world there does not rise the voice of the advanced representatives of the working class, demanding that Lado Dumbadze, a veteran of the October Revolution, be given immediate medical treatment and an opportunity to live like a human being, even within the walls of the bureaucratic prisons, then our comrade is doomed to die shortly.

Mikhail Bodrov

A Moscow worker, soldier in the Red Army during the civil war, Bolshevik-Leninist. Early in 1928, after L. D. Trotsky was exiled to Alma Ata, comrade M. Bodrov was sent by the organization to Alma Ata to serve as a contact between Moscow and L. D. Trotsky. Assuming the appearance of an ill peasant, with a beard and proper papers, M. Bodrov obtained horses and wagon and used to make regular trips as coachman between Alma Ata and the nearest railway station (city of Frunze, more than 20 versts distant). Under very difficult conditions, comrade Bodrov gave proof of great firmness, coolness and skill. Solving his task in a splendid fashion, he assured a connection for L. D. Trotsky with Moscow, at the most difficult point. After maintaining himself almost a year, comrade Bodrov was arrested in connection with another "case" but was also "exposed" as the coachman. He sat for several months in various jails, and then was exiled. Arrested once again, he spent three years (1931-1934) in the Verkhne-Uralsk prison. At present he is in exile. Other reports say that he has been sent to a concentration camp.

Gregory Stopalov

Entered the party in 1917, and while still a student participated actively in the revolutionary struggle in the Ukraine. During the civil war worked in the Ukraine, in particular, underground under Denikin.

A Bolshevik-Leninist since 1923, comrade G. Stopalov graduated the Institute of "Red Professors." An excellent economist, author of a number of scientific works, G. Stopalov is one of the outstanding young oppositionists. A number of programmatic and other important documents of the basic kernel of the Bolshevik-Leninists in the Verkhne-Uralsk isolator come from the pen of comrade Stopalov.

After serving three years in prison—1929-1932—comrade G. Stopalov had hardly managed to settle

down in his new place of residence when he was again arrested and once more sentenced to three years in prison.

In 1933, comrade Stopalov's wife, comrade Lemberskaya, was also clapped in jail. She is an active Oppositionist, member of the party since the civil war, a former teacher in a party school.

IN ORENBURG EXILE
In Orenburg exile there are at the present time a number of outstanding comrades of the Communist Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists): B. M. Elzin, an old Bolshevik, Lida Svalova, I. Belenki, I. Byk, V. M. Cherykh, F. A. Upstein, Leonid Girshek. Last year B. I. Lyakhovitsky and A. S. Santalov were taken from exile and placed in a concentration camp. All these comrades are devoted, firm, and convinced Communist Oppositionists, several of them outstanding leaders. There have already been forced in exile and prisons remarkable, devoted and deeply convinced revolutionists, who hear up with extraordinary firmness under systematic strangulation.

After the Kirov affair, there were arrested the following comrades who had recently left the prisons and who received new long prison terms: V. P. Pankratov (served 5 years; received another 5 years; his wife and child have been exiled to Astrakhan) and Ch. M. Pevzner (served 4 years, received 5 years additional).

Here are also to be found, at least until recently, several dozen exiled "Trotskyists," former Oppositionists, who had capitulated long ago, or who had secondary differences with the ruling group. Their names: M. I. Badzhe (professor of philosophy), B. D. Prozorov (history instructor from Dnepropetrovsk), Kaznacheyev (in December 1935 finished his term of exile, after a concentration camp, and now again arrested, after four months), Dimitrieff (history teacher in the high schools of Ivanovo-Voznesensk, recently again sent to a concentration camp), Udin, Radin, M. R. Sorokina (she recently concluded her exile, and was freed), Solovyan, and Chernoborodov. They all call themselves supporters of the general line of the party.

Among the "Right Communists": I. G. Bocharov (he recently received "minus 15"; after serving a three year term of exile).

Among the Mensheviks: G. D. Kuchin, Goldberg, the Estonian Zommer, who arrived from prison and was recently again arrested (he will probably be taken to a concentration camp). There are also several S. R.'s. Of the S. R.'s here, a member of the C.E.C., Gerstein died more than a year ago. He received permission to go for a cure to Kazan on the day he died. Several socialists have been sentenced to a new term of exile for having sent in their time letters to the French Socialist and Communist papers, halting the united front—which was done of course not without the tacit consent of the powers that be.

Of the Georgian social democrats there is the old man Ramshvili.

Among the anarchists: A. A. Inaun, Kornilov (recently ended his exile), P. Sokolov. (In the last ten years he made the rounds of almost all the concentration camps in the U.S.S.R.) Sokolov is a Leningrad worker, a house painter, exiled for consorting with students.

Represented here are also Communists from among the national minorities and Zionists. The overwhelming majority of the worker-communist population in exile, including the "general-liners," i.e., former oppositionists, the "supporters of the general line" have been arrested for "careless" remarks. Out of approximately 150 exiles in Orenburg, they comprise about 100. They are very little developed and passive individuals.

Here are also more than a thousand Leningraders, exiled after the Kirov affair. Among them, there are many women, old men and children.

His Hire, "Arkansas Planters Unfair to Organized Labor," "We Can't Live on 75c a Day," "The Unemployed Workers of Memphis Won't Scab." Planters who came to Memphis which is the market for cotton laborers were unable to obtain any workers, Negro or white, to cross the bridge to take the jobs of the strikers. Will Lee, Memphis chief of police, said in court that 700 workers had been turned back at the bridge and 40 trucks unloaded by the pickets.

Tuesday morning, two large trucks from the Wilson plantation (largest cotton plantation in Arkansas) succeeded in securing only five men. Chief Lee, who defended the arrests told the Arkansas planters that if any more pickets interferred with their attempts to obtain day laborers "to beat them down with clubs and the law would protect them." He told the men arrested that "he was going to break up this damn business" and if any of them returned to the bridge "he would beat the hell out of them."

ON THE FLYING TRAPEZE AGAIN

Recognizing that the draft program of the Left wing of the Socialist Party is a step forward, Alex Bittelman undertakes the task, nay! the duty of proving helpful to the Left Socialists. "It is our plain duty to show what's what and who's who in the draft program."

(P. 3.)
What keeps the Socialists from really going left in their program are "harmful influences." Who? On the one hand the pseudo-Lefts like Zam; and on the other hand—"influences of a kind that cannot be characterized otherwise than as those of counter-revolutionary Trotskyism." (P. 3.)

Bittelman divides his "work" into two parts: I. Questions of Program; II. Questions of Tactics. Under the first head, he deals with "fundamental programmatic questions of the present epoch." These are four (4), and read as follows:

1) The Dictatorship of the Proletariat (i.e., the nature of the workers' state).
2) Soviet power (i.e., the form of the workers' state).
3) The road to power (i.e., the method of attaining the workers' state).
4) The two worlds or "The Outstanding Victory of the World Proletariat at the Present Time" (i.e., "the final and irrevocable victory of socialism in the Soviet Union"—p. 16).

Under the second head, he deals with six (6) "tactics": 1) Fascism. 2) War and "The Struggle for Peace"; 3) United Front; 4) Trade Union Unity; 5) Farmer-Labor Party; 6) Organic Unity.

Very well. For argument's sake we shall allow Bittelman his four "principles" and his six "tactics" which all "revolve around one central point" (p. 17). We shall later deal with each one separately. First we wish to examine how the Socialist draft fares in the light of Bittelman's own specifications.

Concessions Run Amok
On the very first page, as was said above, we are informed of the deficiencies in the draft due to the harmful influences. Where are these to manifest themselves if not in the "fundamental" questions?

In fundamental issue No. 1 (Dictatorship of Proletariat) Bittelman uncovers "two serious weaknesses" (p. 8). The first of which is a concession to the Old Guard; the second—"a concession to the 'Lefts' of the Zam variety." (p. 8). The Left Socialists it appears are going . . . ultra-right and ultra-left at one and the same time.

In fundamental issue No. 2 (Soviet power) the Left Socialists are reminded of the sin they committed in issue No. 1, for no "genuine Left" (can) afford to be ambiguous . . . on such a vital and fundamental point of revolutionary principle" (p. 7). And Bittelman immediately condemns them again for "another concession to reformism" (p. 11).

As regards fundamental issue No. 3 (Road to Power), the draft, according to B., states the correct premise but the conclusion it draws is a compromise conclusion, "a compromise with reformist influences" (p. 13); "strongly influenced by reformism" (p. 13); "a bad compromise with reformist influence" (p. 13).

On crucial issue No. 4 (Socialism in one country), the Lefts are once again charged with setting down a correct premise but, this time, of failing to draw any conclusions whatsoever. As any Marxist knows the failure to draw the revolutionary conclusions is no minor charge, either. So Bittelman wants to know: "Why?" "Why this reluctance?" (p. 15); "Why these omissions?" (p. 16). What makes Bittelman hound the Left Socialists is the fact that the draft "says nothing of the final and irrevocable victory of socialism in the Soviet Union." (p. 16).

Bittelman's Findings

But Bittelman himself does not tell us why. He does not even tell us whether this is an ultra-right or ultra-left silence, or whatnot. Instead he makes an ominous promise: "We shall see later how these omissions result in some very serious errors . . . For the present it is sufficient to emphasize that on this point, as on many others, the draft program shows unmistakable signs of struggle between the genuine Leftward tendency in the Socialist Party and the 'Left,' between the sound proletarian and revolutionary instincts of the Lefts and some very vicious Trotskyist counter-revolutionary influences." (p. 16).

Thus, on questions of principles Bittelman finds the following:

1) Two serious weaknesses; one—ultra-right, Old Guard variety; the other fake-left, Zam variety.
2) Another sin to the right, reformist variety.
3) Still another right deviation, "bad" reformist variety.
4) A struggle between revolutionary "instincts" and fake-left "influences," the very-vicious-Trotskyist-counter-revolutionary variety. This struggle is a source of "very serious errors," of unspecified nature. Evidently, Bittelman sometimes also prefers to state a premise without drawing any conclusions. After all, a counter-revolutionary influence can lead only to counter-revolutionary errors. And no one,

Bittelman Takes the Swing this Time in Pamphlet "Going Left"

no matter how sublime his instincts, can get very far to the left, with such errors.

The Horrible Example

To sum up: In his principled analysis Bittelman arrives at the conclusion that on three out of four issues, the Left Socialists are to his right, and on the fourth, so far to his right as to be in the camp of "very vicious" counter-revolution. Therefore it turns out that since the mistakes in principle in the draft program are largely concessions to reformism and counter-revolution, the Left Socialists must be attacked for being ultra-left (or sectarian). "One of our major tactical criticisms of the draft program is its sectarianism" (p. 23). "Sectarianism is the great enemy of the draft program" (p. 36).

Bittelman has a horrible example to hold up to the Left Socialists. None other than himself. "There was a time when we ourselves were not fully free from a similar sectarianism. We therefore should like to warn and guard the Left Socialists against repeating our mistakes" (p. 38). As the poet said: Let such teach others who themselves excel.

But all the time B. knows that the Left Socialists are really moving to the left. He has an infallible compass to guide him. Every once in a while he need only quote a sentence from Dimitroff's report by the Seventh World Congress, in which he says: "The draft program tends in the same direction." From this premise he draws the infallible conclusion that the Left wing must be going Left. "This is highly commendable. It shows that the Left wing is going Leftward" (p. 17).

Lenin was fond of remarking that a fool could utter more nonsense on a single page than a score of wise men could clarify in a volume. Bittelman fills 46 pages.

On Fascism

Since Bittelman attacks the Left Socialists most violently for their position on Fascism, we shall first of all look into that.

He accuses the Lefts of telling only half-truths. The draft points out that Fascism proved victorious "in some countries" only because the workers failed to take power—a failure due in part to the fact that the Socialist Parties were "not in reality revolutionary parties." Bittelman quotes this passage approvingly. "This is quite correct" (p. 18). But that is only part of the truth. If in "some countries" the Fascists took power because the workers did not take it, then in one country the workers "did take power and did forestall the coming of reaction and fascism . . . That was the Soviet Union—the former empire of the Tsar and capitalists. This is incontestable history." (p. 18. Emphasis in the original.)

From this, according to Bittelman, follow four (4) "inescapable" conclusions. We shall cite only one: "Had the German working class taken . . . the revolutionary road, Fascism would have never triumphed" (p. 19).

Who Is Responsible?

Who is responsible for the failure of the German working class to take the revolutionary road? According to Bittelman, only the German Social Democracy, for if the Left Socialists were acquainted with "incontestable history" they would have learned that the Communists had already led the Russian workers against the Russian Fascists and therefore could have never failed the German workers, against Hitler.

The Problem in Akron

(Continued from Page 1)

For example, stated the other day: "Important observers say that in reality conditions in Akron are as bad as ever. They point to the frequent sit-down strikes in recent weeks as showing dissatisfaction in the ranks of the workers. Thus the use of company union peace-setters for speed-up purposes continues. In at least one department recently an attempt was made to increase hours without first taking a vote as provided in the strike settlement. Attempts to lay off union men continue though in each instance the militancy of the workers has thwarted them. The general fear of excessive lay-offs when the slack season comes, induced by the abolition of the thirty-hour week by the companies and the failure to get it restored by the strike, continues to dominate the thinking of the men."

Since production in rubber is still at a high level and in view of the automobile production level seems likely to continue for some weeks, the highly provocative acts of the company against union men present on the surface a puzzle. The most likely explanation is this. Though the company probably desires uninterrupted production at the moment, it cannot afford to appear supine and weak in the face of the aggressive union men who in a recent sit-down practically took en-

tire control of one of the Goodyear plants. Such a show of weakness would be certain to lead the men to begin the general strike against the large rubber firms to gain the genuine recognition and other demands which they failed to get in the strike settlement. Such a strike may also come if the company's attitude is hard boiled. In fact provocative measures carried beyond a certain point would certainly precipitate a strike. Thus the company will try to pursue a middle course until the main drive for production is over and an inventory is piled up when it may institute a lockout or answer a strike with a complete shut down for a considerable period.

A shut-down in the fall might be regarded as injurious to the Roosevelt election campaign and the big industrialists are trying to push Roosevelt still further to the right by such measures. It must be borne in mind also that the Supreme Court's decision on the Guffey Case threatening also the National Labor Relations Board, etc. is an open invitation to employers to take the offensive against the unions.

A Slander Indeed!

This sentence introduces something which does not belong to the draft program. It imposes upon the program counter-revolutionary Trotskyite influences. It is altogether out of tune with the main trend of the program. It hurts the draft program and it hurts the Left wing." (p. 20. Emphasis in orig.)

This sentence hurts Bittelman so that he must take it apart in four pieces, clause by clause. He finds that the first part is a "slander," and repeats, "We repeat: it does not belong there (i.e. in the draft program)" (p. 20). He takes the second clause, and again throws it away in disgust. "Slander." But when he comes to the third "point" he pulls up short. "This is curious!" (p. 20). It is, instead of trying to brazen it out with insults and denials, Bittelman sets out to prove that the Left Socialists are themselves guilty of what they accuse the C.P. Since the counter-revolutionary Trotskyists are able to "impose" on the Left Socialists, why not Bittelman, too? On page 21 of his pamphlet, he tries to impose upon them the theory of social-fascism. No more, no less. We quote this "curiosity" verbatim:

The Skeleton Again

"3. It's (i.e., C.P.'s) theory of social-fascism and opposition to the united front." This is curious. Prior to making this statement the draft program itself (emphasis in original) formulated a complete theory of social-fascism. It stated (we repeat the quotation): "In rejecting the Marxian conception of the state as an instrument of class oppression, and in clinging to capitalist democracy, the Social-Democratic Party of Germany objectively prepared the conditions for the victory of fascism" (p. 9). What is this but a theory of social-fascism? What is social-fascism? It is socialism in words and "preparing the conditions for the victory of fascism" (paving the road for fascism)—in deed. This was all social-fascism ever meant. And this is precisely what the draft program says about German Social Democracy. If you, Left Socialists are right in saying so, and you ARE right, then why was it wrong for the German Communist Party to say so? Instead of condemning it, you should extend praise because it said it . . . (p. 21. Emphasis in original.)

Scorn itself is disarmed by this Stalinist who sweats and squirms over his daily stint just as he did not so very long ago when expounding the virtues of the theory of social-fascism in somewhat different tones.

Only three years ago, in June, instead of telling us how the "Trotskyists" misled the Left Socialists, the Stalinists were busy distributing a little pamphlet: "What is happening in Germany?" It was written after Hitler was in power, and it was approved by the Pre-

sidium of the E.C.C.I., on April 1, 1933. Here is what Heckert had to say on the meaning of the theory of social-fascism:

"Communists foresaw Fascist evolution of Social Democracy."

"Did the C.P.G. and the Comintern foresee the inevitability of the fascist development of social democracy? Did they warn the workers of it? Yes, they foresaw it and issued their warning! . . . Comrade Stalin gave a definition of the development of social democracy into fascism that in its exactness and its clear-sightedness is unsurpassed, a definition that was made the basis of the program of the Comintern and the policy of the C.P.G."

"Fascism—said comrade Stalin—is a fighting organization of the bourgeoisie, an organization that rests on the active support of social democracy. Social democracy is objectively the moderate wing of fascism. There exists no reason for supposing that the fighting organization of the bourgeoisie can achieve decisive successes in their struggle or in their leadership of the country without the active support of social democracy. And there is just as little reason to suppose that social democracy can achieve decisive successes in its struggles or in its leadership of the country without the active support by the fighting organization of the bourgeoisie. These organizations do not contradict each other, but complete each other. They are not antipodes, but twins. . . ."

"All that has happened in Germany completely confirms the correctness of Comrade Stalin's prognosis. Hitler does not reject the support of social democracy. The social democrats are already showing their readiness to participate in all the bloody crimes of fascism against the working class" (Fritz Heckert, What Is Happening in Germany, pp. 20-21).

And just to prove that this was "all" there ever was to the theory of social-fascism: "The present fascistization of German social democracy is no accidental interlude, but the road that all social-democratic parties will go . . ." (idem, p. 24).

Could anything be more curious? Yes! No sooner has Bittelman written his remarkable exposition of "all there ever was" to it, than he tosses off the following:

And the United Front!

"As to Communist opposition to the united front—well, well. . . . The Communist Party fought for the united front; the Social-Democratic Party fought against the united front" (p. 22. Emphasis in original).

For instance: "In the Manchester Guardian of March 22 the social-fascist Trotsky, gave as the cause of the seizure of power by Hitler the fact that the C.P.G. had not formed a united front with the social democratic party on a platform exclusively acceptable to social democracy: 'The defense of the parliamentary government and the mass trade unions' . . . an endeavor to smuggle in this soundly platonic, which not even a Wells dared to suggest to the Communists, even after the seizure of power by Hitler. . . . But what would such a platform for the united front have implied, even if the social democrats had been ready to fight for it in reality? . . . It would have meant for the Communist Party a defection to the position of Wells and Lelpart, a retreat from Marx and Lenin, a defection of Hindenburg. It would have meant a transition to the position of a reactionary united front with the bourgeoisie, in the last instance to Hitler" (Heckert pp. 22-23).

(To be continued)

workers. Nothing could be worse. In a hit or miss, undirected use of the "sit-down" there is danger. The company might provoke such demonstrations to rouse the public prejudice against the workers, etc. But the militancy which will not tolerate employer injustice and insolence must be organized—not repressed. To company walls that the workers are interfering with production, the union can answer that corporations which refuse to recognize unions and to set up machinery for prompt adjustment of grievances are inviting trouble and ought to get it, since the alternative is submission and slavery for the workers.

The problem will not be solved, however, by the kind of agreement between the union and the employer which apparently "recognizes" the union but actually "recognizes" the union officialdom as agents for carrying on class collaboration with the employers. Not outward forms but the content and essence count in the matter of union agreements.

The basic fear of the Akron workers is layoffs i.e. insecurity. The basic demand of the union is for no layoffs, the restoration of the normal thirty-hour week and reduction of hours to an even lower point in the slack season. That will mean job security. And that will lay the basis for confidence among the workers on which militancy can be permanently sustained.

The workers of Akron look to the leadership of the Rubber Workers Union and of the C.I.O. to advance toward that goal. What is their answer?

An Eye-witness Account Of Events in Poland

Participant Tells How Revival in Labor Movement Is Met by Savage Police Repression and Betrayed by Stalinists and Reformists

CRACOW, March 28.—Following are some facts concerning recent events here. The workers of the rubber products factory "Semperit" struck and at the same time occupied the plant to prevent the employer from hiring scabs and to force him to acquiesce. On the nights of Friday and Saturday of the past week the police attacked the sleeping workers (it was about 4 in the morning) and ejected them from the building, horribly mauling them, not even sparing the pregnant women.

Alarming rumours circulated through the city. Two were said to have been slain. The official communiques denied this. The trade union leadership and the National Executive Committee of the Polish Socialist Party (P.P.S.) under pressure of the masses declared a 24 hours general strike for Monday, March 23rd.

The city was almost completely paralyzed by the strike. Only the street car workers remained on the job. A crowd of 15-20,000 workers congregated in Varshavska Street. The representatives of the P.P.S., the "Bund" (Jewish Socialist Party) and the K.P.P. (Communist Party of Poland) addressed the workers in extremely moderate language. The masses became impatient: "We must demonstrate." One felt that nothing could quell the will to struggle. Finally the demonstration formed. 15,000. They shouted: "On to the Waywode." "Down with Minister Switalski!"

Massacre on the Streets
We arrived at the Matejka square. The police fired. First in the air. Then into the crowd. There were dead and wounded already. But we did not surrender. Arms were obtained. Fences, benches and paving stones were torn up. "The cops will pay for this." Buses, streetcars and wagons were overturned to serve as barricades. Window glasses of stores were smashed. The workers behaved splendidly and defended themselves heroically. But the arms of the opponents were much more superior. We lacked the training and ammunition (at least partial armament). And everywhere there were detachments of police armed to the teeth. The machine-gun went into action. After three hours of furious resistance the forces of the capitalist state prevailed.

The official communiques spoke of 8 dead and a few score wounded. In reality there were at least 20 dead and 100 wounded mortally or seriously wounded, not to speak of those slightly wounded. . .

The Crisis in the Pilsudskyst Dictatorship

The white dictatorship in Poland is passing through dark days. The working and peasant masses are delivering it the most serious blows. The recent demonstrations and strikes to which the Kosciakowski government replied with massacres, mark a revival in the militancy of the toiling masses of the country as a whole. The barricades at Cracow and Lvov terrified the ruling classes.

Very characteristic, in this connection, was the declaration of Mr. Bartel on April 24th: "These were very serious events. If the crowd is fired upon and it does not move to save itself for fear of death; these are not riots. They smack of revolution."

For several months strikes followed one upon another uninterruptedly. They embraced the entire country. After the textile workers of Lodz, came the turn of the petroleum workers of the Boryslaw district, the miners of upper-Silesia, the strike struggles at Cracow, Sosnowice, Poznan, Czestochowa, etc.

The conflicts assume a very acute character. The workers who struggle to maintain their miserable wages lock themselves in with their families, in the factories and the pits and it is only with difficulty that the forces of the police dislodge them. Demonstrations of unemployed have taken place all over the country. First at Cracow and then at Lvov, blood was spilled.

Police Fire on Funeral
On April 14th at Lvov the police opened fire during one of these demonstrations. Two were killed. The city seethed. There were 30,000 people present at the funeral of the worker Kzask, a funeral organized by workers organizations and trade unions. The police opened fire, preventing the workers from passing through the center of the city to the Janowski cemetery. The police fired again. This time it was a real massacre. The workers courageously defended themselves and erected barricades. According to official reports there were 18 killed and 200 wounded. Only with difficulty did the police re-establish order. Then followed the repression. 2,000 arrested and a hundred militants were sent to the concentration camp of Bereza-Kartuska.

The workers answered with a 24 hour protest general strike in Lvov, Warsaw and many other localities.

On the same evening delegates of the trade unions, the P.P.S., demanded that the strike be immediately called off. The representative of the Bund wanted to continue it. The Stalinists demanded: 1. continue "until victory"; 2. proclaim the general strike in the entire country; 3. the immediate removal of Switalski. But outside of the conference a secret meeting of several leading bureaucrats was in process, composed of Stalinists and reformists. Suddenly, the Stalinist delegates, after having received the "high sign" from a superior, declared themselves in favor of the immediate cessation of the strike. Nothing remained of their "irrevocable" position in favor of the strike "until victory", that is up to the overthrow of capitalism. In vain the building union delegates and several others protested. They shouted in the direction of the Stalinists: "You have betrayed us as have the socialists." "You have sent our brothers to their death and you use this now as shameful bargaining with our blood." "Cowards." "Traitors", etc. . .

In actuality the workers wanted to struggle. On the next morning thousands of workers continued the strike against the orders of the "leaders", lackeys of the bourgeoisie, the streetcar workers did not work to 3 p. m. The workers of the other cities waited only for the strike call.

But the movement was abandoned and betrayed. But that did not prevent the Stalinists from celebrating it as a great victory of the People's Front.

And at the very time the union of social patriots and communopatriots was being established on the corpses of working class heroes, the police arrested hundreds of workers. A real massacre began. The arrested were tortured.

A number of militants disappeared without a trace. Daily new victims were secretly buried. The cops made expeditions against the trade unions killing on the spot those present, as for instance at the confectionary workers headquarters.

On Wednesday the funerals of the 8 "official" victims (the number admitted by the police) were held. More than 50,000 participated. The same fighting spirit which animated the masses three days earlier no longer prevailed. The betrayal was bearing its fruits. But also the idea of a new international was more easily making its way into the consciousness of the shamefully betrayed masses.

Poverty, Unemployment and Terror
A volume edited by the "Economic Institute" of Warsaw and which prints numerous letters from peasants, reflects this unprecedented misery. "In many sections", a peasant writes, "the only resources are the veterans pensions. The only ones with small incomes are tovalids. But there are not many such lucky fellows." Agricultural laborers who work a few weeks in the year earn 1 zloty 50 (around 2 cents) per day.

A peasant from the Radom district makes the following remark to a letter: "Winter is easier to survive than summer because one can sleep more and forget the hunger." As they say in French: "Qui dort dine." (He who sleeps dines).

Unemployment is widespread. According to the official figure it has reached a half-million which is surely more than a third of the entire working class.

The petty bourgeoisie is completely ruined. To that must be added the police regime more severe than that of Czarism, the reign of the Oefenzysa (Polish Okhrana), the punitive expeditions in the Ukraine and in White Russia.

The Clique Struggle
The Pilsudskyst dictatorship which is celebrating its 10th anniversary (in May 1926 the Pilsudskyst coup d'etat occurred) wished to resolve the contradictions of the regime by drawing inspiration from the Italian and German examples. But Pilsudsky had not succeeded in creating a mass party. The machinery of the dictatorship is much weaker than in Italy and Germany. Upon the death of the Marshal a covert struggle broke out between the different cliques in the Pilsudskyst camp.

The conflict between the "colonels" of the *Gazeta Polska* and the "moderates" supported by General Bydz Smigly, who wanted to extend the basis of the dictatorship by bribing the leadership of the left parties,

1914-1936: The Same Social Patriotic Tune

By ARNE SWABECK

Marxists have always taken the position that the question of war in the modern imperialist epoch is inseparable from the capitalist system of society as is the class struggle. Our attitude towards war is therefore the same as our attitude towards the class struggle: our aim is in both instances to work for the defeat of capitalism and to secure the victory of the working class.

This fundamental criterion the Stalinist leaders have thrown overboard long ago. Having abandoned the Marxist position the Comintern and all its sections now reincarnates in new form s and under new conditions the ideas of social patriotism which characterized the great betrayal in 1914.

To the Stalinist leaders the fundamental differentiation in the present day world does not proceed along the irreconcilable lines of opposing and antagonistic classes. To them the main division occurs between good capitalists and bad capitalists, between which the working class is to take sides, for and against, to rely on the former against the latter. On the one hand in this division the forces for peace and on the other the forces for war, not divided along class lines, but divided into peaceful countries and nations of warlike intentions; a world divided between the capitalist democracies and the Fascist aggressors.

Gottwald-Browder Apes Haase
In his report on the Communist Party position on war and the coming Presidential elections Browder names the Fascist aggressors: "It is clear to the whole world," he says, "where the threat to peace comes from. It comes immediately from Hitler, Mussolini, the Japanese imperialists." On the other hand, he informs us, "we now have a number of countries which are directly threatened by the military aggression of the fascists and face the danger of losing their State and national independence, countries like Czechoslovakia, Austria and Belgium." In Czechoslovakia, says Browder, "the Communists will probably (?) refrain from voting on the military budget." He is not sure! For you see, the situation—not the bourgeois rule—but "shifts from moment to moment."

In any event he assures us: "The Communists will recognize the necessity of military resistance to possible Hitler invasion requires that there be available the utmost possible fighting weapons against Hitler." The Czechoslovakian Stalinists have likewise declared that they will defend the fatherland. Their "beloved" leader, Gottwald, came straight from Moscow to the seventh convention of his party to reassure his hearers that this "new line" does not really mean social patriotism: "Comrades," said Gottwald, "there is no doubt but that the defense of the republic against fascism can be interpreted to mean class peace, reformism, social patriotism. But this is not necessarily the correct interpretation. And we Communists do not interpret our position this way."

How else can it be interpreted? The social democrats of 1914, although equally treacherous, were at least much more frank. On August 4th Hugo Haase rose in the Reichstag session, the only speaker on the list, to proclaim in the name of the social democratic fraction, and amid applause from the Junker reaction: "Now we are making good what we have always stressed: in the hour of danger we do not leave the fatherland in the lurch."

In 1914 these fatherland defenders worsened concurrently with the difficulties of the regime. The rulers have serious rivals in the nationalists of the N.D. (National Democrats), old type reactionary party, clerical, anti-Semitic and partisan of the French orientation) which speculates on anti-Semitism. The latter have had a rebirth of popularity and are in a small measure rejuvenated by the "opposition cure" they took for the past ten years.

The conflict of the cliques inside the Pilsudskyst bloc also reflects two international orientations. The pro-Hitler policy of Beck is vigorously combatted by a goodly section of the Polish bourgeoisie which takes into consideration the danger of submission to Germany which would culminate by the absorption of Poland. This policy "independence of the great powers" also isolates Poland from the economic point of view and costs it very dearly by estranging it from the stock exchanges of Paris and London.

It is obvious that this "equilibrium" policy (maintenance of the Franco-Polish alliance and at the same time collaboration with Hitler) results rather from the objective situation of the Polish bourgeoisie than from the personal nuances of the butcher of Brest-Litovsk. The choice (between the U.S.S.R. and Germany is very difficult for Poland. And if in France the policy of Laval is continuing without Laval, in Poland that of Beck can be continued by his successor. In any case, now, the opposition in the country is clearly opposed to the pro-Hitler policy of Beck and is orienting itself on the strength of the Franco-Polish alliance.

Dividing World into Good and Bad Nations, Browder Voices Same Phrases as Social Democrats

ers in the various nations entered the services of their respective bourgeoisies to the tune of the war cry, "Kultur versus Czarism" or "Democracy versus Kaiserism." Today Browder proclaims: "And when Hitler fascism goes beyond the borders of Germany it must be met by military means (!!!). At the moment the greatest threat of the military forces of Hitler are against Czechoslovakia, Austria, France and Belgium."

But the question arises: by whose military means is this aggression to be defeated? Who will organize and direct the military operations? Do the Stalinists answer: the proletariat! No. This is to be left in the hands of the "forces of peace"—the bourgeois democracies among the capitalist nations—supported by the Communist parties and such workers as the Stalinist leaders can mislead by their deceptive slogans of defense of national independence. Obviously this defense is also to include Austria where the Stalinists and the Heimwehr may take up the cry in unison: "Long live the independence of Democratic Fascist Austria."

Handmaiden of the Capitalist State

Nothing shows more clearly than this the completely anti-Marxist attitude of the Stalinists toward the problem of national state independence among capitalist nations. Marxists recognize as well established the fact that the national state became a frightful impediment long ago to the economic and cultural development of humanity. The defense of the national state is therefore a reactionary task, worthy only of the depraved handmaidens in the service of decaying capitalism. Not the defense of the national state, but the wiping out of all national state borders is the task of the proletariat.

And how does Browder really propose to defend the independence of these national states? Obviously he relies upon the bourgeoisie but not entirely. In face of the war threats he demands the complete independence of the working class movement. "But," he adds, "the complete independence of the working class movement does not mean, however, that the peace policy of the working class movement of each question and in each country is directly opposed to the policy of the capitalist government—the government of the bourgeoisie within that country."

Not directly opposed to the policy of the capitalist government! In other words, follow the war map and not the map of the class struggle; this is the advice of Browder. You may make your reservations, but do not oppose directly the policy of the capitalist government. Like Plekhanov, the one time brilliant Marxist, who stooped to the level of defender of Czarism in 1914: "The marauders (the Kaiser's armies) are at the border of my country and are ready to rob and murder." "Make your reservations," he urged the Duma deputy, Durianov, "—this is absolutely necessary—but vote for the credits. The rejection of the credits would be a betrayal (of the people) and abstention would be cowardice, vote for the credits." Today this is implemented by Browder: "We are not pacifists. . . when Hitler fascism goes beyond the borders of Germany it must be met by military means."—Make your reservations in times of war or preparations for war—but do not oppose directly, the policy of the capitalist government! What a frightful parallel with the betrayal of 1914.

Vote the Credits!
Vote the credits! Not only Czechoslovakia, Austria and Belgium. "There are other countries," says Browder, "like France and the United States, which for their own particular interests are interested in maintaining peace, which are not furthering the development of war, which are resisting these developments." And the French Stalinists echo: vote the credits!

In 1914 the manifesto of the French Socialist Party proclaimed: "Spontaneously, without waiting for any other manifestation of the popular will, he (the head of the government) has appealed to our party. Our party has replied: Here!" And in 1936 Jacques Duclos, leader of the French Communist Party: "We are for the safety and freedom of our country. We do not want to vote credits blindly. We want to know what is done with them. The budget vote is a political act in which the struggle against fascism inside and outside the country must be taken into consideration."

Duclos is faithful to the Franco-Soviet pact and to the "new line" of Stalinism. He does not want the credits squandered. He wants it actually to go for the strengthening of France's military means. And Marcel Cachin, his equally faithful co-worker, may now repeat what he said in 1914 under the auspices of the Social Democratic Party: "We promise to fulfill our duty completely, as Frenchmen and as socialists, faithful to the International."

France had then been attacked by the Kaiser's troops, so he maintained. And now again we are told that the greatest threat of the military forces of Hitler are directed among other countries against France.

Bourgeoisie Pleased

What kind of a war would it be, should these threats be carried out? The Daily Freiheit of May 19 gives the answer thus: "If Hitler should attack France it would be an imperialist attack on his part, and if France should in that situation defend herself, it would be a natural case of self defense which has nothing to do with imperialism because imperialism means the grabbing of foreign lands in the interests of home capitalism."

French imperialism would not grab foreign lands; God forbid! French imperialism does not want colonies. It didn't in 1914 either. It was just plainly and simply attacked. Did not Vaillant write in "Humanite", then the official socialist party organ: "In face of the aggression, the socialists will fulfill their whole duty to the fatherland for the republic and for the revolution." "More than that," answered the satisfied editor of Le Temps on August 4, "we do not ask of M. Edouard Vaillant and his friends." More than that no bourgeois can ask from Duclos, Cachin, Stalin or Browder. More than that they cannot even ask from Mr. Oigin, whose articles printed in the Daily Forward, after the United States had entered the war in 1917, were presented in Washington by Abe Cahan as proof that the Forward was patriotic, that it called upon the American mothers to give their sons for the country and therefore the Forward should not be suppressed.

Forces for Peace?

But imperialism France is not only in danger of attack, according to Browder. Together with the United States it is interested in maintaining peace. These two countries, he insists, are not furthering the development of war; they are "resisting these developments." We are not sure that the editor of Le Temps, even in his most exalted moments of bourgeois hypocrisy, would guarantee that much for France. As for the United States, Browder has unquestionably accepted in earnest and is ready to dish out the bourgeois demagoguery about the strongest armaments being the best guarantee of peace. No doubt the rival capitalist powers have a different understanding of President Roosevelt's one billion dollars military budget. They have learned to know the capitalist United States as a powerful force struggling aggressively for world hegemony and not hesitating to use any means at its command to gain this objective. But in this respect Browder also gives a warning.

The capitalist United States is "interested in maintaining peace. . . not furthering the development of war. . . resisting these developments." That is, provided power is not taken out of the hands of the Roosevelt administration. In these coming elections, "the victory of the Republican Party - Liberty League - Hearst combination," exclaims Browder, "would throw power on the side of the war makers." The question of war is here again presented not as an inevitable outgrowth of the capitalist system, caused by the forces that capitalism itself sets into motion, but as something instigated only by the bad capitalists. The working class, according to this has the choice, not of building a revolutionary party for the overthrow of capitalism, but purely the choice between the good and the bad capitalists.

The Bad American Bosses
"The main enemy of the people of America today is the Republican Liberty League-Hearst combination," says Browder in his statement on the C.P. position in the coming elections. He adds: "We must place as the center of our work in the election campaign the need for combatting this reactionary bloc and defeating its plans in 1936." This is where the emphasis is to be placed according to Browder, not direct opposition to the capitalist system, far from it, but merely opposition to the bad capitalists. In line with this it was quite natural for him to make the announcement at a press conference a few days before: "We would not do or say anything that would tend to turn Roosevelt support over to the Republican candidate." What is the objective meaning of this statement? Can it be anything else but to support Roosevelt? or at least to take care that none of the potential supporters are lost from the Roosevelt camp, which God forbid, may mean the victory of the Republican Liberty League Hearst combination—the victory of the bad capitalists over the good capitalists.

Surely in taking this position Browder remains entirely consistent and he remains faithful to his Stalinist line of policy. And this extends also to his position, and to the C.P. position, on the farmer-labor party question. Browder wants to "collaborate organizationally with those who are committed to the support of Roosevelt in 1936"—Labor's Non-Partisan League. "He explains in his usual 'lucid and learned' fashion, 'not merely the continuation of the role of labor as auxiliary to the old parties.' He wants to see in it also the beginnings of a farmer-labor party. But to ordinary mortal beings how would this be possible."

Pro-Labor and Pro-Roosevelt!

Can a movement fulfill the role not merely as an auxiliary to the old parties, i.e., to the capitalist parties, or even to the one of them which carries the Roosevelt label, and at the same time be a beginning toward a working class political movement? Obviously this question is not decided merely by forms or by labels but by the ideological position and by the program it stands for. And in this case, in particular, no doubt need exist that this very thing which is the old and at the same time is supposed to be the beginning to something new still would retain its previous ideological position and program. At its best the same auxiliary to the old capitalist parties, possibly minus the Roosevelt label, possibly with a brand new farmer labor name would continue the tradition and the program of the Roosevelt New Deal. But it would continue under new objective conditions as a more effective barrier damming up the path of advance for the revolutionary movement. For as we have emphasized often before, in such a case the shedding of the old shell of Rooseveltian bourgeois reformism can be expected to coincide with the time when objective conditions make the new clothing of farmer-labor party reformism a more effective means of arresting the revolutionary advance.

In taking this position Browder also remains entirely consistent. In

inverted form he proves that the question of war in the modern imperialist epoch is as inseparable from the capitalist system of society as is the class struggle. A false position in regard to the question of war leads inevitably to an equally false position toward the everyday issues of the class struggle. It leads not to the victory of the working class but to its defeat.

Hillquit-Browder Wants U.S. to Act

"We must," says Browder in concluding his report on the war question, "crystallize such a mass opinion in America directed towards restraining the instigators of war that the United States will become an effective international force, will become a positive contribution to the world front of struggle for peace." He does not want the mere slogan Keep America Out of War, because that is the slogan of isolation, of neutrality. Well and good. He wants to link up America with the other capitalist imperialist nations to which he attributes the virtue of restraining war developments. In a somewhat different situation, but still with the same objective meaning Morris Hillquit opposed American isolation in 1917. When Debs went to prison for his courageous anti-war stand Hillquit protested: "I do not advocate an immediate separate peace, a withdrawal by America. Nothing that I have ever said or written could justify such a sweeping assertion. . . I want America to act, not to withdraw."

Browder now wants America to act, not to withdraw. In his statement, cited above, one cannot quarrel with his idea of crystallizing mass opinion toward restraining instigators of war. But who are the instigators of war? Is this a question merely of certain people of certain nations? Marxists reject such a conception and emphasize time and again that war is inevitable concomitant of capitalism regardless of which nation fires the first shot. And much more decisively must we reject Browder's deceptive and delusive prattle about making America a "positive contribution to the world front of struggle for peace." Proceeding from the Marxist conception that the causes of war are inherent in capitalism and that actual war grows inevitably out of this form of society and, proceeding further from the Marxist conception that only the working class achieving its historical mission of overthrowing capitalism can secure peace, it follows necessarily that both of these questions of war and peace are fundamentally the question of class forces, and the relationship of class forces. Petty bourgeois philistines may call upon America—capitalist America—to become a positive contribution to the world front of struggle for peace. Revolutionists will address this call to the American working class and to its allies.

In this lies the fundamental distinction between the Marxist position and the position of Browder and his Stalinist fellow bureaucrats. Their position proceeds from the Stalinist peace policy of the Soviet Union which has for its premise the preservation of the status quo of the boundaries of capitalist nations, of the relations between these nations as well as of their internal equilibria. In other words the status quo of the capitalist system of society alongside of which the Soviet system is supposed to be able to exist peacefully. This policy cannot tolerate any upsets or overthrows. That would be its antithesis. It leaves no room for a policy of proletarian revolution. The Marxist policy aims directly for the proletarian revolution as the only way of eliminating imperialist war.

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(Continued from Page 1)
break our union through threat of vigilante force known as the 'Law and Order League,' another more subtle and vicious means has been adopted.

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DAY TO DAY REPORT OF SOCIALIST CONVENTION

(Continued from Page 1)

with an indictment of the National Executive Committee, the Militants, and all those associated with them, as "communists" and "insurrectionists"—a term which he uttered with all the horror and hatred of a prosecutor demanding a verdict against a revolutionist in the dock. In spite of the unbelievably dull presentation of his speech, it nevertheless sought to bring forward some of the political differences at bottom of the fight, and in general it might be remarked that the representatives of the Old Guard were less inclined than were their opponents to rest their case on purely organizational points and logistical detail. However, ludicrously exaggerated were O'neal's and Waldman's efforts to label the S.P. leadership "communist", their speeches were aimed at emphasizing the fact that their intransigence was based primarily upon differences in principle and policy rather than on obscure squabbles of persons and posts. The Militants did indeed make at least one distinctive effort to emulate the Old Guard in this respect when the New York State Committee of the Left Wing circulated a statement summarizing the issues in the conflict. The character of the statement, however, failed to set the tone for which speeches in the convention, which is saying a good deal in criticism of their position, especially when it is borne in mind that the statement itself was far from meeting the obvious requirements of the situation.

The high point reached by the Old Guard was undoubtedly marked by the one-hour speech of Louis Waldman. Skillfully constructed, polished, effectively though at times too melodramatically delivered, aggressive through and through, it was designed to rally every available delegate around the banner of the Right wing for the purpose of getting the best possible send-off for his new party. His castigation of the Militants reeked of the reactionary social democrat's hatred of everything progressive and revolutionary in the labor movement. Nor did he remain silent about the principal ally of the Militants—Hoan and his Wisconsin delegation—although his boldness here was based primarily upon the fact that, after a meeting with the Hoan delegation, it had become clear that it would not support the demands of the Old Guard. To the Militants' criticism of his flirtations with LaGuardia and Roosevelt, Waldman therefore challengingly replied with what Norman Thomas called a "tu quoque"—that is, "so are you." You condemn Hoan for doing no less in Wisconsin with the LaFollettes than Waldman is supposed to have done in New York with LaGuardia. Why the discrimination between Hoan and Waldman? Because you have Hoan's vote! This rather provocative comparison, which aroused considerable interest, and not only among the press, did not succeed in drawing elaborate replies from the Militants who took the floor subsequently.

In the morning session following the midnight meeting which was taken up mainly by the speech of Waldman and Thomas' reply, a number of briefer presentations were made by spokesmen of the contending factions. For the most part they followed the lead given by the two principal speakers, although some of the rank and file Militants, like John Fisher of Illinois, distinguished themselves by the truly aggressive and uncompromising demand they made for a clean break with the Old Guard, not merely organizationally but above all politically. However, it had become clear at this point that virtually every delegate had already decided his course, and that the vote was predetermined.

Old Guard Overwhelmed

Four proposals were before the convention on the New York contest. The first proposal, made by O'neal for the Old Guard, to seat its New York delegation as a whole, was voted down on a weighted ballot: 4,397 in favor and 9,322 against, with some 1,200 not voting. These 4,397 thus represented the maximum outright support which the Old Guard could count on in the convention.

The Reading delegation proposed a compromise motion to seat 22 members of each of the New York contestants. Obviously designed to take a "neutral" position in the dispute and to continue the existence side by side in one party of the Right and Left wings, this met with scornful rejection by the consistent elements of both sides. The motion lost by a vote of 3,537 in favor and 11,097 against.

In the name of the Wisconsin delegation, Mayor Hoan proposed a second compromise in a motion to seat 32 of the "Thomas delegation" and 12 of the Old Guard delegation, on condition that all delegates seated should agree to abide by convention decisions and to recognize the reorganized State organization. Repeated demands from the floor addressed to the Right wing for the purpose of obtaining a categorical Yes or No with re-

spect to the conditions, failed of success. The Right wing was—and properly so—adamant in its demand for all or nothing. The Hoan motion was thereupon defeated by a vote of 4,393 in favor and 10,201 against, with some scattering abstentions. It was the last effort to arrange for the peaceful cohabitation of the conflicting currents. And the defeat of even so "conciliatory" a proposal is sufficient evidence of the depth of the division which the utmost in parliamentary maneuvering was unable to bridge.

The defeat of the Hoan motion, however, gave the Wisconsin delegation the basis for its final vote. "We have done our all; nothing remains but to seat the Militants"—this was the spirit in which they cast their final ballot on the motion of the Credentials Committee to seat the Militant delegation as a whole. The frenzied cheers of the convention when Wisconsin's favorable vote was cast on the motion was eloquent of the thoroughly ambiguous position which the Hoan delegation had taken throughout the fight in the last two years. The motion of the Credentials Committee was carried by a vote of 9,449 in favor and 4,809 against, with a few abstentions.

It had been expected by many that this vote would be the signal for a walkout on the part of the entire Right wing. The Right wing had, however, decided upon another strategy. Waldman's defeated group withdrew, and proceeded forthwith to set up "The Social Democratic Federation" and to issue statements to the press denouncing the Militants and all their works. The politically allied delegations from other states, on the other hand, remained in the Convention—though thenceforth playing a comparatively minor role—apparently aiming to carry through the split in a more leisurely manner at home, hoping thereby to achieve the maximum of disruption in the Socialist Party proper.

Meanwhile, the Convention proceeded to complete its organization. The Committees were elected with solid Militant majorities, and Hoopes of Pennsylvania was fittingly rewarded by being selected as Chairman of Monday's sessions. These were devoted for the most part to the nomination of Thomas as Presidential candidate, of Nelson (of Wisconsin) as Vice-Presidential candidate, and to the various speeches and demonstrations in connection with the nominating, acceptance, etc. Since a considerable part of Tuesday's sessions (the Convention adjourning Tuesday night) were given over to the elections to the National Committee, discussion and action on the Platform, Committee reports, and various political resolutions, had to be sandwiched in here and there as the occasion permitted. The results were confusing on the surface, but nevertheless of the utmost significance in the tendencies which, explicitly or implicitly, emerged.

Organization Questions

In a confused and distorted, but very real, way, the Convention was facing some of the problems involved in the step to the left marked by the rejection of the New York Old Guard. For example, the report of the Organization and Campaign Committee contained a provision "That a Western States Organization Committee be set up having as its chairman a member of the N.E.C." This met at once with a bitter and slashing attack from the Right. Graham of Montana and the demagogic McKay of Washington led a reactionary onslaught against "dictation" and "the meddling of college boys from New York." Both were frank in stating that they would not abide by any such arrangement, that such a Committee would not be recognized in their states. McKay reached a climax in his demand: "You leave us alone and we will leave you alone." The proposal was then watered down to provide for a committee elected by the western states, rather than appointed by the N.E.C.; and was passed over the continuing opposition of the Right.

Trade Union Policy

The same result followed the presentation of the report on "Trade Union Policy." Section (7) of this report provided: "The National Executive Committee is instructed by this convention to set up a permanent National Labor Committee. Each local organization shall elect a Local Labor Committee whose duty it will be to coordinate the action of Socialists within the Trade Union in order to carry out the policy of the party. . . ." This section was assailed from the Right; a Wisconsin delegate moved to strike it out; Graham, McKay and others supported the motion to strike out on the grounds that the policy of the Section meant the building of Communist "cells" in the unions, that it would isolate the Socialists from the unions, that the business of the Socialists was to follow and not to try to lead or "interfere with" the trade unions, that it meant party "dictatorship"—and in general gave all the reactionary arguments common to their camp. The defense of

Statement of Minnesota S. P. on Farmer Labor Party Question

(Continued from Page 1)

ever given a majority candidate, on the express promise not to use the police in industrial disputes. Despite the treachery of Latimer, the Farmer-Labor party has refused to expel this man from its ranks or even to discipline him in any manner.

The state Farmer-Labor machine has continued to make unprincipled blocs with corrupt bourgeois politicians against the will and interests of the rank and file. It has stifled democracy within the party. It has at all times supported the most corrupt and reactionary section of the trade union movement against progressive trade unionists.

A national Farmer-Labor party, even if it arose under the best possible variant—that is, based on the economic organizations of the workers and farmers, as in Minnesota—could look and act no differently than does the Minnesota Farmer-Labor party. Our experience with the Farmer-Labor party in Minnesota, makes us certain that it is not the duty of the Socialist Party of America to throw its efforts behind a national Farmer-Labor party. Today and in the near future great sections of workers are awakening to political consciousness. To channelize the masses into a reformist party is a crime against the working class and the farmers of America. Nowhere has it been shown that American workers must go through the school of a reformist party. Such a step would be a backward one. It would retard for many years the development of a revolutionary socialist movement.

Drawing the lessons from our experience with the Farmer-Labor party in Minnesota, we say categorically that it is the immediate duty of the Socialist Party of America to build its own revolutionary

Marxist political party, the only party that can truly represent the American workers and farmers, and cope with modern industrial conditions. Our experience in Minnesota proves that for Socialists to assist in building a Farmer-Labor party only weakens the Socialist Party and misleads and confuses the workers who are seeking the way out of their misery and oppression.

However, should a national Farmer-Labor or labor party arise in America, the revolutionary Socialists must find the path to work with such a party in order to show its supporters the only road that will lead to the satisfaction of their needs, to their emancipation—the organization of a revolutionary Socialist Party, the overthrow of capitalist dictatorship, the smashing of the capitalist state machinery, the expropriation of the expropriators, the establishment of a working class democracy and of a socialist economy.

At all times the revolutionary Socialist Party must hold intact its ranks, must not dissolve its organization, but must turn its energies to the building and strengthening of its own organization. It must patiently explain to the masses the fallacies of a labor party in the period of capitalist decay. A Farmer-Labor party cannot stop fascism. It can only pave the way for fascism by lulling the workers to sleep—as was so tragically shown by the failures of the social democratic parties in Germany and Austria. Nor can reformist parties prevent the outbreak of imperialism. This was proven in 1914, when betrayals of these parties drowned the workers of Europe in a sea of blood.

Today it is only a revolutionary Socialist Party, working closely

with sister parties in all countries, that can weld together and educate the working class, gain the allegiance of the farmers, lead the onslaught against finance capitalism, overthrow the capitalist state, establish the rule of the proletariat and lead America and the rest of the world to the establishment of a world socialist economy.

We therefore conclude that the Socialist Party cannot be the instrument that initiates or builds the Farmer-Labor party. We must be prepared to face the development of this reformist Farmer-Labor party as a force locally and nationally in a practical manner. The Socialist Party must always be in the position of analyzing the Farmer-Labor party in its true light, educating the workers to its inevitable reformist results, its dangers, and to the fact that only the achievement of Socialism through the leadership of a disciplined, revolutionary Socialist Party can permanently solve the problems of the working class.

We propose the adoption of this statement as the policy of the Socialist Party on the Farmer-Labor Party question. We further propose that this policy immediately be put into action nationally. Since it is impossible to set a blue print for procedure in local instances because of difference in conditions, we should resolve that no local section of the Socialist Party shall be permitted to negotiate, endorse, or permit any of its membership to enter into relationship with a Farmer-Labor Party without first consulting with the National Executive Committee for permission. In making decisions on all such cases, the N.E.C. shall act in accordance with the policy as herein stated.

the Committee report showed interesting variations. Fisher of Illinois spoke sharply from a clear-cut left position, and made his remarks an overt attack direct against the Old Guard. David Lasser of New York defended the Committee, but at the same time dissociated himself from any policy of building "cells" or attempting to "interfere with" the mass organizations. A compromise was proposed to change "shall" to "may" in the Section of the report under discussion. Paul Porter spoke for the compromise, and emphasizing how thoroughly he was against any "dictatorship from the top." Through its Chairman, Murray Gross of New York, the Committee accepted the compromise; Gross, however, expressing his personal disapproval of the change. But Glenn Trimble of California, a member of the Committee, rejected the compromise from the left, and forced a vote. The compromise carried. The motion to strike out the entire section was lost—with the Wisconsin delegating voting with one or two exceptions to strike out; and the section as amended was adopted.

The peculiar status of the Wisconsin delegation was again brought out during the nominations to the N.E.C. Hoan, in accepting nomination, stated that he did so conditionally, since, as he put it, his very considerable duties in his own state might force him to withdraw later on. His election, however, followed in due course.

Conflict on the Platform

It was the discussion and action on the campaign Platform which brought out most fully the conflicting currents present within the Convention. It had been rumored that four platforms were under consideration: one prepared by Harry W. Laidler, one by Gus Tyler, one by Herbert Zam, and a fourth which had been published in the June issue of the Socialist Appeal. The Platform Committee, controlled by the New York Militants, first reported out what was said to be essentially the Laidler platform: a document throughout of standardized social-democratic reformism, with scarcely a breath of revolutionary content. There was no phrase in it which could not have been wholeheartedly accepted by the Old Guard. When it reached the floor, it became at once appar-

ent that the left wing delegates were prepared to open up a fighting attack on it all down the line. Jack Altman of New York thereupon stepped forward and moved to have the platform referred back to the Committee; and this action was taken.

On Tuesday the Platform made its appearance in a somewhat modified form, with certain sections deleted, and in a few cases sentences from the Appeal Platform—a document of militant class struggle, thoroughly imbued with vigorous revolutionary spirit—substituted for phrases from the original. In substance, however, the Committee Platform was not altered, remaining a consistently reformist statement—a fact attested by the support it received from the Right wing delegations. Laidler, for the Committee, read the Platform paragraph by paragraph, stopping at the end of each to ask for objections; when there were none, the paragraph was adopted; if there were objections, the paragraph was debated.

An interesting division occurred on the very first paragraph: The Platform (in its revised form,

though not in its original) called for a society in which "the industries of the country shall be socially owned. . . ." The Right wing proposed to change "socially" to "publicly." Laidler accepted the proposal; King, of Michigan, a member of the Committee, objected; and, on a vote, King was upheld.

The Road to Power

Left wing delegates from Arkansas and Minnesota, moved certain short but important changes in sentences dealing with the war question. The most important test, however, came on the motion of Whitten of Arkansas to substitute the paragraphs in the Appeal Platform on "The Road to Socialism" for the watery, reformist statement given in paragraph eleven of the Committee Platform. The issue at this point was entirely clear: it was in effect on the altogether decisive question of the road to power and the nature of the Workers' State; with the Committee Platform giving the reformist answer, and the Appeal Platform the revolutionary answer. Delegate Whitten presented his case well, and was applauded with full enthusiasm by the rank and file delegates of the Left. David Lasser at one point interrupted to enquire sarcastically whether Whitten was proposing an amendment or an entirely new Platform—a justified question, which served to point the issue even more clearly.

The division was by a rising vote. Remarkably enough, Whitten's amendment lost only by a vote of 52 in favor, 72 against (with a number of abstentions). His support came chiefly from the delegations of Illinois, Minnesota, Indiana, Colorado, California, with scattered votes elsewhere. There was particular interest in the New York vote, which held a balance of power on the question. Only two delegates from New York were seen to rise in favor of Whitten's motion. Wisconsin, Pennsylvania, and the Right wing delegations thus had their way with the Platform.

War Plank Disputed

Approximately the same division occurred on the motion of Delegate Parshall to strike out the pacifist paragraph of the division on immediate demands dealing with " Militarism and War," and to substitute the simple double slogan of the Appeal Platform ("Not a penny, not a man, to the military aims of the government; unconditional opposition to any war engaged in by the American government.") Here, amusingly enough, after voting Parshall down, the Convention moved to add the Appeal statement.

The motion of Ernest Erber of Illinois to amend the final paragraph by substituting the corresponding paragraphs of the Appeal platform—unfortunately defended weakly by Erber because of the shortness of time allotted to him—was voted down by a voice vote. A number of additional paragraphs on "Socialized Medicine," "The Commonwealth Plan," etc., were thrown into the pot. When the Platform was then adopted as a whole, a considerable group of left wing delegates rose to their feet demanding that their names be inserted in the records as opposed.

Two more vigorous struggles re-

mained for the crowded closing minutes of the final session: on the Farmer-Labor Party resolution and the United Front. In between, a number of significant motions and resolutions dealing with the Y.P. S.L., the war question, "armed insurrection," changes in the Constitution and the Declaration of Principles, were passed without discussion, and will not be taken up here, since they failed to reveal clearly the demarcations and tendencies in the Convention itself.

The Farmer-Labor Party

The Committee report on the Farmer-Labor Party was ambiguous in the extreme, and of a kind to provide no resistance to the maneuvers of the Stalinists on this question. It favors a Farmer-Labor Party, but declares that one is not possible in 1936; it states that Socialists must work vigorously for it in the unions, and spends most of its space discussing the form that a "genuine" Farmer-Labor Party should take. It was attacked sharply both from the right and from the left. The left opponents distinguished their opposition clearly from that of the Right pointing out the extremely reactionary character of the opposition from the right; and at the same time criticizing vigorously the confused and basically reformist character of the Committee resolution.

At the same time that it attacked the Committee resolution, the left wing took positive action when Pemble of Minnesota, as a minority member of the Committee, introduced as a substitute a shortened form of the Resolution on the Problem of a Farmer-Labor Party passed at the pre-convention Conference of the Socialist Party of Minnesota (this is reprinted elsewhere in this issue—Ed.). Pemble defended the uncompromising revolutionary perspective of the Minnesota resolution. The Minnesota resolution was lost on a voice vote; Wisconsin, Pennsylvania, and the majority resolution carried by a vote of 109 in favor, 64 against.

United Front Resolution

The Convention ended with a short but bitter debate on the United Front resolution. The majority report, far from clear in form, included clauses providing for United Fronts with the Communist Party. (At an earlier session a proposal from the C.P. for a united election ticket and a standing joint committee on united front actions had been tabled without a dissenting voice.) A minority resolution against any United Front involving the C.P., introduced by the Right wing, was lost 67-89. The Left wing was anxious to force the issue (it is significant that on this issue alone during the last sessions did the New York Militants stand with the left wingers who had fought the central questions with respect to the platform). Darlington Hoopes openly threatened to split if the question were voted on. After hasty caucusing, Thomas took the floor for the Militants and proposed to carry the matter to a referendum, to be held after the November elections. The Convention thus closed, as it had begun, on the thin edge of a split, but this second time more profound and far-reaching in its implications.

Belgian People's Front Mirrors France's Future

(Continued from Page 1)

the Belgian National Union and the French People's Front is that the Stalinists are excluded from it—as yet. The Belgian Communist Party has been so insignificant a force that hitherto there has been no occasion to take its participation or approval seriously. That is why Repard bitterly refers to the Catholics and Liberals in Belgium as "reactionary parties." These parties of the Belgian Center are of course in no way to be distinguished from the French Radicals, except in this: that the Belgian Socialists have long pursued the policy of participating with them in coalition governments, even with Socialist premiers, a policy only recently accredited in France.

The Belgian Labor Party lost support not because the leadership refused to add the Stalinists to the present coalition. This would have simply meant adding a tiny social-patriotic (and inexperienced) competitive organization to a very old and going concern.

The developments in Belgium are the consequences of the course pursued by the P.O.B. in the sphere of "People's Front" policies and the actual experience that the Belgian masses have already had with the governments established through the coalition of the Socialists, the Catholics and the Liberals. The Belgian workers have already had their Socialist premier, true, his name is not Blum but Vandervelde.

Belgium the Mirror for France

The experience of these coalition governments was mirrored in Austria, where Socialists entered into coalition governments with Clericals, and pursued the self-same social-patriotic, strikebreaking and capitulating policies. It is disgust and disillusion with such policies that underlies the losses of Vandervelde and Co.

It ought to be noted that Belgium is in a somewhat advanced stage as regards its economic developments as well. In Belgium the devaluation of the currency which is pending in France has al-

ready taken place. The masses of the workers and of the petty bourgeoisie have already felt the effects of devaluation, and have added this to their already extensive experience with a "National Union" (or a "People's Front") government which can put through only the policy of finance capital. This has provided an added impulse to drive the middle classes into the arms of clerical fascism.

Stalinists Gain Despite Themselves

As for the Communist gains, these were scored not because of the policies they pursue but despite them. The Belgian workers, moving to the left, sensing and seeking a revolutionary solution to the crisis, turn towards the C.P. in precisely the same way that the German workers swung away from the social democracy towards the C.P. up to the very day that Hitler assumed power.

What we observe in Belgium today, was observed in its time in Austria and in Germany. The initial stages of the same process are also observable in France. In France, we have the self-same disintegration of the parties of the Center (the Radicals), and the growth of the right and the left wings. Once France will have had its experience with the governments in which Socialists participate, or also participate in . . . then the French fascists will likewise begin scoring their spectacular gains. In this latter respect Belgium today mirrors the future of the French People's Front.

Criticism Boomerang for D. W.

The Daily Worker, in the person of Repard condemns the Belgian Socialists for joining a government "on a program of salvaging capitalist profits." This is A B C for every revolutionist. But in the case of Repard, this is not revolutionary criticism but Stalinist hypoc-

ry. If the Belgians are to be damned for supporting Belgian capitalists, why is Blum to be supported by the French Stalinists? For Blum came out openly in his speech at the Salle Wagram with the statement that he was accepting the premiership not on the basis of a Socialist program, but on the basis of a People's Front program, which, said Blum, is a program of capitalism. Or is there perhaps a program of capitalism which does not salvage capitalist profits?

Every criticism that Repard levels at the Belgian "National Union" applies with equal force to the People's Front; even Repard's criticism of the Belgians for their dumping the de Man Plan. This Plan was proposed by the P.O.B. leadership in the very first days of the leftward move of the masses after the German debacle. It proposed to "immediately" institute socialism by buying out the capitalists, nationalizing all key industries, etc. It served its purpose of sidetracking the masses from revolutionary struggle.

Repard is quite outspoken in his condemnation of the Belgian Plan, and we would like to know when he will tell us a little something about Jouhaux's Plan, a modest edition of de Man's Plan, which was likewise proposed and similarly dumped in France. And, again, what has happened to the economic demands of the People's Front program, and its own "New Deal"? When are the Laval emergency decrees to be abolished? When are the rich going to be "soaked"? What about the 2-year military service in France?

Once the demagoguery of the People's Front will have been bared to the masses in France by the actions of the People's Front Government, then it will be clearly seen that the People's Front is not

an obstacle but an aid to Fascism; that it is merely an extended version of the coalition governments in Austria, Belgium, etc.

Growth of Revolutionary Vanguard

A section of the Belgian vanguard has learned well the lessons of the experience in Germany and Austria. It is this section—Action Socialiste Revolutionnaire—that has been expelled from the P.O.B. for having refused to accept dumbly the self-same policies of capitulation that brought about the debacle in Berlin and Vienna. What has hitherto rendered the working class impotent in the face of its mortal enemy has been the absence of an organized revolutionary vanguard. The most hopeful sign of the developments in Belgium lies in the steps toward such a vanguard. The future of Belgium depends upon whether the vanguard is able to fuse itself with the masses of workers before the social-patriots of the Second and the Third Internationals have so demoralized the masses, and have surrendered such important positions as would enable the fascists to launch a general offensive, and slide into power, in still another country.

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Official Organ of the Workers Party of the U.S.

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Workers Party Calls All Revolutionary Workers to Join the Socialist Party

THE Cleveland convention of the Socialist Party finally smashed the Old Guard domination, and the Old Guard withdrew. By rejecting the Old Guard, the convention ratified the slogan of an inclusive, democratic party, open to all who stand for the goal of socialism and who are willing to work loyally within the framework of the party.

From these two significant developments we draw two conclusions:

1. By breaking with the Old Guard and by opening its doors to revolutionary workers, the Socialist Party becomes the best rallying ground for the revolutionary forces in building the party of the American proletarian revolution.

2. Taking the militant Socialists at their word, the revolutionary workers outside the Socialist Party should immediately join it.

Acting on these conclusions, the National Committee of the Workers Party, exercising the authority expressly given to it by the party convention, has formally dissolved the organization and all its members are joining the Socialist Party. The Spartacus Youth League has taken similar action to join the Young People's Socialist League.

These conclusions, and the actions proceeding from them, are the result of a careful and concrete analysis of the course of development of the Socialist Party during the last two years.

Turning Point at Detroit

The Detroit convention of the Socialist Party in 1934 marked a decisive turning point in the history of the movement. The Declaration of Principles then adopted, despite the ambiguity and confusion of its formulations, made a sharp break with the classical reformism of the post-war Social Democracy, and gave evidence of a determination not to repeat the terrible mistakes and crimes of the parties which had led the Austrian and German masses to the yoke of Fascism. The Waldmans, Pankens and Oncals rightly characterized the document as a break with "democratic Socialism," i.e., the cowardly and treacherous Social-Democratic reformism of the war and post-war years.

Though the leftward tendency of the Socialist Party has not achieved programmatic clarity and, in some respects, retrogressive steps were taken at Cleveland, nevertheless the general trend of the party, as measured by the activities of its membership and the increasing violence of its collisions with the extreme right wing of the party, is undoubtedly progressive. This is to be seen, for example, in the fruitful work of the Socialist militants among the unemployed—a field completely neglected in the past; in the tendency to coordinate the work of Socialists in the trade unions, despite the resistance of party reactionaries allied with the trade union bureaucracy; in the firm stand of the Left Wing in breaking with the hidebound reactionary opposition to the United Front; and in the steadily increasing interest of the party membership in the fundamental questions of the revolutionary program, above all in the consistent development within the Socialist Party on the question of the struggle against war.

The Question of War

War is the most crucial issue of this epoch. On this question the Social-Democracy foundered and collapsed in 1914. On this question, today, both the international Social Democracy and the degenerate Third International reveal their ideological bankruptcy and their readiness to betray the working class to the imperialists. It is this question that divides the proletariat today into the two camps: those who will and those who will not fight against imperialist war.

Alone of all the important parties in the Second International, the Socialist Party of America took a firm and courageous stand against capitalist government "sanctions." Alone of all these parties, the American party repudiated the fictitious distinction between "peaceful" and "aggressive" capitalist nations. In spite of the terrific barrage of Stalinist pressure, the Socialist Party has continued to develop more clearly and decisively toward a genuinely revolutionary

Statement of National Committee

The Cleveland convention of the Socialist Party has brought to an organizational climax the internal struggle which had arisen out of the Leftward development in the party. The break with the Old Guard shifts the center of gravity to the Left and facilitates the growth and activity of the party. This, as well as the militant position the party has taken on the crucial question of imperialist war, confronts revolutionary workers throughout the country with a new situation. The composition of the Socialist Party today is no longer what it was under the domination of the Old Guard. Into its ranks have entered a new generation of class-conscious militants, inspired by the spirit of the class struggle, who want to make the party a party of revolutionary Marxism. They represent a movement of great potentialities for the cause of a mass party of socialist revolution in the United States.

The Workers Party, formed to advance the interests of revolutionary internationalism, cannot stand apart from this movement. It is fully conscious of the tremendous importance of this movement for the future of the American and international working class and of the fact that this movement can be advanced more speedily and consistently in the direction in which it has traveled only by the closest, most loyal and direct contact with it.

Unlike the Communist (Stalinist) Party, which has sunk deeper and deeper into the mire of reformism and social-patriotism, the Socialist Party has freed itself from the strangulating domination of the Right wing and has advanced towards the position of revolutionary Marxism on a number of basic questions, notably on the question of war, the central question of our time.

Unlike the Communist Party, in which the bureaucracy has stifled every last remnant of party democracy, outlawing all views contrary to those imposed upon the ranks by an appointed officialdom, the Socialist Party openly takes a stand for internal democracy, welcomes revolutionists into its ranks and offers the possibility of putting forward in its

midst the rounded views of consistent revolutionary Marxism.

At its last convention, the National Committee of the Workers Party was instructed to follow closely the developments within the Socialist Party and was given full power to take appropriate action in the event of a favorable outcome of the internal struggle. By virtue of this authority, the National Committee herewith decides to dissolve the Workers Party as a separate organization and calls upon all its members to enter the ranks of the Socialist Party of America. It appeals to all revolutionary workers to follow this example.

The comrades who have been grouped in the Workers Party join not as a separate faction, and take their places side by side with the militant fighters in the ranks of the S.P. with the aim of building it into a mass party of revolutionary socialism. We aim to work loyally and devotedly in the ranks of the Socialist Party and to observe discipline in action. We enter the Socialist Party as we are, with our ideas. We assume all the obligations and duties of party membership and ask no special privileges. On the basis of equal duties and equal rights we obligate ourselves to work loyally and devotedly to build the Socialist Party into a powerful, united organization in the revolutionary struggle for socialism.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE,
WORKERS PARTY OF THE U. S.

The National Committee of the Spartacus Youth League endorses the declaration of the Workers Party. By the authority of the last convention, the National Committee hereby formally dissolves the Spartacus Youth League and calls upon all its members and sympathizers to take their place in the ranks of the Young People's Socialist League.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE,
SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE.

lutionary conception of the nature of the proletarian struggle against war. In this field the Cleveland convention made its most important theoretical contribution, adopting a detailed resolution which goes further in the direction of a Leninist position against war than any Socialist party has ever done.

Naturally, it remains to be seen to what extent this developing position on war has been and will be assimilated by the party membership. Undoubtedly, this position will not become fully integrated into the actions of the Socialist Party without a systematic educational campaign. Such an educational campaign will scarcely be complete unless it involves all the basic questions which are inextricably involved in the war question—the international nature of the class struggle, the road to power, the nature of the workers' state, etc.—questions on which clarity in the Socialist ranks lags considerably behind the development of the war issue.

The Break With the Old Guard

Indeed, the most basic and far-reaching gains made by the Socialist Party do not yet lie in the realm of theoretical clarification. The revolutionary potentialities in the Socialist Party have been best expressed by

Roosevelt camp; comfortable, aging Philistines, stern and implacable only against revolutionists and militants,—for a decade and a half these traitors poured their poison into the minds and hearts of Socialist workers. The socialist worker, seeking a way out from capitalism, could find guidance, in all those years, only in the venal and corrupt Jewish Forward or its English version, the New Leader. The worker or student seeking to learn something of scientific socialism was delivered into the hands of the Algernon Lees and the Rand School! Groups of workers engaged in struggle against repressive administration in their unions, if they were naive enough to bring their problems to the Julius Gerbers, were betrayed to the bureaucrats not only by being restrained from struggle, but also by the direct process of stool-pigeoning. The Old Guard gave aid to not a single one of the important struggles for democratic rights on behalf of political prisoners! They did not lift a finger to aid the organization of the millions of unemployed. Under their regime, the Socialist Party had all the vices of the European Social Democracy without even the advantage of being the party of the masses.

Degeneration of the Communist Party

Now the Socialist workers are freed of this horrible, parasitic excrescence. At first thought, indeed, it appears incredible that thousands of militant workers and youth could have joined the Socialist movement while the Old Guard ruled the party. They joined, of course in spite of the Old Guard. The main influx has come since 1928. That influx was only possible because of the degeneration of the Communist Party.

The revolutionary workers have been joining the Socialist Party since 1928 because the relative autonomy of state and local organizations made it possible for them to function in it, even though under fearful handicaps. In the Communist Party, they could not function at all. It is no mere coincidence that the Socialist Party has grown precisely in the years since the Communist Party, yoked to the "national Socialism" of Stalin, ceased in actual fact to be a party. It is no accident that the growth of the Socialist Party began in the same year that we, then the Left Opposition, were expelled from the Communist Party. The C. P. became nothing more than a rigid apparatus-clique; even the memory of party democracy disappeared; scoundrels and nonentities were appointed by Stalin and consecrated overnight as "beloved leaders"; party policies are infinitely closer to those of the Old Guard than to those of militant Socialism. From this repellent caricature of a revolutionary organization, an organization neither revolutionary nor a party, thousands of revolutionary workers recoiled. Instead, they joined the Socialist Party. From the first they chafed at the Philistine passivity imposed by the Old Guard, and now they have smashed through the Old Guard.

It is extraordinary, indeed, to contemplate the dialectics of this swift development. The Socialist Party is left an empty shell by the surge of revolutionists to the Communist Party in 1919. But the Communist Party becomes a stifling apparatus. Workers recoil and enter the Socialist Party and give it new life. But in the process they have also transformed the party and driven out the Old Guard Democrats who controlled it. Thus the drive of the proletariat to revolutionary organization asserts itself in spite of all obstacles.

Party Democracy

That drive is, of course, not completed. It is just beginning and will not end this side of the American proletarian revolution. The Socialist workers are now in a state of evolution toward a consistent Marxist conception of their tasks. Not the least of the forms that dialectics takes is the conflict, the give and take, of ideas about theory, strategy and tactics. Only that which is dead—like the prison regime of the Old Guard and the caricature of monolithism which is the Communist Party—provides no arena for ideological differentiation. The mature revolutionist seasoned in the front lines of the class struggle, conscious of the manifold practical problems of the party and the significance

(Continued on Page 8)

WHY WE ARE JOINING THE SOCIALIST PARTY

SPEAKERS: (JAMES P. CANNON
(A. J. MUSTE
MAX SHACHTMAN, CHAIRMAN

Friday Evening, June 12, 1936
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ON THE FLYING TRAPEZE AGAIN

(Concluded in this issue)

By KARANDASH

One year after Hitler's assumption of power in Germany, the gangs of reaction raised their razors and guns in Paris on February 6, 1934 against the "corrupt" Daladier government. On this day, l'Humanite, the central organ of the French Communist Party, appealed for a demonstration in the very midst of the reactionary gangs, and with practically the self-same slogans, against the "corrupt" and "fascist" Daladier. This was a repetition on a minor scale of the Red Referendum in Germany, where the Stalinists appealed to the workers to cast their votes against the Socialist (social-fascist) government of Braun and Severing together with the Nazis. In France the Stalinists did not mix their votes with the fascists, instead they staged a demonstration which could not be distinguished from that of the fascists, thus sowing confusion among the workers.

On February 7 and 8 the French working class was treated to the spectacle of a Socialist Party proposing a united front to the C.P., and the latter refusing the proposal. L'Humanite replied to the S.P. in substance as follows: If you want to struggle against fascism, you should apply to the Amsterdam-Pleyel Committee whose particular specialty this is. A few months later the "line" was changed.

That is why in 1936, Bittelman has to write, "It is strange that the Left elements . . . should have allowed this Old Guard and Trotskyite slander to creep into the draft program" (p. 20).

Bittelman devotes fully two-fifths of his pamphlet to a "criticism" of the draft program on the question of Fascism and War. On these central questions the Left Socialists have moved closest to the revolutionary Marxist position. On the other hand, the degeneration and betrayal of the Third International stand out most sharply precisely in the struggle against Fascism and War. The Stalinist record and policy in this sphere are only too clear. It is hardly surprising therefore that the Stalinists should concentrate their efforts upon trying to check any further clarification or evolution of the Socialists on these burning questions of our epoch.

The draft expresses the fundamental thesis of the Marxist position on war: only the overthrow of capitalism can put an end to war. Unable to criticize the Left Social-

Bittelman Takes the Swing this Time in Pamphlet "Going Left"

ists for what they say, Bittelman attacks them for what they allegedly fail to say. According to Bittelman, they are guilty of failing to mention the central task of the anti-war struggle. A serious charge, indeed!

In the school of Marx and Lenin we have been taught that history has put the following alternative to the advanced capitalist countries: Either socialism—or a new series of imperialist wars. And that therefore the central task of the struggle against war is the proletarian revolution, the only means of overthrowing the bourgeoisie.

An American Austro-Marxist

But Bittelman wants to instill in the minds of the Left Socialists the idea that "the central task in the anti-war struggle today is the struggle for peace" (p. 27). Offering the foreign policy of Stalin-Litvinoff in place of revolutionary Marxism, Bittelman insists that:

"The Communists propose to fight against imperialist war under the central slogan of the struggle for peace" (p. 28). This is the central slogan not of Marxism but of Austro-Marxism. Bittelman, whether he knows or not, is a true disciple of Max Adler.

Back in 1915, Max Adler wrote a pamphlet *Prinzip oder Romantik* (also in criticism of "sectarians") in which he advanced the idea that socialism after the war must make peace its central slogan, otherwise socialism will cease to exist. Zinoviev, at that time closely collaborating with Lenin, replied to Adler as follows:

Zinoviev on Adler and Bittelman

"For those Socialists who see no other perspectives—the revolutionary perspective of the transformation of the imperialist wars into civil wars—there is really no other way out. . . . 'Die Friedenseide zum Mittelpunkt.' The idea of peace must be made our central slogan. . . . This is what the events have taught them. . . . 'Not a Friedenseide but the Buergerkriegsidee, one feels like shouting to these great utopians who are running around with such a petty utopia. Not the idea of peace—but the idea of civil war, citizen Adler! That is what must become the central point of our program. . . . We say to you: either socialism will become the organizer of civil war

or it will cease to exist (Against the Stream, pp. 145-146 Russian edition. Emphasis in original).

One need change only a few names, places, and incidental remarks to have practically everything that Lenin and the Bolsheviks wrote on this subject apply directly to citizen Bittelman, and his associates. The Marxists never approached the question of peace in the abstract. Writing in the darkest days of the war (at a time when the workers were certainly "vitally interested in the maintenance of peace," to use Bittelman's terminology), Lenin and Zinoviev kept stressing that peace under capitalism "today" as well as tomorrow can only mean an interval between two imperialist wars. Peace under capitalism is an imperialist peace. Anyone who is for peace under capitalism is in reality for peace with the bourgeoisie. Those who today cry, Long live imperialist peace, will tomorrow cry, Long live imperialist war! This is the position of revolutionary Marxism.

It was Karl Kautsky who insisted that the international was 'in the nature of things an instrument of peace. . . . The struggle for peace is the international organization of the working class.' This is the position of the social-patriots whom Lenin and the Bolsheviks attacked. From the instrument of the world proletarian revolution, the Third International has been transformed by Stalin into an 'Instrument for peace,' that is, of betrayal.

New Converts for the League

Every day, almost every hour, brings added proof of the Stalinist treachery, over which the Stalinists unfailingly throw the usurped banner of the October revolution. In his pamphlet, Bittelman patronizingly compliments the Socialists for breaking with the "traditional Socialist Party attitude on the League of Nations." He forebears to mention that he and his colleagues have now taken over this "traditional" attitude. Thus, in the June 5 issue of the Daily Worker, Gabriel Peri, while on the subject of the "Fight for the Defense of Peace" has the following to say:

"It seems to us that France must now declare: It is not the League of Nations that was defeated but the inadequacies and shortcomings

of the League. It is not that sanctions were defeated, but their sabotage and betrayal." This is printed in bold type, as the "revolutionary" position on the League of Nations!

In the Camp of Revisionism

In every sphere the Stalinists have taken over the views of the revisionists of Marxism, their precursors in betrayal. As is well known, Beresteln and his associates proceeded by subtly altering the Marxist theory of the State. How do the Stalinists stand with regard to this mainspring of revisionism? The Stalinist theory of the state is a rehash of the views of revisionists, not to be distinguished from them except to ignorance and clumsiness.

The essence of the revisionist theory of the state does not lie in the denial that the state is an instrument of class rule but in the assertion that there are stages in the evolution of the state. At a certain stage the state can lose its specific class character, cease to serve as the instrument of class oppression, and therefore can be utilized to advance the interests of other classes. The revisionists never denied that the state was an instrument of class oppression, or even that the democratic state could be utilized by the bourgeoisie for its rule. But, said they, once the state has evolved to a democracy, then it has reached that stage when a transition is possible, when the state need no longer serve as the instrument of bourgeois rule. The machinery of the state can be taken over by the majority of the people, and legislation introduced to inaugurate a different social system.

The Capitalist Transition

The Stalinists do not deny that the democratic state is an instrument of bourgeois rule either. But, they say, under certain conditions (as laid down by Dimitroff) it is possible to have extraordinary governments which can serve not the interests of the bourgeoisie, but those of its class enemies. Such a "transitional" government on coming into power would carry through "a number of fundamental revolutionary measures (control of production and of the banks, disarmament of the police and its replacement by an armed workers' militia). . . . It would so weaken the bourgeoisie and so strengthen the working class and its allies, that the working class would become ready to make the proletarian revolution" (p. 8).

This remarkable government, according to Bittelman, would not be the government that is set up by the proletarian revolution, but a different kind of a "workers' and farmers' government"—the kind which is set up within the framework of capitalism, a government of "the united and people's front against fascism and war . . . a united front government, a people's front government, a workers' and farmers' government." Whose class interests would such a "workers' and farmers' government" serve? Certainly not those of the bourgeoisie. How else could it introduce "a number of fundamental revolutionary measures, and 'weakening' the bourgeoisie while 'strengthening' the working class and its allies!"

At a time when the bourgeoisie is no longer able to maintain a stable parliamentary regime and must resort to fascism because the ruling class is no longer able to provide the most miserly concessions to the oppressed classes in society, the Stalinists propose to set up under capitalism a government that would pass fundamental revolutionary measures, etc. . . .

What have we here if not the revisionist myth that the machinery of bourgeois oppression can be utilized by the working class for its emancipation?

Left Is Anti-Stalinist

The only difference between the above formulation of Bittelman and the classic formulation of the revisionists is that Bernstein would have insisted that such a government could proceed to "build a socialist society" instead of to "make a proletarian revolution." But Bernstein could afford to be much more logical and consistent. He did labor under the necessity of palming off his revisionist garbage as "revolutionary Marxism."

Bittelman and the other funkies of Stalin must resort to their shabby "revolutionary" subterfuges to be able to continue using the prestige and the traditions of the October revolution in order to bulldoze workers away from the revolutionary traditions and policies of the October revolution. To go left is in the first instance to go away from Stalinism. To be charged with being a counter-revolutionist by a Stalinist is a well nigh infallible proof that one is learning to differentiate between the revolutionary program of Marx and Lenin and the revisionism of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

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The Anti-Trotsky Cliques Fold Up

The disintegration which has been taking place within the various sectarian groups, which have made a common platform of fighting "Trotskyism," had several open manifestations during the past week. In addition to open splits, accompanied by the most disgraceful episodes, information is made public of the frightful decomposition and internal stagnation of these bankrupt cliques. The rank and file workers who were misled into these blind alleys on an ultra-"revolutionary" program are drawing a balance of their unfortunate experiences and returning to our ranks. This process is especially noticeable among the youth.

A statement made public last week by a majority of the clique of B. J. Field (who was expelled from the Communist League for treachery during the Hotel Strike), operating under the pretentious title of "The League for a Revolutionary Workers Party," informs of a split in the organization and of an attempt by Field to impose "unity" by means of physical force. This method of persuasion was resorted to after representatives of the majority, F. L. Demby and S. Stanley, had submitted a statement to the "National Committee" declaring the organization to be "bankrupt" and announcing their intention to sever all relations with it. Thereupon, according to the statement, "the door was locked" and "Stanley and Demby were attacked, knocked to the floor and beaten about the head." Field participated in the attack, his group outnumbering the other members at the time. Eight out of the twelve members of the group support the position of Demby and Stanley in severing relations with Field.

Simultaneously with the disgraceful finale of the Field adventure came the announcement of secessions from the Oehler group, following upon previous expulsions and withdrawals. A total of ten comrades announced their repudiation of the platform of the Oehler group and their intention to follow the lead of the Workers Party in joining the Socialist Party. Five other members had previously left the Oehler group and returned to the W.P. Several others who have been expelled remain indecisive as to their next steps.

Meantime the world-shaking announcement is made by the "Revolutionary Workers League" (Oehler group) that the "disintegration of the entire group (of Field) makes it impossible to continue negotiations with the League for a Revolutionary Party (Field group), looking toward a fusion with it." So that's off. But that is not all. The Oehlers are very thorough-going people and when they start to break off negotiations they believe in doing a complete job. The same statement which pronounces the doom of the Field group also announces suspension of the momentous negotiations with the "Italian Left Fraction of Communism." In order to give the three members of the latter organization an opportunity "to conclude a discussion in their ranks in the U. S. and internationally over the class character of the Soviet Union." It is to be inferred that if and when this "small point" is cleared up one way or another the negotiations will either be resumed or finally broken off. We shall see what we shall see.

Diligent inquiry by our reporter failed to uncover any tangible information about the present status and whereabouts, if any, of the "Communist League of Struggle" (Albert Welschord). The cafeterias are thick with rumors that Welschord has departed for Chicago, that he has returned, that the bus broke down on the way there or back, that he has retired into seclusion in order to write a book about his life and labors, etc. Up to the moment of going to press our reporter was unable to locate any authorized spokesmen who could deny or confirm any or all of these rumors. Sic transit gloria mundi.

NEW MILITANT

with which is merged
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JAMES P. CANNON, Editor

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T. J. O'Flaherty Dead

The New Militant learns with great sorrow of the sudden death in Ireland of comrade T. J. O'Flaherty, an adherent of "Trotskyism" from the first days of the formation of the Left Opposition in the United States and a firm supporter to his dying day of the movement for the Fourth International. On his death-bed all his thoughts and interests were with his comrades in the United States and to the last he had hopes to recover his health and to return to the States to function actively in the movement. He gave full support to the Workers Party of America upon its formation and viewed it as the first step in the process of unification of the genuine revolutionary elements who based themselves on the teachings of Lenin and Trotsky.

His sister, Anna Johnson, in a letter to comrade Martin Abern, writes from the Aran Isles, Ireland:

Letter from His Sister

"You will be surprised to hear that Tom has passed away. He died on May 19 from heart trouble. He came back here on January 15 after 18 months between Dublin and England. He was ill when he got back and got worse every day. You know he always suffered from heart trouble.

"It is very pitiful to see him suffer and he wanted so to get well. He lived these last months in New York and Chicago and was continually with you. He talked to all the other members of the Party and tried to persuade me in the morning that he actually was there. You see, I had to be continually with him night and day for the last five weeks. He was so nervous and was always fainting.

"It is now that his second book, 'Cliffmen of the West' (a book on the agrarian northwest in the U.S.) is being advertised. And two weeks ago the publishers wrote for permission to sell the language rights on a 50-50 basis.

"Tom received papers regularly from the U. S. but lately was unable to read them and was too weak to have them read to him. His sister Della spared nothing on him; but it was no use; he was already far too ill when he returned home." He was 47 years of age.

Founder of Communist Movement

Comrade O'Flaherty was a revolutionist of many years standing. He participated in the Irish movement prior to coming to the United States in 1912, immediately joining the Socialist Party in Boston. He remained in the S.P. till the split in 1919 when he joined with the Left Wing and was one of the founders of the Communist movement in America, and a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party for many years. He was active during these many years particularly in the field of journalism, being one of the leading and popular writers in the revolutionary press. He was the first editor of the weekly, "Voice of Labor" in Chicago, official organ of the Communist Party. He was on the staff of The Worker and later on the Daily Worker, official organs of the Communist Party. He conducted, too, a special column to the Daily Worker under the caption, "As We See It."

Comrade O'Flaherty was one of the band of Communists under indictment in the famous Bridgeman, Mich. case. He participated in that renowned underground C.P. convention as well as other convention gatherings of the revolutionary movement. He participated in the work of the International Labor Defense, and was a delegate to the International Red Aid Congress (Labor Defense) in Moscow.

Expelled as Left Oppositionist

When the Left Opposition was

formed in November, 1928, upon the expulsion of three members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (Cannon, Shachtman and Abern) for support of the position of the Russian Opposition, comrade O'Flaherty was one of the first to announce his unqualified support to the Left Opposition and to join it. He became a member of the Communist League of America and remained a firm supporter of the Fourth International movement led by L. D. Trotsky.

The December 15, 1928 issue of The Militant, organ of the Communist League (Opposition), announced comrade O'Flaherty's adherence to the cause of the Bolshevik-Leninists as follows:

"T. J. O'Flaherty, the most popular Communist propagandist in America and the writer of the famous Daily Worker column 'As We See It' and a revolutionist of many years standing, has issued a statement setting forth his unconditional support of the Platform of the Russian Opposition and his solidarity with all comrades expelled for these views:

"After studying new material on the question of the Trotsky line in the C.P.S.U. and the Comintern," said comrade O'Flaherty in his statement, "I have come to the conclusion that the line of the Russian Opposition led by comrade Trotsky is the correct Leninist line and therefore I associate myself with the position taken by comrade Cannon and his associates in the Workers (Communist) Party of America. They were unjustly expelled for attempting to explain to the membership of the Party the political line really advocated by Trotsky in the C.P.S.U. and the Comintern." Comrade O'Flaherty's statement then went on to set forth his agreement with the position of the Russian Opposition on the various issues (Anglo-Russian Committee, Chinese Revolution, etc.).

The Communist Party forthwith expelled him.

Wrote for The Militant

Comrade O'Flaherty wrote for the "Militant" from time to time and participated in other activities. Interested in the agrarian problems, he proceeded to function for some years in the Northwest and edited the farmers' publication, the Producer's News (Plentywood, Mont.). At the same time he was engaged in literary efforts. He was ill during all these years, particularly with his heart, for which he was taking treatment for many years. A little over two years ago he decided to pay a visit to his native home, on the wild spot, the Aran Isles, on which the famous film, Man of Aran, was made during the time. He lived the hard life that all must live on this barren place. During this time, he wrote and had published his first book, "Aramon All," based on life on the Isles. After a time, he left the Aran Isles and lived and labored in Dublin, London and other places in Great Britain, contributing articles from time to time to the labor press. He returned to the Aran Isles upon the completion of his second book, "Cliffmen of the West" where his persisting illness soon thereafter brought the peace of death to him.

Comrade O'Flaherty in a recent letter to comrades in New York expressed the hope and belief that he would soon return to the United States, health greatly improved and be able to continue his revolutionary activity more fully. He remained a revolutionist, a Bolshevik, to the end, and all his friends and comrades, who are legion, are glad to honor the memory of a revolutionary stalwart.

Stalinists Hedge on Committees; Explain Non-Revolutionary Aims

From Revolution (Paris)

On the morning after the elections, the "communists" declared that they were going to devote themselves to the organization of Rank and File Committees of the People's Front.

Thorez wrote in l'Humanite, May 10:

"We will insist on the democratic election of Committees of the People's Front in the country, city and village."

Replying to questions asked by reporters, Duclos stated:

"That is why our friend Thorez emphasized our action for the democratic election of Committees of the People's Front throughout the country. Thus we give proof that we are a party which bases itself on the people."

A propaganda pamphlet of the C.P., which we have already cited, formally states:

"The C. P. recommends Committees of the People's Front, democratically elected in the entire country, in the neighborhoods and in the factories, and embracing not only members of organizations but the unorganized masses as well."

The Radicals in a Pause

It is therefore clear that the C.P. adopted a demand which we have not ceased to defend: practical organization, from below, of People's Committees, democratically elected. To that Vaillant-Couturier added that the Communists would constitute as well a "ministry of the masses."

That was enough for the entire Right and Radical Socialist press to set up a howl about the dictatorship of the proletariat, Soviets, etc. Indeed, these gentlemen had the right slant!

In face of the impotence of Parliament, the People's Committees will appear as the only force capable of assuring the power of the working masses. The mass committees will set themselves against the arbitrary, dictatorial and police rule of the bourgeoisie state.

Intransigent and Jour published inflated articles against the proposed Committees. The bourgeoisie has learned something since 1917.

But what was remarkable was that immediately after the famous "Jacobins" of the Dalsler strike began to howl against the "dictatorship of the clubs"! All these capitalist democrats, who had just lost 500,000 votes in the election,

in effect revealed themselves as the hypocritical enemies of the people who do not fear anything as much as contact with the workers.

Front, May 16, organ of the party of Deat and Paul Boncour, warned its readers:

"The latest discovery of the C.P. consists in the creation of Committees in the cities and neighborhoods to which the member parties of the People's Front are invited to participate. . . . Without anticipating the decisions our central bodies will not fall to immediately adopt on this subject, we recommend the greatest circumspection to the secretaries of the groups. There will be enough difficulties for the republican government not to have to risk the creation of new ones by mass and street action which will get out of its control.

Bergery's paper, l'Eclaire, makes similar comments. Mr. Bergery prefers the salons to the workers' meetings:

"If such a move can justify a frenzied campaign on the part of the trusts, it is certainly one which permits 'Temps' and other Right papers to declare that the Sovietization of France is being organized."

Lard, deputy from Briey, undoubtedly thinks that the workers who elected him will defeat De Wendel with newspaper articles.

Stalinists Retreat Under Fire

Confronted with these attacks, the Stalinists beat a quick retreat.

In l'Humanite, May 15, Vaillant-Couturier wrote:

"The point in question on the People's Front Committees is not of substituting itself for the parties, nor of substituting itself for the regular government bodies. The only question for them—ardent defenders of democracy—is to actively second a government which is about to take office—supplanting a ministry which in the last week has permitted the flight of three billions of gold—in face of very heavy tasks and for which the action of the masses should be of great assistance."

In effect, Herriot, Daladier and Co. immediately made known that they would have no part of it, just as they attacked the workers after the events of Brest and Toulon, as they will always attack every time real action is taken against the privileges of the bourgeoisie.

Thorez declared in turn (l'Humanite, May 19):

"We want to bring about the collaboration of the people with parliament and the government, as the program of the People's Organization stipulates. The Committees of the People's Front must be developed, strengthened, improved."

Thorez offered the following explanations in his speech at Orange-Aux-Belles:

" . . . This firm desire to guarantee the support of the masses through the medium of the People's Front Committees has already been exploited by the reactionary press which is trying to divide us. What is involved, however, is to improve what already exists. . . .

"The bourgeois press pretends that this will be an intolerable control over parliamentary and governmental activity. . . . We, communists, think that only on the parliamentary and governmental plane one can obtain what the masses want and supported by their activity in the entire country.

"They pretend that such committees are revolutionary clubs, Soviets! The bourgeoisie is very well aware that this is not true, but it is faithful to its time-worn tactic: spread panic. . . .

Since then the C.P. has shelved the mass Committees. But that was not enough for Messieurs the Radicals.

The pro-fascist Dominique was still writing in Republique, May 16:

"If Mr. Vaillant-Couturier constitutes his Ministry of the Masses, neither parliament nor the cabinet will be free. And we want it to be."

In other words, the bourgeoisie will be less free to carry through its maneuvers against the working class, will be less free to horse-trade, to plot, to lie, to deceive in parliament. And that is what these gentlemen do not want!

But here also promises are made. We call upon the workers to put them into practice.

Let us begin the practical organization of the committees! Let us denounce the capitalists! The cardinal task of the hour is: 1) democratic election of the mass committees and 2) put the People's Front Government on the spot to execute its promises.

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- the relation of this theory to the working class movement in Russia, Germany, China, England and elsewhere
- the place of the Soviet Union in the world revolutionary movement
- the meaning of the so-called "Trotsky-Stalin" struggle
- the program for world Socialism

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Stalin Destroys Conquests of October Revolution

Bolsheviks Hounded; Class Enemy Granted New Rights

It is possible to learn how "Trotskyists" are unearthing by reading a telegram from Kazan printed in the January 17 issue of Pravda under the following headline: "The Trotskyist Calumny of Surortsev." It appears that during a district membership meeting in Bolognino, Surortsev, the director of the machine and tractor station, criticized the party regime or, as Pravda puts it, "he openly and brazenly calumniated the party, denying that conscious discipline exists in the party."

The indignant correspondent states in his telegram that "One would imagine that such a speech would have met with harsh repudiation." However, those present at the meeting listened to Surortsev without any protests. Taking into account the Stalinist regime this implies that the meeting sided completely with Surortsev. Not only the secretary of the District Committee but even the representative of the District Committee, i.e., the important party summit, mum, not daring evidently to proceed too much counter to the mood of the meeting. "Only towards the end of the meeting, as a consequence of the indignation expressed by individual (!) Communists—reads the telegram—did the secretary of the District Committee briefly remark that the criticism of Surortsev was incorrect and was a repetition of everything 'the Trotskyists said in their time'." The entire mechanism of the meeting stands clearly revealed before us. "The individual indignant Communists"—is, of course, the author of the correspondence himself, the henchman of Pravda, i.e., of the General Secretariat. It was only upon his direct insistence that the secretary explained to the meeting that the very same criticism of the party regime received by those present with obvious sympathy, was nothing else than "Trotskyism". The secretary was unable to do more. It ought to be added that similar episodes occur at hundreds and thousands of party meetings. Whether Surortsev is actually a

conscious Bolshevik-Leninist or simply arrived independently at certain conclusions, is immaterial.

Privileges and Repressions
By means of a special decree, the Soviet government has abolished all social restrictions in the sphere of education. Henceforth children of former noblemen, capitalists and kulaks will be accepted into the highest institutions of learning on the same plane with the children of workers and peasants. "Today there is no longer any need for these restrictions," announced Molotov at a session of the C.E.C. in January, 1936. One would imagine that these words as well as the privilege itself were to be understood in the sense that the stabilized socialist society is no longer in need of an artificial defense against the youth of bourgeois descent. The only thing to do would be to greet the new decree! But against the background of liberal measures of this sort, all the more monstrous is the new flood of bureaucratic viciousness against the oppositionists, the savage repressions against the working class youth, the moment that the latter raises a voice in criticism. As a matter of fact there is no contradiction here. The luxurious growth of bourgeois relations in the sphere of the distribution of the articles of consumption, the re-establishment of ranks in the army and the creation of a privileged stratum of the "best people" on the basis of personal performance open up the possibility of a career for the self-seeking progeny of the bourgeoisie. On the other hand the self-same manifestations of the bourgeoisification of the ruling apparatus engender opposition on the part of the working class youth, and at the same time make this opposition especially dangerous and hated to the eyes of the bureaucracy. Thus the removal of restrictions upon those who emerge from the bourgeois milieu and the strengthening of the repressions against the working class youth naturally supplement one another.

The Class Nature of the Soviet State A Letter from Leon Trotsky

You ask the question of whether the present Soviet system can give way to a "third" form of society, which would be neither capitalist nor socialist. Urbahn believes that precisely this is "state capitalism," identifying the soviet system with a fascist capitalism. In doing this he completely forgets a small difference: fascism hems in the highly developed productive forces in the framework of the national state by cutting short their further development. The Soviet system, even in its present form, imparts a rhythm to the development of the productive forces never before attained. Urbahn thus does not know how to distinguish between what is historically progressive and what is arch-reactionary.

I see that you have nothing in common with Urbahn's formulation. But you think that the Soviet bureaucracy, in its further development, will be able to adapt the forms of property to its own interests to such a point that it becomes in reality a ruling class. You do not specify these new forms of property. You content yourself with the general statement that living evolution is inexhaustible in its new forms and formations.

In this general form, I find it as difficult to adopt as to reject the "third" possibility, because too many factors must be abstracted for that: in the first place those that are decisive for our revolutionary activity.

Now, forms of property are social forms par excellence. You cite examples—moreover taken from the pre-capitalist epoch—where certain forms of property had no great significance. These examples only prove that it is necessary to distinguish the real from the supposed forms of property, i.e., from juridical fictions (which also have a real function, but on a higher plane).

Precisely the bourgeoisie has reduced the forms of property to their barest expression. The proletarian revolution nationalized capitalist property. The question therefore arises: cannot this nationalization itself degenerate into a fiction, real property, under one form or another, returning to the new ruling class emerging from the bureaucracy?

Nationalized property stands or falls with planned economy. Thus, it is not a fiction, but a powerful reality. Nationalization, however, does not only signify that the productive forces are organized and directed according to a plan, but also in the interests of all. The bureaucracy prejudices the new system in these two ways. On the one hand, it reduces the efficiency of planned economy and on the other it consumes an enormous portion of its surplus.

If we speak of a "third" system, we must answer the question as to whether it is a matter of the rights newly acquired by the bureaucracy to an ever larger party of the national income—which would be equivalent to the right of parasitism, or if what is involved is the virtual liquidation of planned economy. Only the second hypothesis would constitute a new social base.

We must clearly understand that the abolition of planned economy, and by the same token also the nationalization of the productive forces, will inevitably and automatically lead to parasitism and distortion of the latter. We would then no longer have before us a progressive system, but one in decomposition, which would inevitably lead to fascist capitalism. It is conceivable that a development so rich in possible formations creates something original. But in the essence of the matter there would be hardly any change.

Let us suppose that planned economy remains basically intact,

that the productive forces continue in their rise, there will remain—in your hypothesis—nothing but the fact that the bureaucracy has succeeded in stabilizing, fortifying and eternalizing its parasitism, juridically, ideologically and politically (and why not religiously?). This perspective assumes that the great mass of the population patiently accepts the new yoke despite the raising of the level of economy and culture and endures it without offering any resistance, and forever. That is not at all probable. To a certain degree the progress of economy opens great sources of power to the bureaucracy. But this very progress is more and more turning against its autocracy and its parasitism.

What perspective opens before us? Very probably a new revolution. This will not be a social revolution, but a political revolution. The bourgeoisie too in its evolution has known of "great" revolutions, i.e., social revolutions, and purely political revolutions which took place on the basis of already established property. . . . The theoretical prognoses of Marx and Lenin do not foresee, in any case, the possibility of the political revolution on the basis of property nationalized by the proletariat. But they did not also foresee the bonapartist degeneration of the proletarian dictatorship. Both these things belong to those stages, transitory forms, etc., in the formation of which history is so rich. The general laws of the evolution of capitalism to socialism, as they are established by Marxism, do not lose their force by these "episodes" (very disagreeable "episodes").

These are a few considerations on the subject of the interesting problem which you have posed to me—and which I send you in all haste.

January 1, 1936

Bureaucracy Strangles the Factory Committees

When a worker abroad asks a question about the conditions of the workers in the U.S.S.R., he is not interested only in the material conditions of labor (wages, length of the working day) but also in the place of the workers in production. The most important conquest of October was the occupation of the factories by the working class. It had become proprietor of all the means of production. The factory committees had two extremely important tasks: the control of production, struggle for the improvement of the conditions of labor under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

What is the role of the factory committees at the present time? Nothing remains of the role they played in the past. With the degeneration of the party, the government, the trade unions, the factory committees have also undergone a transformation. Their role now is that of a superintendent, an aid to the economic organs, closely connected with the entire bureaucratic apparatus of the U.S.S.R. It is no longer the representative of the working class, controlled by the workers in the factory, but rather a group of functionaries under orders of the bureaucratic top.

There is rarely any information in the Soviet press on the real life of the factory committees and their relation to the working class. Only when it is impossible for them to remain silent on some repugnant facts does the bureaucracy itself go in for "self-criticism" and assume the air of seriously struggling against the "bureaucracy."

To allow the reader to form his own judgment on the real life of the factory committees I will cite several facts culled from the central organ of the Soviet trade unions—*Trud*. These facts do not pretend to give a complete picture of the life of the factory committees but should however provide useful information.

Trud (Jan. 1, 1936) gives the following report of the life of the factory committee of the textile corporation at Tashkent: "For the first time in three years, the working men and women of the corporation met in conference to hear the report of the outgoing factory committee and to elect a new one. Out of the 19 members elected three years ago only one remained. All the other members of the committee were appointed."

It is clear that the workers learned nothing from the report of activity of the committee. During the discussion the indignation of the workers was expressed in the speeches of some 50 of those present. (The small number indicates the interest the workers have in conferences of this kind). What did they speak about? They told of "70 men in the apparatus of the committee who did nothing but were paid and that thousands of rubles were expended to maintain them." They told of the relations of the leader of the paymaster section with the women workers: "When we came to him to obtain authorization for a sanatorium, he unshamefully proposed to us to call for the authorizations . . . in the evening at his home." When the workers pleaded with the president of the factory committee, he replied:

school they decree:

"To establish one uniform for scholars." (*Pravda*, Sept. 4, 1935).

In comparing the decree of 4-9-1935 with that of 1918, we see that all that the victorious revolution had annulled of the cursed heritage of the past, is now re-established.

Autonomy and independence in 1918—strict discipline and "politeness" towards the adults in 1935.

Abolition of the uniform in 1918—re-establishment of the uniform in 1935.

Abolition of marks and examinations in 1918—re-establishment of marks and examinations in 1935.

Abolition of surveillance in 1918—re-establishment of the uniform in 1935.

Of the "Charter of the United School of Labor" nothing remains, nothing remains of the school itself.

We have dealt at length with the reform of 1918 and that of 1935-36. Thus the recent scholastic reform (annulling that of the October Revolution) is only a link in the chain of the degeneration of the Soviet regime. The party is smashed, all rights for the workers are suppressed and the Soviet pupil is dressed in the pre-revolutionary uniform, dyed only in a new tint. This is "Socialism being built in one country!"

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1-3 and 6-8 Except Sundays and Holidays.

by laughing and mocking them for their prudishness. The social insurance funds were expended without any control. The president of the committee did not permit the workers to become delegates from the factory to the insurance department. And the workers complained of many other things.

Finally, after the discussion, they passed over to the election of the new committee. It appears that half of the candidates were not even present at the conference. The workers did not want to elect the absentees. The chairman of the conference and the presidium insisted nevertheless on the election of all the candidates. Why? Because "the candidates have been endorsed by the party committee." Finally, the president obtained the election of all the candidates and even succeeded in "slipping into" the committee several members of the former committee whom the workers had demanded be expelled from the committee.

In this note we see all the features of bureaucratism: a scornful, rude attitude towards the workers, the blind execution of orders "from above" and the reduction to zero of the most elementary principles of democracy. It is interesting to note that the only reaction of the editors of the paper in relating these facts is to add at the bottom of the article: "Must we say after this that the elections should be annulled?" No, it is not by voiding that these facts can be changed! It is the entire bureaucratic system, where the lower ranks follow in the footsteps of their superiors, where the crushing of democracy is the principle of the regime, which bears the responsibility for these revolting facts.

Naturally these committees do not interest themselves in working conditions in the factories which are often horrible. Listen to what the workers say in speeches at the C.C. of the Metal Workers trade unions (*Trud*, Dec. 26, 1935): "The children of the worker Mezendinov (he has worked in the factory since 1911) cannot attend school. They have neither worn clothes nor shoes." In the chemical corporation at Mychislansk "it is very damp, the workers remain standing in their slippers on the damp floor; it is very warm and close. New machines have been placed in the ropewalk, the amount of injurious secretions has increased and the workers have begun to contract eye-sicknesses." The lack of ventilation, the dampness causes rheumatism among the workers. Here is the situation already known to the factory committee: ". . . in the factory 'Red Star', the new chairman of the factory committee, comrade Bratchenko, cooped new members to the plenum and re-elected elected members from their jobs. He did not call any meetings, not wanting to give them any responsible tasks although they were very active members."

These few facts present a partial picture of the real situation in the factories of the U.S.S.R. The working class of the U.S.S.R. works under extremely painful material and moral conditions because the Soviet bureaucracy sees in the workers only a force of labor whose duty it is to execute the plan, to increase output and production.

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Workers Party Joins the Socialist Party

(Continued from Page 1)

cance of the day to day drudgery, knows very well what a powerful aid to these tasks is the clarifying word, the sharp arrow pointing out the road ahead. Theory and practice go hand in hand in a healthy revolutionary movement. Naturally, there are differences that arise at every crucial turning of the road. These differences must be threshed out by free discussion among the membership, and not decided by bureaucratic decrees of self-constituted Popes. A party without democracy is not a party. The best and, indeed, the only guarantee for a normal solution of disputed questions is the fullest democracy in educational work and discussion, coupled with an attitude of responsibility and discipline. There is only one cure for the terrible blight of mental stultification which Stalinism and Old Guardism have brought into the labor movement: we must recapture, and make a living part of the heritage of the revolutionary movement, the Marxist principle that the free discussion of ideas is the only method whereby the proletarian vanguard can collectively hammer out the correct program that it needs if it is to work out the salvation of the human race.

We are confident that in such an atmosphere of democracy and discipline, the Socialist Party will grow as never before. Already, with the ousting of the Old Guard in New York and the simultaneous influx of revolutionary elements the party has taken a swift leap forward in membership and activity. The party is still in relation to the American working class, in its practical impact upon it, primarily a propaganda organization. But it is today the party that can, given the correct developments within it, become the party of the masses. We revolutionary Internationalists who are called "Trotskyites" begin our work in the Socialist Party with the fullest confidence in the outlook for the future.

We are not afraid of isolation. There are times when the revolutionists, if they are to remain true to their principles, have no other alternative. For more than seven years we endured repression and slander, contumely and physical assault, in an isolated struggle for principle. We survived. We are proud of our struggle. We retract nothing and repent nothing. We are not afraid of isolation when circumstances impose it. But no less courage is required to turn away from isolation and move toward the mass party when conditions open the way for such a step. It would be sectarian folly to reject the opportunity to participate in a broader movement, bringing to it all our heritage and all our ideas, which have been confirmed by every development in the international working class movement.

Joining the Socialist Party as we are, with our ideas and traditions, we urge all revolutionary workers to do likewise and to add their energies to the efforts of the many thousands of socialist workers in a common struggle to build a powerful party of revolutionary Socialism.

Czarist Methods Return in Schools

1935 was a year of "great" reforms for the U.S.S.R. In almost all fields of Soviet life, changes took place which remove the U.S.S.R. ever further from the conquests of October. The re-establishment of grades in the army, the monetary reform, the reform of the family and finally the academic reform are landmarks on the road of the degeneration of the Soviet state.

We intend to pause here exclusively on the academic reform, and by contrast with the academic reform put into effect by the October revolution, show how in 1935 Stalin is liquidating one by one the conquests of the revolution of 1917 in the academic field and approaching the model of the Czarist schools with its uniforms and respect for uniforms. . . . an institution unknown even in the schools of the capitalist Nations of Europe.

Every government which does not support itself upon the broad masses of the toilers and is the government of a minority utilizes as a guarantor of its power—just as it utilizes the police apparatus—the education of the youth in a spirit of submission by suppressing all free expression on the benches of the school. By creating a state police system of education with supervisors of classes, uniforms, marks, individual memorandums, the State has on the one hand the opportunity of controlling all the movements of the scholar and on the other hand it imbues the scholar with the principles of discipline and "order," i.e., with an absolute submission before the class in power.

The bourgeois school has as its task not to create the free citizen, but the functional, the engineer, the doctor, the humble and loyal servants of the Government. Such was the school in Czarist Russia and so it is in all capitalist countries. Discipline and order in the school is one of the guarantors of discipline and order in the state. Revolutionary parties have always understood the importance of the free school and struggle for this liberation of the school has always been an integral part of their programs. That is why it is quite natural that one of the first steps of the Russian proletariat in power in 1917 was a radical reform of the school.

The Revolutionary Reform
"Voluntary discipline, a spirit of mutual aid, the single school, autonomy on the basis of complete equality, the collective principle everywhere. . . . that is the principle that will create the citizen we need." ("Basic Principles of the United School of Labor," *Izvestia*, No. 225, Oct. 16, 1918)

The extract quoted shows the complete incompatibility of the free and revolutionary school in a workers state with the old Czarist school. The proletarian state does not fear the free citizen, it has no need of whips to assure its authority and

that is why all discipline "from above" is superfluous. On the contrary, the youth must develop freely without the pressure of authority exercised by the family, by the school or anything else.

"The appeal to the scholars from the People's Commissariat of Education" in 1917 said:

"Pupils of the secondary schools must not have no right to consider themselves as children and to govern their future according to the orders of their parents and their teachers." (*Izvestia*, October 15, 1917)

The Government under Lenin accomplished a veritable revolution in the academic system. A series of decrees opened a new era in the education of the youth. Above all their aim was the liquidation of the Czarist system.

"Utilization of the system of marks for an estimate of the knowledge or the conduct of a pupil is annulled in all cases in academic practice." (No. 50 of the collection of decrees and laws, N.38, published May 31, 1918)

"The wearing of uniforms by . . . pupils. . . as also the distribution of insignias and medals at the end of the term are annulled." (381 "Collection of decrees and laws" N. 28 published Feb. 21, 1918).

The most complete collection of all the principles of new education of the youth is the celebrated "Charter of the United School of Labor of the R.S.F.S.R."

"1. All schools go under a single name—The United School of Labor."

"12. The old form of discipline which corrupts the entire life of the school and the untrammelled development of the personality of the child cannot be maintained in the School of Labor. The process of labor itself develops this internal discipline without which collective and rational work is unimaginable."

"17. The assignment of obligatory homework is forbidden."

"18. All punishment in school is forbidden."

"19. All admission tests and tests for the graduation from one class to another at the end of the term are annulled."

(These detailed extracts are necessary for us for a more complete comparison with the Stalinist decrees of 1935).

The Soviet pupil ceases to be a subject of "labor" in the spirit of the Czarist-bourgeois state, but becomes an independent citizen, with the right to exercise his own initiative, his free thought and his will.

The Stalinist Reform

With the death of Lenin began the struggle of Stalinism against Bolshevism, the struggle of the conservative clique of bureaucrats against the representatives of the ideas of October.

After having strengthened its

power, the bureaucracy no longer tolerated any expression of free thought. It demands absolute submission. This regime was similarly introduced in the school. Autonomy of the pupils is supplanted by the police surveillance of adults—this is to guarantee the state from the spirit of opposition.

The decree on academic reform, published by the Council of People's Commissars, Sept. 3, 1935 makes a complete sweep of everything introduced by the October Revolution and returns to the methods of education established by Czarist Russia. Let us examine this decree as published in *Pravda*, Sept. 4, 1935, following. The principal clause is the following:

"Underlying the ruling on the conduct of the pupils must be placed a strict and conscientious application of discipline, politeness in relation with teachers, comrades and adults."

What are the measures taken to ensure that the pupils apply this discipline?

"Instruct a commission. . . to elaborate a draft of a ruling for every type of school. The ruling must have a categorical and absolutely obligatory meaning for pupils as well as for teachers. This ruling must be the fundamental document . . . which strictly establishes the regime of studies and the basis for order in the school as well as the rules of conduct of pupils inside and outside of school."

"To introduce in all schools a uniform type of pupils' report card on which all the principal rules for the conduct of the pupil is to be inscribed."

"Every director is instructed to establish a personal record for every pupil." (*Pravda*, Sept. 4, 1935).

"The People's Commissariat of Public Education has established new models for the pupils' report card and for the pupils' memorandum. Then, for the first time a personal record is to be established for every pupil. . . Every five days the chief instructor of a class will examine the memorandum, will mark cases of absence and tardiness in it and will demand the signature of the parent under all remarks of the instructor."

"In the personal record there will be marked for the entire duration of the studies, the marks of the pupil for every quarter, his prizes and his punishments." (*Izvestia*, Jan. 15, 1936).

A special apparatus of Communist Youth organizers is to be installed for the surveillance of the pupil inside and outside of school. They are to watch over the morality and the state of mind of the pupils. They, better than the directors, the instructors and the parents will follow the internal life of the adolescents. (*Molodaja Gvardia*, N. 10)

To facilitate control outside of

BLUM-THOREZ STRAIN TO HEAD OFF STRIKES

Blum and Stalinists Place Preservation of Capitalist Order Above Workers' Interests

One million French workers have occupied 500 key plants, shops, mines and factories across the whole of France.

On the spontaneous sit-down strike that paralyzed French industry, to stifle the tendencies which led workers in Northern France to raise red flags over their factories, the Socialist Premier Leon Blum, supported by the French Stalinist party and the General Confederation of Labor, has rushed through a "settlement" of their immediate demands which in the present state of French economy can have no reality.

While in a few plants, workers resumed or opened negotiations, the announcement of Blum's settlement was greeted with a new wave of strikes, including 150,000 miners in the north and 10,000 white collar insurance company employees in Paris. The grand total rose over one million.

"We are facing a situation in which every hour counts," declared Blum, bringing laws to the Chamber to implement the settlement.

The fundamental function of the "settlement" is to ward off the immediate threat of the workers' offensive. It will drag them into negotiations, break their solid front and destroy their unity. In the meantime, the French bourgeoisie and its Fascist gangs will have ample time to prepare to take hold when the People's Front government of Leon Blum has served its purposes.

For the moment, the French bourgeoisie is heeding the urgent, piteous plea of the French Stalinists who on June 4 "warned the employers that in the present international situation, a prolongation of their resistance is endangering the security of the country." (Daily Worker, June 5.)

Workers Take Possession

While Blum pleaded with the workers to end their strike, while Thorez-Cachin and Co. "unreservedly" supported Blum, workers in shop after shop laid down their tools and took possession, grimly ignoring the Socialist Premier their swept into power, grimly mistrustful of his avowed determination to "preserve the capitalist order."

The tremendous strike movement of the last fourteen days hurls the lie into the teeth of the creators of the People's Front who declare that the French proletariat is not yet ripe for power. It was the great leftward swing of the masses which pulled up the great People's Front majority in the recent elections. It was the same swing, moving way beyond the leaders of the two big parties and the unified labor federation, which produced the great strikes of the past fortnight.

Action Spontaneous

Neither the Socialist Party, coming to power in a bourgeois coalition government, nor the Stalinists who support that government, issued any strike call. The workers went into action without and despite all of them.

Not an industry was unaffected; steel, coal, munitions, automobiles, airplanes, textiles, gas, power, building, paper, press, department stores, trucking and transport. Germinating in sporadic strikes in scattered plants throughout the month of May, the movement flared. Some 60,000 workers occupied factories on May 26. With a surge that came from the most profound depths of the working class, hundreds of thousands in a few days of time stopped most of the key wheels of French industrial life.

Their conscious demands were simple: for a 40-hour week; for increase in starvation wages, now as little as three francs (15c) a day; for collective contracts; for vacations with pay.

Crisis-Wracks France

But the unrealistic implication underlying the great strike wave went far beyond these demands. French capitalism is in acute crisis. It has reached the end of its rope. Its government has been living from hand to mouth, on loans, on revenues wrung from the meagre wages of its employees and its pensioners. The cost of living is prohibitive. The French monetary system is being strained beyond its capacity to endure. It was to change all this, to win security for themselves and their families that the workers of France have moved into the political arena in the last two years.

Their leftward surge, accompanied by a broad analogous trend of the impoverished petty bourgeoisie, hard hit by the crisis, forced the working class parties into a united front. This united front, instead of leading the workers from struggle to struggle, against the bosses and their Fascist hired men, tecked itself on to the liberal bourgeoisie and dragged the workers into an alliance with their own bitterest enemies. The workers strated to battle for their own lives, their own bread. The spontaneous struggles at Brest and Toulon last August revealed their readiness to sweep their path clean of the bourgeois state apparatus. Toulon and Brest were denounced by the Socialists

and Stalinists as the acts of "provocateurs."

The Elections and After

In the elections, the workers and the petty bourgeoisie gave resounding evidence of the depth of the leftward trend. The Radicals and the parties of the Center found themselves cut to shadows. The fundamental sectors of the French population were splitting in two diametric directions. Huge gains on the left. Gains on the right, which polled only 1,000,000 less votes than the left.

After the electoral victory, Leon Blum, leader of the Socialist Party and premier-designate of the People's Front government, openly announced that he was taking power, not to install a new order, but to "revive French economy" and preserve the old order. The left victory caused a stampede on the Bourse and a steady flow of gold from the country, calculated to force the new government to devalue the franc and bear the brunt of the widespread miseries that step will entail for the lower strata of the population. Blum made sweeping statements of "appeasement." The Bourse promptly recovered confidence in Blum. The workers began to lose it. During the long delay before Blum took power, their confidence ebbed still further while Blum, Faure, Lebas and Co. begged Herriot, Boncour and all the old-line Radicals, to come into their new government.

Out of this suspicion stemmed the strikes that have swept France. This is proved by its spontaneity and the difficulty which the Socialists, the Stalinists and the C.G.T. bureaucracy have had, to the words of a bourgeois correspondent, to trying "to get to front of the strike and lead it instead of being dragged along in its wake." (N. Y. Times, June 6.)

Capitalist Order, Blum Demands

The workers of France struck for a new order. They want a complete change. They want power. They thought they had it in the government of the People's Front. This strike taught a different lesson.

Blum took over the government "at a moment when all authority seems to have disappeared in France, and order is being kept only because hundreds of thousands of workmen are themselves quiet and orderly." (N.Y. Times, June 5.) Roger Salengro, his Socialist Minister of the Interior, had already set the tone for the government's attitude: "This agitation is inadmissible. The People's Front must not

Stalinists Incite Pogrom Against Revolutionists at Commune Rally

PARIS, May 25.—While last year the traditional demonstration at the Wall of the Federals at the Pere-Lachaise Cemetery, to commemorate the victims of the Commune, took place under the cloud of the Stalin-Laval declarations, the Stalinists, depressed or worried, had to suffer the jeers of the Bolshevik-Leninists, the Revolutionary Socialist Youth and the anarchists, etc., who shouted "Sac an doe" (soldier's pack on your shoulders) at them and danced a pirouette around them without any serious scuffles ensuing, this year the demonstration was turned into a veritable mass pogrom against the revolutionists.

Thirsty for revenge, proud of their electoral victory and conscious of their role as policemen of the incoming government of the "People's Front," the Stalinists not only provoked brawls all along the line of march against the Bolshevik-Leninists, the Revolutionary Socialist Youth and the Internationalist Communist Party, and the anarchists, who formed a column of more than 1,000 people, but organized an ambush at the entry to the cemetery in order to prevent the revolutionists

from marching past the sacred wall, occupied by the Stalinist and Socialist bureaucrats together with the future Prime Minister, Leon Blum.

Before the supporters of the Fourth International arrived at the entry to the cemetery, the Stalinists and Henaff especially, had harrassed the crowd against them, spreading the rumor that the renegade Doriot was in their ranks, etc. Thereupon a crowd of more than a thousand threw themselves upon the revolutionists with the utmost savagery, throwing rocks and refuse at them, tearing down their four large red flags, destroying all the placards, among which was one which called for the liberation of the Bolshevik-Leninist prisoners of Stalin, which had especially aroused the ire of the Stalinists.

The column was broken, the Stalinists succeeded in their job. Only a small detachment among whom were several women, braving the blows, succeeded in entering the cemetery and of marching with their banner before the Wall, shouting their indignation at Thorez and Co.

It is noteworthy that in their

attacks the Stalinists worked hand in hand with the police who slugged together with them, without making any arrests. From a certain point of view the proficiency of the Stalinist police is superior to that of the state police: they can organize veritable mass pogroms and be more successful in separating and removing the revolutionists from the masses, in digging a ditch between them. The Stalinists offer the government not only their parliamentary support but their fists.

As long as the betrayals of the future Blum government does not disillusion broad masses, this support will retain its efficacy. The incidents of Sunday, May 24 are only a foretaste of what is being prepared against the revolutionists.

The morning after, *Populaire*, organ of the future government for the first time took up the Stalinist slander of "Trotskyist provocateurs," eulogized Henaff and rejoiced in the fact that several "citizens were slightly maltreated": that is small compensation for the Stalinist cops. *L'Humanite*, on the other hand, maintained silence of the guilty.

be paralyzed by an infringement of order, by any interruption in the vital services of the nation."

At the same time it was openly announced that the government was preparing to set as a strikebreaker, Salengro, the U.P. reported on June 5, was planning an emergency railway service in the event of a general transport strike.

Blum appealed for "industrial peace." His appeal, reported the *Herald-Tribune* on June 6, "was well received by the French bourgeoisie," but "failed to make any visible impression on the French strikes which continued to spread."

"It is fully realized," said the *Times*, "that the situation is filled with danger and that the government must act quickly to get control of the strike by leading it and getting the workers' confidence that the electoral program of the People's Front will be carried out."

On Other Side of Barricades

Backing Blum to the hilt, the Stalinists continued unflinchingly to

play their assigned role.

Andre Maurois, French bourgeois writer, described it in the *N. Y. Times* of May 31 in the following terms: "The program . . . of the Communist leaders is not at all revolutionary. . . . The Russian Communists who seek the aid of France have no desire to see France weakened by dissension."

This description was amplified on June 7 by no less a personage than Albert Sarraut, the outgoing premier, who absolved the Communists of all responsibility for the strike: "It could not be that Moscow, which desired to encourage the military strength of France in order that she might be an effective ally against Germany, would wish to see disorder in the country, unless the Soviet Government is returning to its early ideals of fomenting world revolution, and indications are rather to the contrary" (N. Y. Times, June 8).

What has been the role of the Stalinists since the election?

On May 9 the French Stalinist party officially pledged its unreserved support to Leon Blum. "It is necessary to ensure at any price the triumph of the experiment we are about to launch." (*L'Humanite*, May 1. Emphasis in original).

"Those who voted Communist, perhaps did not vote for the Soviet system, but want to preserve peace and guarantee the security of the country. . . . Our people demand that the agonizing threat of the civil war leagues comes to an end." (Thorez, *L'Humanite*, May 10.)

The Communists called for Popular Front committees but hastened to explain on May 15 that these committees "would in no sense be intended to substitute for existing political parties or government institutions. It is only a question of actively seconding the government." (*L'Humanite*, May 15).

C.P. Urges Workers Return

On May 29, in the first stages of the strike, the United Press reported that "the responsible leaders of the labor unions and the Communist Party were urging their members to go back to work."

Like the Socialists and Jouhaux and the trade unions, the Communists were caught short by the strike movement. First they tried to hush it. Failing that, finally on June 4, they issued a statement "saluting" the strike. "At the same time the leading committee of the Communist Party promised the Blum government its loyal support and urged continued unity and discipline in the People's Front. . . ." (Daily Worker, June 5).

Following Blum's radio speech appealing for "industrial peace," the Stalinists issued a special night edition of *L'Humanite* to announce that "the French Communist Party fully supports the government's announced legislative program." (Daily Worker, June 5).

Political Act of Strike

On June 6 workers in Paris broke out into the first violence of the strike, but what was more important, carried out one of the first clearly political acts of the strike: They burned issues of the capitalist papers, *L'Intransigeant* and *Le Soir*. They stormed the presses.

On June 7, the Stalinist *Daily Worker*, which had devoted inches to the strike where the big bourgeois papers were giving it columns and whole pages, announced in a headline: "Special Cable Spikes Fake Rioting Reports." "Calm and discipline reign everywhere, despite alarmist stories printed with the aim of provoking disturbances."

And in the same article: "The Communist Party has reaffirmed its support of the Blum government."

God Forbid!

"The capitalist press," adds the *Daily Worker*, "will, as usual, be silent or vague on what the workers are striking for, and may even attempt to misrepresent the strikes as being 'revolutionary.'"

And that would be the worst crime of all—to call these strikes "revolutionary" only less heinous a crime than the French workers would themselves commit if they went ahead and made their revolution!

"Order will ensure success," appealed *L'Humanite* on June 6. "We are sure that the people of France will preserve the magnificent mastery over itself which it has displayed for several weeks."

Jouhaux, the Bill Green of France, also, in a radio speech, "defended the strikers' movement" but "warned them against any manifestation that might lead to conflict with opposition organizations."

All together they cheered Leon Blum in the Chamber on June 8 when he flatly declared: "We shall govern as republicans. We shall guarantee the Republican order."

Strikes Continue

Socialist, Stalinist and C.G.T. appeals did not check the movement. The strikes mounted daily. The day Blum presented his government to the Chamber 135,000 workers joined the movement. They wanted action. Blum, Salengro, Jouhaux and the employers went into conference and emerged with the "settlement" hailed by all parties, the French bourgeois press most of all, as a happily peaceful termination of the movement that threatens to upset all the calculations of the preservers of "Republican order."

But the troubles of the People's Front government have only begun. Its "settlement" was greeted with a new strike of 150,000 miners to the north of France and the building trades workers in Paris and other workers in Bordeaux in the South. Accepting the settlement because it is the only way out of the crisis for the moment, the employers served clear warning on Blum that his government would have to face all the consequences of the settlement, because French industry would prove unable to carry the weight imposed upon it.

In the Chamber of Deputies Blum pleaded that "the occupation of factories by strikers (is) less dangerous than fighting in the streets."

People's Front Betrayal Everywhere

The People's Front wants at all costs to avoid "fighting in the streets." It offers the workers "settlements" which mean long-drawn negotiations which are only now to begin. It seeks to drag out and dissipate the legitimate will of the workers to independent struggle to their own behalf, for their own power.

In Spain today there is also a great strike wave, involving 300,000 workers, and there can be plately seen the People's Front in action at the next stage: the government of Cessares is carrying out repressive measures against working class organizations and declaring strikes illegal.

Is Fascism in France the price the French working class and the world proletariat must pay to explode the criminal treachery of those who preach "industrial peace," "national security," "class collaboration" in the form of the People's Front?

The Program of Victory

The coming period in France must provide the answer. The French workers, with their magnificent strength, their reserves and their readiness for the final struggle, must give that answer. To help them give it in favor of the revolutionary way out, the Bolshevik-Leninists of France in the present situation are tirelessly advancing the following demands:

1. Immediate and full amnesty.
2. 40-hour week without pay cuts, collective contracts, unemployment insurance.
3. Workers' control of production; nationalization of the big industries.
4. Fusion of all private banks into one (the Bank of France included); nationalization of credit to be distributed by the State to the workers, peasants and small merchants.
5. Political rights for soldiers; abolition of the 2-year military service; reduction of the war budget.
6. Arrest of the Fascist leaders; organization of a Workers' Militia; arming of the proletariat.
7. Formation of mass committees to shops, factories and localities to carry out the workers' own program.

The program of the Bolshevik-Leninists is a program for a Workers'-Peasants' Government. It demands a decisive break with the bourgeoisie and all its representatives and lackeys in the Radical party and calls for the offensive toward the workers' power.

A BALANCE OF SPANISH PEOPLES' FRONT

By ALFREDO ROJAS

At the moment that the Popular Front government begins to reign in France, it is highly instructive to draw the balance sheet of the regime of the Popular Front government in Spain.

After four months in power, the Spanish Popular Front government reveals itself as completely bankrupt. As we predicted when it came to power, it has not made the slightest beginning toward a solution of the problems of the Spanish masses. The Menshevik perspectives of the Stalinists, who put forward, among other absurdities, the idea that the government could solve the land question, has been exposed as demagogic fakery. The electoral pact of the People's Front included a specific repudiation by the republicans of the proposal to confiscate the landed estates; and, as the Stalinists themselves used to insist during the "third period" days of 1931, it is impossible for backward, impoverished Spain to make even a stab at purchasing the estates. Even the 1931 regulations for minimum wages for the peasantry have not been re-instituted. The result is that the land workers and peasants—and in Spain twenty out of the twenty-four millions live on the land—are just as badly off as ever.

As the masses realize that they have been deluded, they are beginning to fight back. The last two weeks have seen the greatest strike wave in all Spanish history. Nothing under the first Republic compares to the present movement of the masses. In Malaga province a hundred thousand agrarians are on strike; agrarian strikes are also paralyzing Seville and other provinces. The Asturias iron miners are out. Barcelona and Madrid find dozens of trades walking out. In all these must be at least half a million out on strike today.

The Government Repression

Unable to solve Spain's economic problems, the government is resorting more and more to the use of violence against the workers and peasants. A week ago in Albacete occurred a massacre of peasants by the Civil Guard, seventeen peasants being killed immediately, with many others reported dying of wounds later. Deaths of workers

guards are reported practically every day. All workers' centers were closed in Leiria, the general strike there was declared illegal, and the strike committee arrested. All syndicalist centers have been closed to Madrid, and sixty syndicalist leaders arrested, with the government threatening to outlaw the syndicalist-led Confederation of Labor if it did not cease its strikes. And now the government has declared that all general strikes are illegal, that strikes for political demands are illegal, and that it will shortly outlaw the strike as an instrument of the proletariat altogether.

The demagoguery of the republicans has worn thin. "The government repeats all the elaborate mumbo-jumbo of the 1931 days: it draws up elaborate plans for building Spanish economy, it scolds the Catholics for their unfriendliness to the Republic, it stages parliamentary debates in which a furious verbal struggle goes on against religious education, etc. But this game cannot be repeated again. More and more the government has to resort to the use of open force against the masses."

Crisis to the Labor Movement

The intensification of the class struggle has created a profound crisis to the working class. The syndicalists, terribly discredited for their refusal to most places to join the October, 1934 revolt, and their anarchistically negative attitude in February of this year toward the problem of overthrowing the semi-fascist regime, have now regained much of their prestige, thanks to the opportunistic support given the Popular Front government by the Stalinists and Socialists. The syndicalists are now pressing their advantage, even gaining ground to Socialist-controlled Madrid; but their sporadic strike activity, coupled with no political perspective, is creating serious dissension in the syndicalist ranks and will undoubtedly lead to an explosion as soon as a revolutionary re-groupment of forces becomes more apparent to the Spanish working class.

The Split in the S.P.

The crisis reveals itself most decisively in the ranks of the mass party of Spanish labor, the Socialists. The Right wing-controlled National Committee has postponed

the national convention, empowered its subsidiaries to expel the lefts and outlawed the left-wing paper, "*Claridad*." When in response Caballero demands a new election of the National Committee, that august body responds with the declaration that Caballero's proposal is an unparalleled violation of party discipline! The rightist leaders are howled down at meetings, and their chief spokesman, Indalecio Prieto, accuses the left wing of an attempt to assassinate him. In actual fact, there are now two separate Socialist parties in Spain.

The Spanish Right-Wing Socialists are hardly to be differentiated from the "Left" Republicans of the stripe who now govern Spain. Prieto has bitterly attacked the strikes because they debilitate the country. He and his colleagues have a perspective of decades of collaboration with the republican bourgeoisie. They wish to enter the government to form a coalition cabinet.

The Left Wing Socialists are an extremely heterogeneous combination. Certainly Caballero, though he rides the crest of its wave today, is not its authentic spokesman. In one and the same breath Caballero declares that Lenin's prediction that Spain will be the second Soviet republic to Europe is about to be realized—and that he will not oppose the party's collaboration to the government if the convention so decides! He denounces the syndicalists for draining the energy of the proletariat to aimless strikes (and this is true enough), but the reason why the syndicalists are able to lead the workers to such strikes is that they do offer the workers some form of action, whereas Caballero, who heads the General Union of Workers, provides no leadership at all. He carries on a coy flirtation with the Stalinists, who support the Popular Front Government no less than the Prietos, and deludes the Spanish workers with the slogan of unity of all workers' organizations as a panacea.

Much more indicative of the chasm which separates the two Socialist tendencies are the hundreds of strikes led by Socialists; the all-Socialist tickets put up to a number of provinces during the Presidential election; the occupation of estates by Socialist-led peasants; the terrific repercussions in the So-

cialist ranks, which forced Prieto to decline Azana's invitation to become Premier; the speeches and articles intransigently attacking Azana, by Javier Bueno, Socialist leader of the Asturias rebellion; the party program proposed by the Madrid organization which, despite its confusion (for example, it says that the organ of the proletarian dictatorship will be the Socialist Party) is a revolutionary program. The split in the Socialist Party is a basic one, between reformists and revolutionaries.

Role of the Stalinists

The Stalinists are playing a thoroughly reactionary role. They continue to support the government wholeheartedly. Azana is a "friend of the Soviet Union" and therefore inviolate. One need only look at the Stalinist press in any country to discover that they have yet to utter a single word of criticism of the Spanish government! Capitulation can go no farther; it is, in fact, the most conscious kind of collaboration with the bourgeoisie—for the bourgeoisie, you see, is for the League of Nations and patronizingly praises Russia as a peace-loving country. The promising Socialist youth movement is now in serious danger of permanent stultification; its leaders were taken to Moscow for conferences, and came back to effect the entry of the Stalinist youth into the Socialist youth. The very first document issued by the "united" youth movement was a vicious attack on Trotskyism. Fortunately, the corruption of the youth leadership has not prevented district organizations from demanding a turn to struggle against the government.

The Maurin-Nin Party

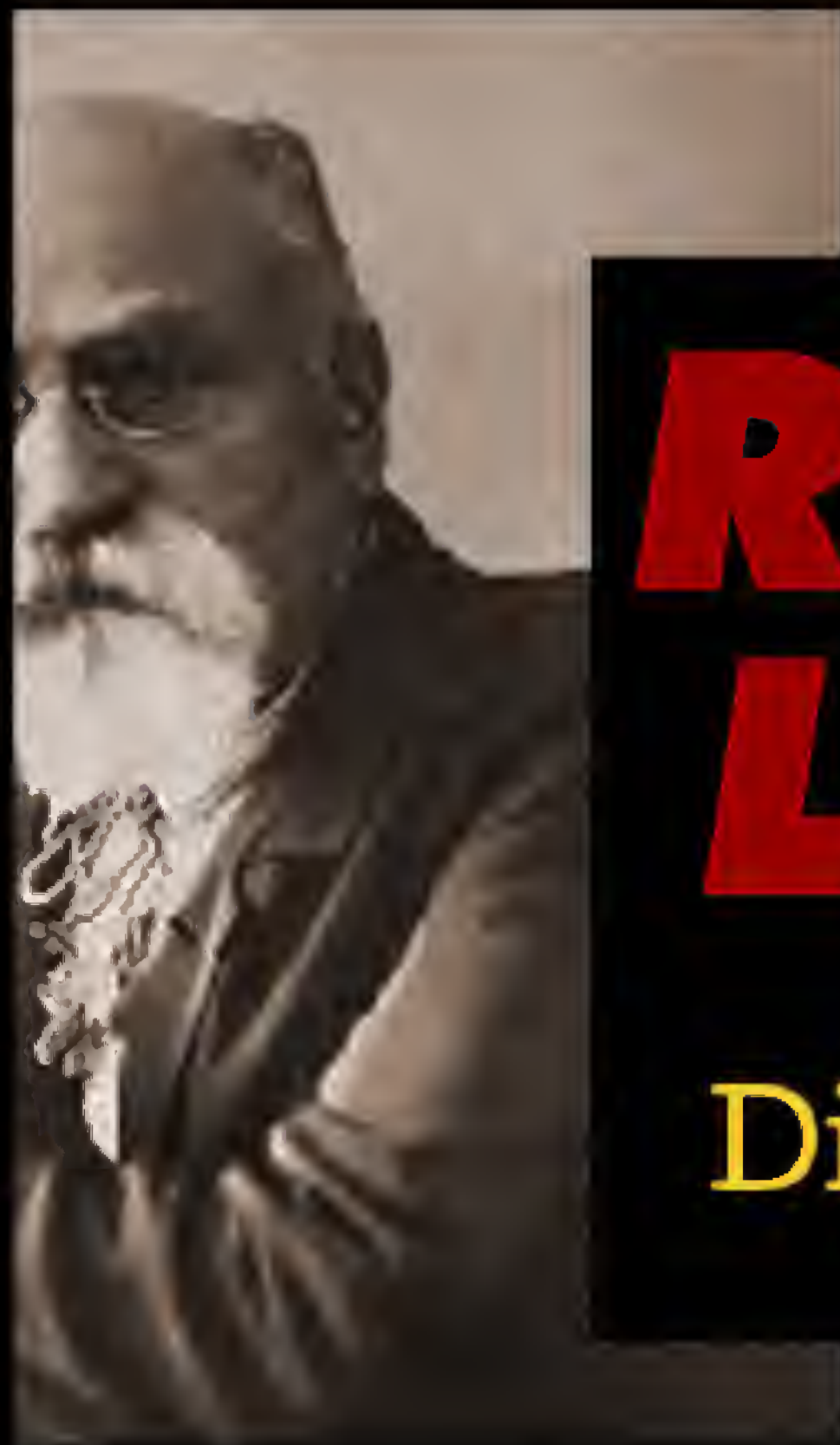
The "Party of Marxian Unity," the fusion of the former Left Opposition with the "Workers and Peasants Bloc" led by Joaquin Maurin, a movement half-Catalan nationalist, has been gained entirely unaware by the split to the Socialist ranks. What is infinitely worse, it now pooh-poohs the significance of the split, the May 22 issue of its organ, *La Batalla*, declaring that there is no basic difference between Left and Right Socialists and even asking so far as to say that if the split takes place it will lead to terrible conflicts between the two factions with dreadful consequences for

the whole Spanish working class! The only hope there still might have been for the Maurin-Nin group—after their joining the Popular Front, breaking with, joining and breaking again, thus losing any serious standing as a firm political tendency—was in their correctly estimating the epochal significance of the Socialist split. Now it is clear the "Party of Marxian Unity" is a sterile, doomed sect; it has not even the specious virtue of an apparently independent political course, but vacillates between opportunistic moves and gestures of intransigence. Maurin, who holds a firm majority in the organization, is like a little shopkeeper; he will fawn upon the Popular Front at one moment, upon Caballero at another, he will do anything—only let him keep his own little shop. The idea of independent political intervention by entry into the Socialist Party is alien to such minds. So far, the main body of the old Left Opposition has not broken with this sterile clique; but the developing split in the Socialist Party must finally galvanize all those who are capable of thinking politically.

Regroupment Still Waits

The present status of the Spanish Revolution may be described, in short, as one in which the masses have lost all faith in the government, and consequently have broken the link between government and the main body of the Socialist proletariat; but the regroupment of the revolutionary forces has not yet produced a leadership capable and ready to transform the Spanish crisis into a struggle for power.

That leadership is in process of arising out of the ranks of the Left Wing Socialists. It has a longer period to which to develop, that is, more time is permitted it, than is the case in France; for in Spain the forces of reaction are basically very weak. But even in Spain the revolutionary leadership must arise within a limited time, or reaction will triumph. The masses are in motion, they want to fight to the end; but a long period of sporadic, aimless activity, will exhaust their vitality, and leave the way open for reaction. Thus Spain mirrors also the conditions with dreadful consequences for



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